Exploring intercultural education discourses and everyday practices

in a Greek-Cypriot primary school

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'As an individual, I can't undo the past and I can't undo my childhood. I can, however, choose what to do about race and racism *now*. I can't make my society or the place where I live or work suddenly nonracist, but I can decide how to live as a white person in relation to my privileged *position* as a white person. I can decide whether to laugh or object when I hear racist "humor"; I can decide how to treat people who aren't classified as "white"; I can decide what to do about the consequences racism produces for people, whether to be part of the solution or merely part of the problem. I don't feel guilty because my country is racist, because it wasn't my doing. But as a white person who *participates* in that society, I feel responsible to consider what to do about it. The only way to get past the potential for guilt and see how I can make a difference is to realize that the system isn't me and I'm not the system.'

(Johnson, 1997, p. 16)

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic study of intercultural education discourses and everyday practices in an urban Greek-Cypriot primary school. The pupil population is comprised of Greek-Cypriots, Eastern European economic migrants and increasing numbers of newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian asylum-seekers. Despite the introduction of intercultural education policy in 2001, the education system prescribes a monoculturalist and nationalist ethos. At the same time, the limited opportunities for intercultural education training leave teachers uncertain as to how to respond to the increasing diversity. Informed by ethnographic, discursive and intersectional approaches, this study analyses data from fieldwork conducted in this school for a total of three months over a period of three years.

The analysis identifies the discursive resources from which teachers draw to talk about diversity in Greek-Cypriot society and construct the Other, mainly in essentialist and negative ways. It also identifies teachers' constructions of racism on a societal and educational level, including racism denials, minimizations and justifications. The thesis argues that teachers' constructions of racism inhibit them from recognizing and challenging institutional racism and racialized incidents they observe among their pupils.

The study also demonstrates how minoritized children become differentially racialized as groups and individuals through institutional, teachers' and children's discourses and practices, regardless of intentionality. As a result, many minoritized children experience school in an environment of harassment. The study discusses the experiences of an Iraqi-Palestinian boy as an example of how intercultural education is implemented. Some teachers' resistance to the dominant discourses of colourblindness and racism denial, and minoritized children's negotiation of their racialized positionings create the spaces of ambivalence that are necessary for change.

The findings bear implications for policy and practice in terms of teacher training, development of antiracist policies and supportive networks for teachers, changes in the curriculum, and, structural transformations, so that educational opportunities are equally provided to all children.

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PREFACE: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE QUESTION

In 2005 I came to London for my MA, weeks after burying both my refugee grandfathers in the 'foreign' land of the south. Both my parents' families were amongst the 200.000 Greek-Cypriot[1] refugees that fled their homes in the north after the 1974 invasion[2]. Early on, I was made aware of the occupation of half our island by 'Attila', the eternal barbarian enemy and the suffering of *our* people. It was only when I was 26, however, that I learned some of the missing bits and pieces of the story, never included in the history books I faithfully quoted as a kid and a teacher. Only after I left Cyprus for London did I learn that Turkish-Cypriots also lost their homes and went missing, and that Greek-Cypriots were also responsible for atrocities following the island's independence from the British in 1960. *White Privilege* (McIntosh, 1989) and *Echoes from the Dead Zone* (Papadakis, 2005) were key texts in the process of learning more about racism, nationalism and the histor*ies* of Cyprus.

Back in 2005, before I left for London, while working as a primary school teacher, I happened to have the only black child in a school of 600 in my first grade. She had a Greek name, Georgia[3], was Christian-Orthodox, was born and raised in Cyprus, and spoke only Greek. Her parents came to Cyprus from Zimbabwe in search of a job and were black. Her skin colour was the only obvious 'difference' between her and other children. However, it made her 'different' enough to be subjected to racialized name-calling which I often witnessed in the playground. Georgia was 'different' enough for some colleagues to ask me after the Christmas celebration 'why' did I ever assign her the role of an angel dressed in

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[1] The 1960 Constitution recognizes two main communities, based on culture and religion: the Greek-Cypriots (82%) and Turkish-Cypriots (12%). Other minorities were asked to adhere to one of the main communities. For religious reasons, the Armenians, Latinos and Maronites adhered to the Greek-Cypriot community and the Roma to the Turkish-Cypriot.

[2] After Cypriots gained independence from the British in 1960, following intercommunal violence beginning at 1963, Turkey invaded in 1974 and still occupies 37% of the island. Thus, Cyprus has been de facto partitioned between north and south, where Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots mainly reside. In 2003 the Turkish-Cypriots partially lifted regulations for the restriction of movement between north and south.

[3] For the protection of the anonymity of participants and locations, all names in this thesis are pseudonyms which reflect the linguistic and religious characteristics of their real ones.

white? She was so 'different' that when we visited the first-graders of another school, after my class had exchanged letters with them, Georgia's pen-pal froze at the sight of her. She was 'different' enough to be asked to recite an African poem, in a language foreign to her, at a whole-school 'celebration of diversity' in order to represent her country and 'culture'. Finally, Georgia was regarded as so different, that I found myself increasingly depending on affirmative action in order to make up for what I considered to be torture in her everyday life, whether in the form of harassment in the playground, weird looks, or the police raiding her house in the middle of the night to check her father's citizenship status.

A few months later, in the same school year, I received two new pupils in my class: a brother and sister from Kurdistan, a couple of years older than my first-graders, speaking neither Greek nor English. Their mother's bows of gratitude for some second-hand school uniforms I gave her were the only available medium of communication between us. I had never seen Georgia happier than on the day they arrived: she was no longer the only 'different' one. As time progressed, I watched the Kurdish children become excluded and isolated, though in less direct, but still apparently hurtful ways, than Georgia's name calling harassment. We barely managed to communicate by the end of the year. Meanwhile, I was hiding behind the issues of time pressure and lack of training in order to justify the fact that I had not done much more than teach these children the Greek alphabet.

Affected by my feelings of frustration to cope with the overt and covert racism towards these children and my inability to offer what I felt was right to them, my initial research interests focused on the practical difficulties of the implementation of intercultural education in everyday classroom practices. These are reflected in work that was produced for my MA dissertation (Papamichael, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). My MA research, which served as a pilot study to this thesis, identified discourses and practices of teachers'

colourblindness, as well as racialized constructions of minoritized children in teachers' accounts.

Beyond MA matters, one of the richest ethnographic points of my life was an encounter with the Turkish-Cypriot owner of the fried chicken place opposite Goldsmiths library. I often chatted with him, thinking that he is a Greek-Cypriot of the diaspora, only to realize eventually that he was an 'Other' (albeit, in human form). These London experiences initially led me to extreme reactions: hating the national anthem that I was once so proud of, and being angry whenever someone constructed Turks in a negative way. By the end of my MA, I was convinced that the 'recipes' for intercultural education I expected to find were non-existent and, consequently, decided to pursue doctoral studies. Gradually, my intense feelings were transformed into an awareness of the multiplicity of positionalities, inequalities and realities through which every individual's experiences are constructed. During fieldwork for this thesis, my initial research interests expanded to include the discourses and practices shaping the racialized constructions of minoritized children, migrants and asylum-seekers in Greek-Cypriot society.

Influenced by the above experiences, my research questions, outlined in the next chapter (1.6), were ultimately shaped by:

- A concern with intercultural education implementation difficulties, born out of my inability to effectively include the two Kurdish children in my class in 2005 and accommodate my lessons to their needs. As a consequence, I spent my first years of teaching feeling powerless to act, despite my intentions to do something more for them. It is through this lens of empathy for struggling teachers that I expect the readers of this thesis to view the teachers participating in this study.
- A concern with teachers' assumptions and constructions of diversity, emphasized by my experience as Georgia's teacher and by my MA findings regarding Greek-Cypriot teachers' colourblindness.

- A concern with the complex and shifting ethnicized and racialized discursive constructions of the Other, obvious to me through the differential exclusion of the three aforementioned minoritized children.

These reasons motivated my decision to embark on a study of intercultural education discourses and everyday practices in a Greek-Cypriot primary school, which aimed: to identify and understand racialization processes; hopefully, to generate knowledge about ways to challenge them within the school context; and, to empower teachers who are constrained by educational structures and lack of training (as I was). Ultimately, this thesis aspires to contribute, to the extent possible, to the promotion of self-reflection in teacher practices and to the development of policy in relation to diversity and racism in Greek-Cypriot education.

1 SETTING THE SCENE

> 'The more we get to understand the contexts of events, the less we
> experience such events as chaotic' (Blommaert, 2006, pp. 25-26).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

While diversity[4] is, and always has been, a characteristic of all societies, in Cyprus, as in other parts of the world, the idea of a homogenised national group has often been presented as the ideal. Education was one of the means through which nation-states and citizens' strong national identities were created and maintained during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Gellner, 1983). However, recent demographic changes in Western nations, as well as Cyprus, challenge perceptions of them as 'White, Christian nations' (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p. 63). Globalization has changed conceptions of self and other, problematized the meanings of notions such as culture, identity, race and nation, and wholly transformed social and cultural life; thus, educators now face the challenge of addressing these reconfigurations on a social and educational level (McCarthy, Giardina, Harewood, & Park, 2005). Gilroy (2004) argues that for life in a multicultural society it is necessary to identify the critical perspectives, insight and reflection which may help 'increasingly differentiated societies and anxious individuals to cope successfully with the challenges involved in dwelling comfortably in proximity to the unfamiliar without becoming fearful and hostile' (p. 3).

The recent assertion of narrow national identities in many countries has been accompanied by a rise of xenophobia and racism and the subsequent exclusion of asylum-seekers, immigrants and refugees through unemployment, racial disadvantage, deprivation and impoverishment (Gundara, 2000). In their attempt to include minority ethnic groups into education systems designed for majority ethnic populations, many ethnically plural societies introduced policies aiming to

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[4] I use the term diversity to refer to racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between individuals and groups.

reduce such inequalities and accommodate the needs of minorities; the outcome was often the continuation of assimilation, discrimination and inequality, and sometimes the persistence of racist exclusion and inequities (Tomlinson, 2003).

The breadth of literature on multicultural education reveals the abundance of the relevant historically and geographically specific approaches to schooling in relation to diversity. The recent, six-volume publication *History of Multicultural Education* (Grant & Chapman, 2008) for the US and the *Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (Banks, 2009) are examples of the scope of the field. Efforts on academic (Banks et al., 2005) and policy levels (Batelaan & Coomans, 1999; UNESCO, 2006) to provide internationally agreed upon definitions of education for citizens in a multicultural world, concluded in sets of principles and concepts and not distinct definitions. On a European level, the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers of Education (2003) identified the need for research to clearly define the content and context of intercultural education. In addition, the contextual variations of education for diversity in any given society are proof that there cannot be one definition of it.

Neither is there agreement in terms of terminology. Multicultural education is a term preferred in the literature of North America and Australia (Cushner, 1998) and most European countries (Dragonas, Frangoudaki, & Inglessi, 1996; Perotti, 1994). In Britain, the debate evolved mainly between advocates of multicultural and antiracist education (May, 1999b). Intercultural education is the preferred term by UNESCO (2006) and some European countries. The terminological difference of multicultural and intercultural education in Europe seemed to offer an opportunity to move away from the dominant theories and practices prescribed by the US and UK (Coulby, 2006), critically discussed later (2.2). Nevertheless, a review of the literature demonstrates that there is still lack of clarity as to what it is.

Greek-Cypriot[5] educational authorities, adopting the frameworks suggested by the Council of Europe, employ the term intercultural education in official policy discourses, which I will be using as well, unless referring to specific literature. This study aims to explore how the global picture described at the beginning of this section translates in primary schools of Cyprus. It is concerned with everyday practices of intercultural education, teachers' understandings of diversity and racism, and how these affect minoritized[6] children's everyday realities in Greek-Cypriot primary schools.

Any investigation of issues of diversity and racism for the purposes of implementing educational interventions needs to consider the geographical, historical, social and political specificities of each context. Considering the importance of contextual investigation and analysis of intercultural education within its multiple contexts (Nieto, 1999; Nieto & Bode, 2008), issues of race and educational inequality across countries (Stevens, 2007), and of the historically and spatially specific racisms (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999), this chapter first describes the Greek-Cypriot contextual particularities in relation to diversity, nationalism, racism and education. It maps the socio-political (1.2) and educational (1.3) contexts of the island in relation to diversity and migration and critically discusses intercultural education policy in Cyprus (1.4). The chapter then reviews previous studies of diversity, racism and education in Greek-Cypriot education in order to identify the research gaps to which this study partially

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[5] I use *Greek-Cypriot*, rather than *Cypriot* education and social context for three reasons: a) since the de facto division of the island in 1974 Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots have been living in isolation, which remains at a great extent despite the partial lifting of restrictions of movement in 2003; b) the education systems of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots have always been constitutionally and practically segregated; c) for practical reasons, the scope of this thesis does not allow for the exploration of intercultural education in the Turkish-Cypriot educational system, which would have to be included, for the term *Cypriot* to be used appropriately.

[6] I use the term *minoritized* (Brah, 1996; Gillborn, 2008; Phoenix, 2001) – rather than minority – to indicate that 'minorities' is a social construct with embedded derogatory meanings. In this thesis, minoritized usually refers to individuals or groups with ethnic, religious, cultural and/or linguistic identities that are different to those of the dominant White, Greek-Cypriot, Christian-Orthodox population of Cyprus. The terms *Greek-Cypriot* and *majoritized* are used interchangeably.

responds (1.5). The chapter ends with the statement of the thesis aim and research questions (1.6) and an outline of the thesis chapters (1.7).

1.2 DIVERSITY, MIGRATION AND RACISM IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

> 'Angelos (the young Greek Cypriot male protagonist) and Ferrah (a young Turkish Cypriot woman) meet in the Dead Zone during a bi-communal event (before the 2003 border opening). They furtively make it to the south to spend some free time together. Having arrived in a café they can finally enjoy each other's company yet their fragile friendship risks coming to an abrupt end as soon as they try to order coffee. Tension builds as they debate whether to call it Greek or Turkish coffee. Finally they compromise on two 'Cyprus coffees'. Angelos orders in Greek but the waitress does not understand Greek (she is a migrant from Eastern Europe), so he has to repeat his order for two Cyprus coffees in English. 'I am sorry, we serve only espresso and cappuccino', she replies' (Papadakis, 2006, p. 248).

As characteristically seen from Papadakis' description of a scene in the 1998 film *Espresso*, written and directed by Greek-Cypriots Theodoros Nicolaides and Adonis Florides, Cypriots live in a postcolonial, post-conflict society on an island which recently joined the EU but remains ethnically divided by the 'Dead Zone' – the UN Green Line which separates the south from the north. The above extract summarizes the four main characteristics of the historical and socio-political context of Cyprus: the unresolved political problem of the ongoing occupation and division of the island, reflected in the protagonists' reluctance to order 'Greek' or 'Turkish' coffee; the partial lifting of movement restrictions, which allows Angelos and Ferrah to meet[7]; the increasing migration, evident in the waitress's Eastern European background; and, the effects of globalization, apparent in the Italian coffees available in the menu.

Angelos' and Ferrah's hesitation in ordering 'Cypriot' coffee reflects the troubled concept of 'Cypriot' identity, which Anthias (2006, p. 177) describes as deprived of value and 'an apology for not being complete', causing feelings of ambivalence

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[7] Until 2003 and the decision of Turkish-Cypriots for a partial lifting of the restriction of movement between north and south, the two communities had virtually no contact.

to Cypriots about their value, reflected in their imaginings about their belonging to the Greek or Turkish nation, sometimes producing self-hatred and denial. As Constandinou writes:

> '[t]he most disturbing thing about being a Cypriot is that one can only be a Greek or a Turkish Cypriot. Postcolonial Cypriot identity is quintessentially and inescapably hyphenated; and hyphenated across a fixed Greek–Turkish axis. Being simply and singly Cypriot is a constitutional impossibility' (2007, p. 248).

Cyprus is 'uncomfortably situated on multiple geopolitical margins, lying between Turkey and Greece, East and West, Asia and Europe, Islam and Christianity, and now, in different respects, both inside and outside the EU' (Papadakis, Peristianis, & Welz, 2006, p. 24). Though Cyprus has been characterised by ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity throughout its history, it is now even more diverse. Following decades of restrictive immigration policy, in the 1990s the government allowed the entry of migrant workers to respond to the increasing demand for labour in the tourism industry. Cyprus, towards becoming a prospering service economy, and a full member of the EU since 2004, is now taking advantage of cheap immigrant labour, both legal, such as domestic service, tourism, entertainment, manufacturing industry, agriculture and constructions, and illegal, especially in the sex industry (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2005). The migrants' origins are mainly from Eastern Europe, South East Asia, China, and Arab countries.

1.2.1 MIGRANTS

Migrants in general in Cyprus face discrimination in the labour market, education, housing, immigration services and negative depictions by the media in a society which hardly provides them opportunities for civic participation (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2006). The migrant workforce has become 'the new multiethnic underclass of the Republic of Cyprus, a fact that is consistently erased from public awareness or legitimated by prevailing racist stereotypes' (Papadakis et al., 2006, p. 22). As Anthias (2006, p. 190) puts it, 'economic interests legitimize foreign workers but nationalist discourse sees them as undesirable'. For example, the Flash Barometer of the European Commission on

Intercultural Dialogue (The Gallup Organization, 2007) showed that Cyprus had the highest figure in the EU (14%) of people who said their lives were not being enriched at all by intercultural contact[8].

The largest group of migrants in Cyprus are Pontians, also referred to as 'Greek-Pontians' or 'Greeks of Pontos'[9]. They are namely 'ethnic Greeks' who emigrated from areas of the Ottoman empire, such as Pontos in the Black Sea, to former Soviet Union at the beginning of 20th century, or Greeks who left Greece for political reasons in the 1930-40s (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002; Xanthakou, Tsamparli, Kasseris, & Kaila, 2005). In the early 1990s, when they started arriving in Greece they were identified as Pontian repatriates (Πόντιοι Παλιννοστούντες), though they had never lived there before. They were granted Greek citizenship as members of the Greek diaspora (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002). This facilitated their easy migration to Cyprus, which was legitimated on the basis of the nationalist duty to support of the Greek 'motherland', despite contestations about their 'Greekness' in public discourses (Gregoriou, 2008). In Cyprus most arrived from Georgia, but also Kafkasus and Russia. Most of them reside in Paphos (Trimikliniotis, forthcoming), though with the recent global economic crisis, many have been forced to leave.

One of the first sociological studies drawing on interview data with Pontian migrants in Cyprus focused particularly on their derogatory labelling as 'Russian-Pontians' (Ρωσσοπόντιοι) (Trimikliniotis, 2001). The term was originally used in the late 1980s as it reflects both the language and migratory background of the group, but was rejected by Pontians as it 'denied their "Greekness"' (Gregoriou, 2008, p. 7). The term 'Pontian' also has derogatory meaning in everyday discourses, often meaning 'idiot' in popular jokes similar to those about the Irish in the British context, widespread in educational and social contexts in Cyprus (Trimikliniotis, 2001). Nevertheless, Trimikliniotis' (2001) participants, including

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[8] See Spyrou (2010) for a discussion of the results of European Social Survey on the construction of the immigrant 'other' in Cyprus.

[9] Estimated at 12000 in 2004 (Gregoriou, 2008).

their organized community representative, emphasized that they prefer the terms 'Pontian' and 'Greek-Pontian' which they consider reflect their ethnic origins. I choose to use 'Pontian' which is more commonly employed.

Pontians in Cyprus have become particularly vulnerable to xenophobia, racist hatred and multiple forms of racialization because of their concentration in low-income neighbourhoods and the Greek-Cypriot workers' fear that the Pontians will displace them from the workforce (Gregoriou, 2008). References to Pontians as criminals, drug addicts, drug dealers, and thieves are common in media, politics and police discourses (ibid.). Such ethnicized constructions are related, I would argue, to the historical racialization of Eastern Europeans in European geopolitics, through myths of the uncivilized Slavs who impact on the imagination and construction of Europe's boundaries (Kushner, 2005).

Gendered racialization processes in public discourses are more obvious in the case of Eastern European women, who are constructed as 'morally loose or likely to be involved in drugs or the porn trade' (Anthias, 2000, p. 34). They are demonized by the local media for their immoral behaviour, a discourse that is reflected in the practices of government officials (Skapoulli, 2009). Because the first women from post-communist countries were initially (forced to be) employed in the sex industry, mostly after becoming victims of trafficking, conceptualizations of Russian, Romanian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian women are associated with sexual promiscuity and carry negative connotations regarding their morality (Skapoulli, 2009; Spyrou, unpublished paper). Such examples show how the intersection of racism with sexism produces particular forms of exclusion for different ethnicized and classed minoritized groups where, as in many other southern European countries, migration is feminized (Anthias, 2000).

1.2.2 ASYLUM-SEEKERS

In addition to migration, according to a recent UNHCR report, Cyprus is second[10] amongst 44 industrialised countries worldwide in terms of the asylum-seekers it receives in relation to its population: 30 asylum-seekers for every 1000

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[10] Malta is first.

inhabitants (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010). Since 2002, only 0.6% of 42217 such applications were granted (Savva, 2010). Consequently, in 2006, out of a total of 867,600 inhabitants in the whole of Cyprus, the estimated percentage of Greek-Cypriots was 76.1%; of Turkish-Cypriots 10.2%; and, of 'foreign'[11] residents 13.7% (Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2006, p. 12).

A study drawing on qualitative interview data with 45 asylum-seekers in Cyprus, presents evidence of gross violations of the prescribed asylum seeking procedures, little or no NGO support, restricted access to information and legal advice, and, clear patterns of discrimination related to nationality, ethnicity, language and gender (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2010) [12]. A recent example of overt racism towards asylum-seekers was the burning of a building used as a school by Iraqi-Palestinians in Larnaca[13] in order to learn Greek in the afternoons, taught by Greek-Cypriot teachers. The burned walls were sprayed with racist slogans in English: 'you started it we will finish it' and 'this is not the end' (Vasou, 2010). The increase of racially motivated violence (Evripidou, 2010) and the rise of the first organized nationalist youth groups and demonstrations against 'illegal migrants' turning into violent clashes with migrants and their supporters (Agathocleous, 2010) has sparked intense debate and concerns in public discourses, dividing the media, politicians and organized groups on the issue of migration and asylum in Cyprus (The Cyprus Mail, 2010).

African asylum-seekers in particular, face overt and acute forms of discrimination because of their skin colour, even from immigration officers and the police (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2010). African women in particular are forced to

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[11] The report does not clarify, but I would think that these statistics do not account for Turkish citizens ('migrants' for Turkish-Cypriots and 'settlers' for Greek-Cypriots) in the north of the island, or undocumented migrants or asylum-seekers in the south.

[12] Other studies analyse migration and discrimination experiences focusing specifically on gender (Anthias & Lazaridis, 2000b; Gregoriou, 2008; Trimikliniotis & Fulias-Suroulla, 2009).

[13] The number of Iraqi-Palestinian asylum-seekers in Larnaca is estimated at 2000, more than anywhere else in Cyprus.

become dependant upon men from their country, regardless of the men's actual knowledge and networks. Exceptions are noted in cases where they speak Greek (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2010)[14].

Furthermore, the press in Cyprus, as in other Western countries, contributes to the construction of Muslim and Asian migrants as dangerous for importing foreign cultural and moral elements which are reported as undesirable influences which may undermine Cypriot culture (Anthias, 2000). Concerns about the maintenance of the national heritage and Hellenism are closely related to the prevalence of the national Cyprus problem in public discourses (ibid.). Discourses related to the 'Cyprus problem' create conditions of 'national emergency', which facilitate the development of chauvinistic nationalistic and racist discourses about 'foreigners', which are seen as '"contaminating", undermining and "estranging" (αλλοτριώνουν) Cypriots from Hellenism, by "de-Hellenising" Cyprus (αφελληνισμός της Κύπρου), which is according to nationalists the "strength" of the nation' (Trimikliniotis, 1999, p. 18). As Anthias (2006, p. 178) explains, 'in constructions of selfhood and belonging, identifying, inferiorizing, and apportioning blame to the 'other' as a form of scapegoating play a significant role'. Trimikliniotis (2004, p. 56) explored understandings of racism through a study of surveys and public discourses, and found that Greek-Cypriots view racism as a 'bad practice', which almost always happens abroad. Similar convictions that racism only happens elsewhere are met in the Netherlands and England (Essed, 2004). If racism is acknowledged as happening in Cyprus, Greek-Cypriots construct themselves as, mostly, the victims of the Turkish invasion and occupation; British colonial racism; and, of racism by the indigenous populations of the US, UK and Australia, where they migrated to (Trimikliniotis, 2004).

In sum, this study is located within the specificities of an increasingly diverse Greek-Cypriot society with an unresolved political problem and where the need for reconciliation among the major communities of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots is ever more pressing (Trimikliniotis, 2008b). The situation presents major

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[14] Another study analyses migrant narratives of their experiences of racism and discrimination in everyday life in Cyprus (Trimikliniotis & Fulias-Suroulla, 2010).

challenges for the educational system, which, however, remains largely unchanged, despite the aforementioned demographic changes. I briefly introduce the Greek-Cypriot education system next.

1.3 GREEK-CYPRIOT EDUCATION SYSTEM

Based on the postcolonial Constitution of 1960, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems were separate. Bryant (2004) argues that education in Cyprus was necessary for nationalism, not as a way of indoctrination, but because it already embodied community traditions and represented communal continuity; both the Greek-Orthodox and Muslim communities wished for the best aspects of their own cultures to be included in the texts and traditions learned through education. Ultimately, similarly to many countries (1.1), the educational systems were used as the basis of nationalist ideologies by Greece and Turkey to increase their influence. As a result, the Greek-Cypriot curriculum is 'a political document which reflects the struggles of these opposing groups to have their interests, values, histories and politics dominate' (Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997, p. 395).

The Greek-Cypriot education system is highly centralized. The Ministry of Education and Culture makes all appointments, transfers, promotions and evaluations of teachers, and prescribes the curricula and syllabi, based on the Greek education model. It provides schools with Greek textbooks, offered by Greece for free[15]. In addition, the ecclesiastical origin of the schools, and the desire of nationalist Orthodox Church leaders to imitate the Greek education model, were the two major factors which shaped Greek-Cypriot education during the last two centuries (Koutselini & Persianis, 2000). These influences are still felt in contemporary public schools, as Papadakis describes:

> 'From pictures all over our classrooms the slain Greek heroes always watched us, with their thick moustaches, their traditional head-covers and their stern, proud looks. Sometimes we became them. In our school plays we re-enacted scenes from the Greek Revolution

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[15] Studies in Greece found the Greek system, curricula and syllabi to be ethnocentric, nationalistic and exclusive (Flouris, 1997; Frangoudaki & Dragonas, 1997; Hourdakis, 1996; Zambeta, 1997, 2000, 2005).

against the Turks, wore their clothes, talked and suffered like them'
(2005, p. 5).

The current Primary Education Curriculum defines the general aim of Greek-Cypriot education as the 'creation of liberated, democratic and autonomous citizens', who

> 'contribute with their work and conscious action to the social, scientific, economic and cultural progress of our country and to the promotion of cooperation, understanding and love between the people and nations, aiming at the establishment of freedom, justice and peace; and with a clear orientation to the idea of a free country, our Greek identity and our Orthodox Christian tradition' (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1994, p. 17).

The Curriculum and school ethos are clearly built on the concepts of Greek national identity and Orthodox Christian religion. The general aim refers to the promotion of peace and love among nations and emphasizes 'the idea of a free country', a reminder of the continuing occupation of half the island. It is important to notice the reference to *Greek* national identity, instead of *Greek-Cypriot* or *Cypriot*; the use of the latter is sometimes considered as treachery against Greece (Papadakis, 2005). These aims are achieved through the national celebrations and commemorations that are held throughout the year, including singing the national anthem, parades, and other nationalistic activities, as the plays referred to earlier by Papadakis.

The above aims are reinforced by the ways in which religion forms a central part of Greek-Cypriot education. All schools are involved in activities of collective worship such as Holy Water ceremony, Morning Prayer, church service attendance, and Christmas and Easter celebrations. Each classroom has a Byzantine icon on the wall and confessions are regularly carried out in most schools. Some schools have a church and/or a confession room inside their premises. Many schools are named after saints, who are pictured on the schools' logos, uniforms and official documents.

A committee of academics from Cyprus and abroad (Commission for Educational Reform, 2004b), asked by the Ministry of Education and Culture to evaluate the educational system, concluded that:

> '[t]he ideological-political context of contemporary Cypriot education remains helleno-cyprio-centric, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic. The current ideological context ignores the interculturalism and multiculturalism of Cypriot society, as well as the Europeanization and internationalization of Cypriot education' (Commission for Educational Reform, 2004a, p. 4).

The Commission for Educational Reform (2004b), and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006) both suggested that the existing efforts in the field of intercultural education in Cyprus are emphasised and strengthened. Following political pressure for curriculum reconstruction because of the recent European orientation of Cyprus (Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997), the new government will introduce new curricula in autumn 2011.

Other studies of the Greek-Cypriot education system emphasise its nationalistic, ethnocentric, hellenocentric, traditionalist, monolinguistic, and monocultural character (Angelides, Stylianou, & Leigh, 2003; Trimikliniotis, 2004), which overshadows European citizenship perspectives (Philippou, 2007, 2009); hinders mutual respect and reunification of the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot communities (Makriyianni, in press); and, assimilates non-Greek-Cypriot pupils into the Cypriot culture through the textbooks and the curriculum (Angelides, Stylianou, & Leigh, 2004). Additionally, it is argued that constructions of the Cyprus Problem in textbooks are one-dimensional and result in the cultivation of hatred, as children only learn about violations of their own human rights (Constandinou, 2006; Philippou & Varnava, 2009).

The Commission for Educational Reform (2004b) also reported that teachers are troubled about their abilities to respond to their duties when working in diverse schools with a traditional ethos. Specifically, the teachers 'acknowledge the danger that, in a traditional school, children with a different cultural background are at risk of falling behind and/or facing many psychological problems because of the ignorance or contempt towards their cultural specificities' and are

'troubled by the relations of the local children with the migrants' children and the specific problems that the latter face in an unfamiliar environment which is not always characterized by elements of an open society' (Commission for Educational Reform, 2004b, p. 287). Even teachers who are willing to implement intercultural education may not do so because of the lack of appropriate training and teaching materials (Trimikliniotis, 2001).

Furthermore, according to the European Dilemma Research Project XENOPHOB (Trimikliniotis, 2005), the vast majority of teachers were either unaware of or in denial about racism, despite evidence of everyday racial discrimination. Teachers' ignorance or denial of institutional racism were also identified by Theodorou (2010) and Zembylas (2010a). Research on teachers' perceptions of diversity found that University of Cyprus student teachers held prejudiced assumptions about people from the African and Asian Mediterranean regions (Theophilides & Koutselini-Ioannides, 1999).

Teacher education in relation to intercultural education and issues of diversity and racism is almost non-existent. While some postgraduate modules on multiculturalism and globalization are offered at the University of Cyprus, no module on intercultural education is obligatory for the undergraduate programme, from which many Greek-Cypriot teachers graduate[16]. Regarding in-service intercultural training, the Ministry's Department of Primary Education, in cooperation with the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, offers a number of voluntary seminars promoting intercultural education (Nicolaides, 2005). Apart from these, the Ministry does not seem to emphasize in-service teacher training, possibly due to lack of awareness of international trends in the field (Angelides et al., 2003).

In sum, the Greek-Cypriot Primary Education Curriculum is monocultural and Christian-oriented, addressing a uniform, homogeneous population of Greek, White, Greek-speaking, Christian-Orthodox children. I agree with Koutselini-

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[16] A large number also study at Greek universities.

Ioannidou (1997, p. 407), that the curriculum may be supporting 'the pervasiveness of a supremacist national ideology'. The nationalist discourses and activities affect children's everyday school experiences and constitute, according to Trimikliniotis (2006), racial discrimination against non-Greek-Cypriots, whose numbers constantly increase, reflecting the demographic changes mentioned in 1.2.

1.4 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN GREEK-CYPRIOT EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Having presented an overview of the Greek-Cypriot educational system, I now turn to a critical discussion of intercultural education policy and implementation in Greek-Cypriot primary schools, drawing on policy documents and other studies.

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY

Reflecting the aforementioned demographic changes (1.2), the population of the 347 Greek-Cypriot primary schools included a percentage of 6.7% of 'foreign'/'other-language' pupils in 2006 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2006), 7.3% in 2007 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007b), and 9% in 2009 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009a). The percentage of 'other-language' pupils for the school year 2010-11 has risen to 12% (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010). Considering the continuing arrivals of asylum-seekers and economic migrants, this number constantly increases.

At the same time, Cyprus is a member of, and has subscribed to treaties, recommendations and declarations of international and European organizations like the United Nations, UNESCO, the Organization on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the European Union, which bring obligations and responsibilities to implement intercultural education (Batelaan & Coomans, 1999). Consequently, through a circular, the Ministry of Education and Culture (2002) introduced the rhetoric of intercultural education (διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση – diapolitismiki ekpedefsi) as an acknowledgement of the increasing

diversity of Cypriot society. Various circulars and policy documents constructing the official discourse about intercultural education were published since (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008b, 2008c). Some focus on the Year for Intercultural Dialogue, as 2008 was labelled by the Council of Europe (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007a, 2008a, 2008d).

Initially, intercultural education in Greek-Cypriot schools was not warmly welcomed by all:

> 'If they think that I would discolour Cypriot education, they should get it out of their mind! And I believe that the one who will attempt to do so will be faced with the Greeks of Cyprus, who are experiencing the invasion and occupation on the island. (...) If multiculturalism means that the Cypriot flag will be considered equal with ten other flags, and the Greek flag and the Greek national anthem will be considered equal with ten others, they should forget about it!' (Minister of Education and Culture Ouranios Ioannides, in Trimikliniotis, 2001, pp. 30-31)

The former Minister cited above appears to be issuing a threat on behalf of the 'Greeks of Cyprus' against supporters of multiculturalism who aim to present all nationalities as equal, and thus 'discolour' and de-hellenize Greek-Cypriots. The current official policy discourses regarding intercultural education are not as explicitly nationalistic and ethnocentric as the above statements. However, the conflict between intercultural education and the ethnocentric core of the educational system still exists (Trimikliniotis, 2004). Intercultural education in Cyprus, as in most of Europe, does not pervade the normal routine of schools and is not part of the mainstream curriculum (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009), but is based on policy guidelines for school initiatives.

One aspect of intercultural education policy and practice in Cyprus, though not officially framed as such, are schools belonging to the Zones of Education Priority (ZEP). Following the French model of state educational provisions (Zembylas, in press), schools of socially and economically deprived areas form networks and collaborate through joint programmes for the socialization of pupils. Eight nursery schools and ten primary schools belonged in the ZEP networks in 2009 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009a). These schools receive additional help

through measures such as lower numbers of pupils in each class, free breakfast, extra teachers for Greek support lessons, and, help to develop programmes for the prevention of school exclusion and violence. As these schools usually have large numbers of 'foreign' pupils, ZEP schools have become an important initiative of good practice in terms of intercultural education, as they may be better supported for combating discrimination and racism within education (Trimikliniotis, 2008a). However, many schools with highly diverse populations are not part of the ZEP network, such as the school researched for this study. For all mainstream schools, attempts for the implementation of intercultural education are based on the circulars informing them of the relevant policy, discussed next.

1.4.2 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES

A report prepared for the Ministry on *Intercultural Education and Schooling in Cyprus* (Roussou & Hadjiyianni-Yiangou, 2001)[17] provides the first definition of intercultural education in Greek-Cypriot policy discourse as:

> 'the education which prepares people for the social, political and economic situations that they will have to face in a multicultural society and at the same time offers them the opportunity to develop the necessary abilities for critical thought and way of behaviour in various cultural/social environments', aiming to 'create such circumstances which will help the other-language children to become naturally and evenly integrated in the Greek-Cypriot Public School, giving them, at the same time, opportunities to develop and nurture their own language and civilization' (p. 27).

The definition is based on a pragmatic perspective of intercultural education as a means of preparation for life in a multicultural society, where critical thought and intercultural ways of conduct are valued as useful. The aim for minoritized pupils' 'natural' and 'even' integration into the majority culture reveals the assimilationist assumptions of the policy.

The above extract and the Ministry's discourse in general typically refer to minoritized pupils as 'other-language' [αλλόγλωσσοι – *alloglossoi*], focusing on

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[17] Though not an official policy document, this report set the basis for the circulars and policy guidelines distributed by the Ministry.

language and discursively ignoring other aspects of their identities. The term is not met anywhere else in international literature on multicultural education and thus indicates the hegemonic prevalence of Greek language (Zembylas, 2010b). 'Other-language' is used interchangeably in official policy texts with 'alien' [αλλοδαποί – *allodapoi*], 'foreigners' [ξένοι – *xenoi*], and 'foreign-language' [ξενόγλωσσοι – *xenoglossoi*]. All these lexical choices, according to Zembylas (2010b) create and maintain particular everyday ideologies and popular discursive conceptualizations of minoritized groups, revealing implicit ideological assumptions and power/knowledge relationships.

A summary of the aforementioned report (Roussou & Hadjiyianni-Yiangou, 2001) was disseminated to all schools through the Circular *Intercultural Education and Schooling* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2002). This sets intercultural education and an emphasis on diversity as priority objectives, and encourages schools to become involved 'in activities which reinforce this aspect of education and create attitudes of tolerance and respect for diversity in both pupils and teachers' (Nicolaides, 2005, p. 71). The circular offers guidelines for the linguistic, social and cultural support of 'other-language' pupils.

The linguistic support focuses on teaching Greek as a second language, which concerns most of the aims and measures taken in the context of intercultural education. Newly-arrived migrant students are placed in a mainstream classroom a year lower than their age level as 'auditors'; they are thus excluded from their peers and their academic progress is placed at risk. They attend mainstream lessons regularly, except for two weekly periods of 40 minutes, when they are offered Greek language support lessons (ενίσχυση) for two years. These are usually taught by teachers without training in second language or bilingual education. Children are organized in small groups based on their level of Greek knowledge, including various ages and linguistic backgrounds. The teaching material is provided by Greece or diaspora schools of Cyprus and does not necessarily meet the needs of children's backgrounds. Studies have shown that most teachers consider this support insufficient in terms of time and material provided (Angelides et al., 2003; Papamichael, 2006; Theodorou, 2008;

Trimikliniotis, 2001). Furthermore, placing newly-arrived children in mainstream classrooms and occasionally removing them for support lessons normalizes their marginalization (Gregoriou, 2008).

Criticizing such policies and practices, Zembylas (2010b) argues that intercultural education philosophy and practice are based on the inability of non-indigenous children to speak Greek, constructing them as deficient and inferior, ignoring first language and bilingual education, and aiming to their assimilation in the majoritized linguistic community. Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) also argue that educational practices in Cyprus treat diversity as a type of deficiency which needs to be treated. Such compensatory approaches in Britain in the 1960s constructed minority ethnic pupils as educationally problematic, in need of compensation for their cultural and linguistic deficiencies, while they normalized whiteness and British culture (Archer, 2003).

1.4.3   CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACISM IN THE POLICY DISCOURSE

Regarding the social and cultural support of minoritized children, the suggestions in the aforementioned circular (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2002) include the promotion of their cultural identity and respect for difference through activities such as celebrations involving traditional dress, flags, maps, stamps, songs, folklore, fairy tales, food and dance. The circular emphasises that activities of celebration of diversity:

> 'contribute to the *foregrounding of the other-language children's culture and civilization* and to their *easier acceptance* by the native children and their parents, as well as to the *fight against xenophobia and any racist tendencies'* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2002, p. 10, original emphasis).

The concept of racism, which is generally overlooked in the official policy discourses, is referred to here as *'xenophobia and any racist tendencies'*, which the celebrations of diversity are able to *'fight'*. Thus, racism is conceptualized as individual learned prejudice and is assumed to be challenged through learning about and accepting other cultures. It is also worth noting the use of the term xenophobia instead of racism and the addition of 'any' in front of 'racist tendencies'. Both discursive strategies, I would argue, result in the minimization

of the significance of racism by employing the more acceptable term of xenophobia[18] and by constructing racist tendencies in an indefinite manner, thus adding a cloud of doubt as to whether they are really present in Greek-Cypriot schools.

In addition, a report by Trimikliniotis (2008a) points to the lack of comprehensive data regarding monitoring and addressing racist incidents in schools. He cites correspondence with the Ministry, which stated that it has no access to studies or large scale relevant research. However, the Ministry argues that, on the basis of information obtained from schools, 'the problem of racism and xenophobia is of a limited volume' in Cypriot schools (Trimikliniotis, 2008a, p. 2). Similarly, in 2010, the Minister of Education and Culture Andreas Demetriou minimized the existence of racism in Greek-Cypriot schools by stating that '[w]e do not think we have a serious problem (...) on occasion some minor incidents can occur, but we do not think we really have any serious problem' (Heller, 2010). Institutional racism as such is never mentioned in the policies, neither implied, while there is no antiracist policy in schools. Qualitative research in three highly diverse Greek Cypriot primary schools concluded that:

> '[s]ystemic, institutional or structural racism seems to be deeply and routinely institutionalised to such an extent that it that has become part of *everyday normality*. Racism has thus been *normalized'*(Trimikliniotis, Papayiannis, & Christodoulou, 2004, p. 107, original emphasis).

Furthermore, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006, pp. 15-16) reports that despite the few existing training opportunities, there is still 'lack of thorough understanding of and genuine sensitivity to human rights by many teachers'. The Ministry responded negatively to this, but, at the same time, did not deny that there are instances of discrimination on behalf of some teachers against minoritized pupils:

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[18] Discursive research in Belgium and Austria has shown that the term xenophobia generally carries less negative connotations than racism (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Gotsbachner, 2001). The Greek origin of the term may also be contributing to its acceptance in the Greek-Cypriot context (see 5.2 for its use by participants in this study).

'The official policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture is the awareness of human rights by educators and pupils alike. Possible traits of discrimination among some teacher may reflect *individual opinion*, which, in no way, interferes with the formal teaching, which abides the Ministry's official policy' (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2006, p. 69, my emphasis).

The Ministry's argument is in line with the individualistic perceptions of racism as the result of isolated acts of people who are the 'bad apples of society', an assumption expressed in public discourses by politicians and religious leaders. The educational authorities ignore or deny the presence of institutional racism processes and attribute responsibility to certain teachers, whom they pathologize as individuals who have 'possible traits of discrimination'. However, 'it is simply inadequate to respond to racism in education by seeking to heap yet more blame on teachers and teacher trainers' (Gillborn, Youdell, & Kirton, 1999, p. 15). Some training seminars held to assist teachers in promoting awareness of racism and racial discrimination among pupils are insufficient, and teachers are still not equipped with tools to address such manifestations (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2006). The Ministry's construction of racism could be related to the teachers' ignorance or denial of institutional and other forms of racism identified in previous research (1.3). Also, as the data analysis in this thesis shows, the Ministry's constructions are reflected in participants' understandings of racism.

1.4.4 CRITICIZING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY IN CYPRUS

Most publications regarding Greek-Cypriot intercultural education have focused on criticizing the policy. Employing critical discourse analysis, Zembylas (2010b) examined how intercultural education, multiculturalism, difference and culture are discursively constructed in official policy documents from 2002 until 2008. Despite a few marginalized instances of liberal and pluralist views — a possible consequence of the accession of Cyprus in the EU — he found that multiculturalism is generally negatively constructed as an unavoidable reality; the terms 'us', 'them', 'culture', and 'cultural identity' are constructed in essentialist ways. The majoritized are excluded from any involvement or responsibility for intercultural education.

Similarly, analyzing the Greek-Cypriot intercultural education policy, Gregoriou and Michael (2008, p. 3) concluded that the interest in migrants and the educational measures for their integration rely on 'a purist ideology of Greek Cypriot national identity' or 'an essentialist concept of a "common Cypriot culture"' and result in various forms of 'inclusive exclusion' for migrants. Gregoriou's (2004, p. 245) earlier philosophical analysis suggests that through the official intercultural education discourses 'the welcoming of multiculturalism became the inspiration for an invocation to our historically 'homogeneous' society' and multiculturalism was 'addressed as an effect of global socio-economic change rather than as a question pointing to the re-appreciation of our historical ethnic diversity and ethnic divides'.

Considering the above, it appears that intercultural education in Cyprus belongs to the *contributions* approach (Banks, 2006) of multicultural education, emphasizing celebrations of diversity and treating racism as individual prejudice. One of the most heavily criticized types of multicultural education, it is the one most frequently met, especially in schools attempting for the first time to work towards a multicultural curriculum. It is characterized by the occasional insertion of ethnic heroes and heroines and cultural elements such as food, dances and music, with little attention paid to their meanings and importance. Intercultural education in Cyprus also includes elements of the *additive approach* (Banks, 2006), which does not involve restructuring of the curriculum, but choices and additions of ethnic content, concepts, and perspectives based on Eurocentric criteria. It requires little time and effort on behalf of the teachers and is therefore the easiest approach to 'doing' multicultural education. Activities in the context of the contributions approach have been criticized and rejected for their often tokenistic character (Coelho, 1998; Coulby, 2006; Gaine, 1995, 2005; Leeman, 2003; Massey, 1991; Parekh, 2006; Pearce, 2005; Troyna & Hatcher, 1992a). They became known as '3Ss: Saris, Samosas and Steelbands' in the UK (Troyna & Williams, 1986) or '3Fs: Food, Festivals and Famous men' (Coelho,

1998) and tourist curricula in the US (Ramsey, 2009), and couscous pedagogy in France (Lemaire, 2009)[19].

After the completion of the data collection phase of this study, further guidelines on intercultural education were disseminated through a circular (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008b) situating intercultural education in the context of the aims identified by the Commission for Educational Reform (2004b). The circular states that within the aims of education are the creation of a democratic school, integration and equal opportunities, and, acknowledgement and respect of diversity, multiculturalism and pluralism (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008b). The measures suggested for the attainment of these goals emphasize, similarly to previous policy documents, the teaching of, and teacher training for, Greek as a second language. New elements are included, such as the preparation of the *Guide to Education in Cyprus* for newly-arrived pupils and their families in Greek as well as the eight foreign languages most commonly met in schools[20] (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009b), which is expected to improve home-school communication. Another official publication by the Ministry is forthcoming, prepared by the Pedagogical Institute and titled 'Intercultural Education for the smooth integration of pupils with migrant biographies in the schools and society of Cyprus' (Kyriakidou, 2010). Supported by EU funds, it will be published in Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Ukrainian, Russian and Turkish and it will assert the Ministry's five priority axes in terms of intercultural education: learning the Greek language, reception of newly-arrived 'other-language' pupils, teacher training, collection and analysis of data regarding the needs of other-language pupils, and, incorporation of an intercultural approach in the new curricula.

Despite these changes in discourse, which construct multicultural education as addressing all children and acknowledge the need for curricular changes,

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[19] Section 2.2.1 in the next chapter critically discusses the implications of such approaches.

[20] English, Turkish, Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Georgian, Ukrainian, and Arabic.

similarly to previous policy documents, there is no explicit reference to challenging racism and discrimination. Also, the term 'other-language' is maintained and continues to essentialize linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the suggestion for the 'addition of intercultural elements' in the curriculum (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008b, p. 3), reveals the continuing additive approach to multicultural education based on the hegemonic knowledge of the majoritized group (Zembylas, 2010b).

In sum, the critical discussion of intercultural education policy in Greek-Cypriot primary schools in this section has shown that it views minoritized pupils based on a deficit model of diversity as a disadvantage that needs to be treated; essentializes and reifies culture and ethnicity; prioritizes the learning of Greek language with assimilatory implications; promotes a model of intercultural education based on contributions and additions by 'other cultures'; constructs racism as a pathologizing individualistic attribute that may be challenged through 'learning' about other cultures; and, ignores institutional and structural racism and inequalities. The next section reviews existing research in the field of Greek-Cypriot education in relation to intercultural education, diversity and racism in order to identify the research gaps which this thesis partially addresses.

1.5   IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH GAPS

The research field in Cyprus has been dominated by psychological, sociological and anthropological studies of the impact of the Cyprus Problem in both communities, investigating the degree, depth and content of the deeply nationalistic, stereotypical and hostile ways in which they construct each other (Philippou, 2005). Recently, an increasing number of anthropological studies has shifted the focus to a discussion of Cypriot society in relation to socio-cultural global and local contexts (Anthias, 2006). Though the field of intercultural education in Cyprus is under-investigated, there is a growing interest in the area, evident in mainly qualitative studies of diversity, racism and nationalism, focusing on educational structures, teachers, and children. Such studies problematize the dominant discourses on education and focus on phenomena of

racism and discrimination towards minoritized children (Gregoriou & Michael, 2008).

The previous sections in this chapter referred to research identifying racial discrimination, racism and exclusion as factors affecting the lives of migrants and asylum-seekers in Cyprus (1.2). Studies also pointed to the nationalistic, exclusionary character of Greek-Cypriot education, the lack of teacher training (1.3), and the assimilationist and essentialist intercultural education discourses and practices (1.4). Some Greek-Cypriot academics have, mostly in the last decade, produced research that explores relevant issues in the sphere of the everyday. These studies, mostly qualitative, are preoccupied with children's constructions of 'self' and 'other'; teachers' understandings of diversity; and, racialization processes and discrimination practices within schools.

Regarding children's constructions of themselves, research identified that Greek-Cypriot children are sensitive to skin colour, race and ethnicity, displaying 'a strong emotional investment on themselves as white Greeks', especially in a context with Turkish-speaking children (Zembylas, 2010a). An NGO report (Polykarpou, 2005, p. 18) refers to a study of high school students' attitudes towards migrants where 45% of the children stated that they believed the Greek race to be the supreme and 82% stated that they would not marry a non-Christian. Philippou's (2005, p. 308) qualitative study on children's construction of national and European identities, indicated that Greek-Cypriot children showed 'no multiculturally sophisticated understandings of 'Cypriot' as inclusive of any other community of Cyprus, but was rather synonymous to Greek-Cypriot, an understanding encouraged by the Hellenocentrism of the school context'.

Studies have more extensively explored Greek-Cypriot children's constructions of the 'other'. Spyrou (2009) interviewed fifth- and sixth-grade children about their views of Sri Lankan and Filipino domestic workers and found that their understandings included stereotypes, prejudices and ignorance. A quantitative study with children of the same age (Spyrou, 2006c) showed that they had an overall negative picture of foreigners; only a minority were positive towards

living with 'foreign' people in Cyprus. Another study by Philippou (2006), combining quantitative and qualitative data, focused on ten-year-old Greek-Cypriot children's social representations of various ethnic out-groups. Greeks and Turks held the exact opposite positions of absolute positive and negative attributions, a binary often used as a tool to evaluate other groups. Even migrant children's choices of their favourite and least favourite countries reflected stereotypical dichotomies of the progressive West-North and the backward East-South which also appeared to influence their everyday relationships (Theodorou, in press).

A study combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies investigated the ideological perceptions, stances, feelings and reported behaviour of 1281 10-16-year-old Greek-Cypriot students towards migrants and identified a polyphony of stances and repertoires (Zembylas & Lesta, 2010). More than half participants (54%) expressed negative feelings about migrants such as 'antipathy, indifference, disgust, avoidance and fear', and constructed them and as 'dirty, bad, dangerous, uncivilized and criminals' and 'a threat for national identity' (Zembylas & Lesta, 2010, p. 7). While some recognized and named their behaviours and discourses as racist and discriminatory, others did not realize their racist effects. However, a quarter of participants referred to respect, appreciation, admiration, compassion and sympathy towards migrants, who they considered to be equal to Cypriots and were willing to relate to them interpersonally (Zembylas & Lesta, 2010). Reports about racialized incidents in a school with a diverse pupil population are also met in a study by Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007), who highlight the manifestation of racist incidents and bullying because of dress, financial status and skin colour that were described in their interviews with children and parents from various ethnic backgrounds.

Most studies focusing on a single minoritized group concern Turkish-speaking[21] pupils, including Turkish-Cypriots and Roma[22], attending Greek-Cypriot schools in

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[21] Turkish-speaking is used in the relevant studies to refer to Turkish-Cypriot and Roma populations residing in the south of Cyprus and attending Greek-Cypriot primary schools. There is

the south (Demetriou & Trimikliniotis, 2006; Spyrou, 2004; Symeou et al., 2009; Trimikliniotis, 2003; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009a; Zembylas, 2010a, 2010c, 2010e, in press). Spyrou (2004) identified serious problems due to the inappropriate curriculum, the lack of a common language for communication, teachers' and Greek-Cypriot parents' essentialist views of Roma culture and Turkish-speaking children, as well as racist practices of scapegoating, exclusion, name-calling and labeling. Other research (Demetriou & Trimikliniotis, 2006; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009a) pointed to the implications of such assumptions and practices for Roma children's poor educational performance and school attendance. The study also found that policymakers' perceptions of Roma children are similar to their perceptions of other migrant children, even though Roma are constitutionally recognized as Cypriot citizens and are entitled to education in Turkish – one of the official languages of the Republic of Cyprus. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006) also reported that prejudice and rejection from the families of the local community resulted in discrimination of Roma children in access to education.

A recent ethnographic study in three multicultural primary schools with large numbers of Turkish-speaking pupils examines children's and teachers' discourses and highlights the ways in which the intersection of emotion and race/ethnicity shapes and maintains racialization and ethnicization processes on the school level (Zembylas, in press). Drawing on data from the same project, Zembylas (2010a) analyses Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-speaking children's constructions of racism and nationalism and shows how these intersecting processes result in particular identity positions becoming institutionalized. Elsewhere, Zembylas (2010f) demonstrates how the racialization and ethnicization of school emotional spaces, embedded in institutional, teacher and children discourses and practices,

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evidence that Turkish-Cypriots try to distinguish themselves from the Roma to avoid even more negative racialized identity ascriptions. However, the term Turkish-speaking is preferred (Zembylas, in press) because it is more inclusive and avoids possible mistakes in distinguishing between who is 'ethnically' Turkish-Cypriot or Roma.

[22] Estimates place the total Roma population in the whole of Cyprus between 500-2500, of which around 560-570 are speculated to be living in nomadized groups in the south (Symeou, Karagiorgi, Roussounidou, & Kaloyirou, 2009; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009b).

contributes to the promotion of 'an emotional culture of resentment' towards Turkish-speaking students, especially the Roma, overloaded with racial and ethnic markers. While questions of interethnic conflict were excluded from the scope of intercultural education by early research on intercultural education in Cyprus (Gregoriou & Michael, 2008), Zembylas' (in press, p. 8) analysis explicitly shows how 'the ethnic division of Cyprus is rescaled down to classroom and school life through the creation of toxic and politically charged emotional geographies'. Overall, it appears that despite the introduction of supportive measures and the official policies of non-segregation, the marginalization of Roma children continues (Symeou et al., 2009).

Spyrou (2000; 2001b; 2002; 2006a; 2006b) extensively analyses how nationalistic discourses in education affect children's identity constructions, by creating essentialized identities and leading to the identification of Turks as the 'Other' and the 'eternal enemy'. The few teachers who present children with messages that oppose the official Hellenocentric nationalistic educational discourse, do so indirectly or ambiguously (Spyrou, 2001a). Since teachers themselves were educated in a nationalistic school ethos it is not surprising that they reproduce ethnic stereotypes (Spyrou, 2001b).

Trimikliniotis (2001) reports examples of Pontian children being subjected to racial discrimination within the school, problematic home-school relations, segregation tendencies within and outside the school, institutional monoculturalism and lack of teacher training for multicultural education. Another report argues that the absence of social integration policy and intercultural education leads to the 'increased racialization of Pontian students and the normalization of multiple forms of exclusion and marginalization in schools' (Gregoriou, 2008, p. 37). Theodorou's (2008; 2010; 2011 in press; in press) ethnographic study in another diverse school of Cyprus also identifies the ethnicized and classed exclusion and racialization of Pontian children.

Fewer studies have looked at teachers' assumptions about immigrant groups. A recent ethnographic study in a multicultural primary school (Theodorou, 2008)

found that, despite teachers' good intentions, misconstrued notions of parental indifference, lower expectations, and lower quality relationships with immigrant families prevailed in teacher practices, confirming the existence of a cultural deficit model guiding teachers' practices. Elsewhere, Theodorou (2010) identifies teachers' difference- or colour-blind approaches towards diversity, in agreement with my MA findings (Preface).

In a unique qualitative study focusing on 17 Greek-Cypriot principals' perceptions about diversity and multicultural education, Zembylas (2010d) found that half adopted a conservative multicultural approach and an assimilationist framework, while linking their 'foreign' students with the social problems of Cypriot society and the national problem. The few principals who displayed critical multiculturalist views appeared open to change and diversity within their school and the wider social context – an encouraging finding, according to Zembylas.

Particularly in relation to Roma children, Greek-Cypriot teachers who participated in teacher training of the INSErvice Training for Roma Inclusion project in Cyprus appeared to be anxious in teaching Roma children, holding low expectations, and even arguing that Roma children are predestined for school failure (Symeou et al., 2009). Related are also the findings of a study investigating teachers' difficulties in dealing with a new policy initiative for the cultivation of peaceful co-existence in Greek-Cypriot schools (Zembylas, Charalambous, Charalambous, & Kendeou, 2010 in press). The study found that despite teachers' positivity towards reconciliation on a rhetorical level, they appeared to face rather discouraging ideological, emotional and practical difficulties in its implementation.

Overall, the aforementioned studies identify racialization, nationalism, exclusion, institutional racism, and discrimination as present in Greek-Cypriot education. They demonstrate that Greek-Cypriot and minoritized pupils attend schools where nationalist discourses and negative perceptions of otherness predominate, with negative consequences on minoritized children's lives. They also highlight the lack of teacher education for them to enter diverse classrooms

feeling emotionally, practically and materially prepared. It is against this backdrop that the research aims and questions of this study have developed.

1.6   RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTIONS

Identifying needs for further research in relation to intercultural education, discrimination and racism in the Greek-Cypriot educational system, Trimikliniotis (2004, p. 60) highlights the 'remarkable' absence of extensive empirical and theoretical research in Cyprus, considering the role of education in the 'shaping and the reshaping of 'national' sentiments, prejudice, racial stereotypes, myths, discourses and attitudes about ethnic minorities, migrants and the 'other''. Of course, several research projects by Greek-Cypriot researchers in the field were completed or are ongoing since Trimikliniotis' statement, as we saw in 1.5. At the same time, intersections of racialization and ethnicization and other oppressions, remain under-researched in Cyprus (Zembylas, 2010a). Gregoriou (2008) identifies the need to focus on intercultural interactions within school contexts in Cyprus, which can enable the identification of normalized forms of racialized and gendered violence as well as forms of cultural interaction that promote migrant and non-migrant students' agency. This study, therefore, by exploring intercultural education discourses and practices and racialization processes within a diverse school context, aims to contribute to knowledge and understandings in these areas regarding Greek-Cypriot education.

Internationally, research on racism and education has a comparatively short history, with most studies in the field carried out in British schools (Ryan, 2003). Generally, there are gaps in research related to the extent to which teachers' expectations, attitudes and practices and the curriculum and school structures affect minoritized children's educational outcomes and wider benefits (Stevens, 2007). On a level wider than national research, the study aspires to contribute to the international field, enabling the possibility for comparison of theories, policies and practices of intercultural education and racialization processes of various national contexts with Cyprus. It may thus contribute to the theoretical discussion and empirical implementation of intercultural education in Europe,

where there is lack of complete extensive, especially qualitative, research (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009).

Research should not only identify whether teachers or school processes are racist or discriminating, but explore how such phenomena are developed and activated in specific contexts (Stevens, 2007). My personal concerns as a primary school teacher, discussed in the Preface, in addition to the aforementioned research findings inevitably give teachers' discourses and practices in relation to diversity and racism a central focus in this study. This study is concerned with teachers' role in racialization processes and the implications on minoritized children's school experience. It looks into both the discursive and structural aspects of racialization processes and their outcomes in a particular context. Specifically, it addresses the following research questions in the backdrop of intercultural education in a Greek-Cypriot primary school:

1. How do teachers construct diversity and multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot society? (Chapter 4)
2. How is the Other constructed through their accounts about diversity? (Chapter 4)
3. How do teachers construct racism on a school and wider society level? (Chapter 5)
4. Which factors contribute to the racialization of minoritized children and groups? How are they differentially racialized? (Chapter 6)
5. How do individuals negotiate or resist processes of racialization? (Chapter 6)
6. How do teachers construct minoritized children and diversity in their everyday classroom practices? (Chapter 7)
7. How do minoritized children experience intercultural education in their everyday school life? (Chapter 7)

These questions are explored through an ethnographic research project in a primary school in the south of Cyprus, where the pupil population, in addition to Greek-Cypriots, is made of a third of Eastern European children, mainly of Pontian economic migrant families, and rapidly increasing numbers of Iraqi-Palestinian children of asylum-seekers (Appendix 10.1).

Considering the overview of previous studies in the field, referred to throughout this chapter and specifically in 1.5, I would argue that the research presented in this thesis is unique and significant in several ways. As opposed to many studies

focusing on ZEP schools (1.4.1), or schools with large numbers of Turkish-speaking children, this study explores the everyday realities of a school that most Greek-Cypriots would consider 'normal', with a population consisting of children from various backgrounds, as well as Greek-Cypriot. It sheds light to the realities of the aforementioned social changes in Cyprus, as the school is attended by increasing numbers of Iraqi-Palestinian newly-arrived asylum-seekers, a phenomenon more recent than the economic migration from Eastern Europe since the 1990s. Investigating the co-existence of these two minoritized groups alongside Greek-Cypriots is expected to provide insights into these new realities of Cyprus. As a theoretical and analytical contribution, this is done with an intersectional approach, which has not been extensively employed in Greek-Cypriot research. My research also contributes to the limited number of qualitative ethnographic studies on issues of intercultural education, diversity and racism in Greek-Cypriot schools. Importantly, this thesis identifies Greek-Cypriot teachers' discursive repertoires of diversity and understandings of racism, linking them with their everyday classroom practices and examining their implications for minoritized children's school experience.

The study also contributes to educational research internationally, as it adds to the interdisciplinary developing fields of intersectionality and racialization, bringing them together, along with analytical tools from discursive psychology. Influenced by poststructuralist thought on a theoretical, methodological and conceptual level, the above approaches combined may enhance our understandings of the contemporary shifting racisms and inequalities. These are necessary for the promotion of equality and social justice through education, to which this study remains committed.

1.7 OUTLINE OF THESIS CHAPTERS

Following the socio-political and educational contexts within which this study is located and the research questions presented in this chapter, **Chapter 2**, building on the criticisms directed towards multicultural and other critical educational approaches for failing to challenge racisms and inequalities, presents the theoretical and conceptual framework which informs the exploration of

intercultural education realities in this study. After a brief review of the history and definitions of racism, the chapter makes explicit the ways this study has been influenced by discursive psychology, differential racialization and intersectionality.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the methodological and analytical frameworks which inform this study, namely the ethnographic and discursive approaches. Data collection methods of interviewing and observations, as well as the transcription and translation processes are discussed in detail. The study employs discourse analysis with the use of interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and discursive racism denials. The researcher's representation and role in the co-construction of the research process along with the participants are considered, and so are the various ethical considerations of the research.

Chapter 4, the first analytical chapter, identifies the five interpretative repertoires that are available to teachers as cultural resources from which they construct their accounts about diversity in Greek-Cypriot society. The chapter discusses typical and marginal examples of each emerging repertoire and presents their accompanying constructions of diversity. The interpretative repertoires provide the discursive background about diversity in Cyprus through which they construct notions of Self and Other.

Chapter 5 identifies teachers' constructions of racism on a social and school level, as these emerge in interview data. Few teachers show subtle awareness of institutional forms of racism in Greek-Cypriot society, but do not define them as such. Most teachers deny racism exists in children's lives because of their young age. At the same time, some teachers normalize racialized name-calling as a characteristic of childrens' relations. Teachers who describe racialized harassment incidents avoid defining them as racist and often construct minoritized children's behaviour or personality as the cause. The few teachers who acknowledge that racism operates in children's relations on a school level attribute this to parental influence, which the few interventions implemented cannot challenge.

Chapter 6 identifies the processes through which teachers' and children's discourses and practices differentially racialize minoritized children as groups and individuals. It particularly refers to the only Indian boy at the school, Arun, and the main minoritized groups of Eastern Europeans and Iraqi-Palestinians. Analysis of interviews and observations identifies the various factors contributing to minoritized children's differential racialization, including national origin, religion, skin colour, appearance, language, gender, and time of arrival. Racialized constructions may be positive or negative and are usually highly gendered. The chapter ends with a discussion of resistance and negotiation strategies that some children employ in order to counteract the negative racializing discourses and practices that themselves or others encounter in their everyday school life.

The final data analysis chapter, Chapter 7, focuses on the experiences of a newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian boy in fourth grade, Hashim. Analysing interview and observation data with two of his teachers, Maria and Antonia, the chapter shows how Hashim receives and responds to the different practices of his teachers. Whereas Maria seems to unwittingly contribute to the effects of institutional racism on Hashim's everyday experience, Antonia, within the same structural constraints, adjusts the curriculum and incorporates Hashim in her teaching. The analysis juxtaposes teachers' repertoires of diversity, understandings of intercultural education and classroom practices to reveal several ambivalences and complexities, which affect Hashim's school experience.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings of the thesis and produces a synthesis in light of international and national research in the field. It discusses the implications of the thesis findings on a wider social and educational level, and offers suggestions for further research. The thesis ends with some final thoughts regarding diversity and education in Greek-Cypriot society.

2   CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Taking as a point of departure the need for education to address the various inequalities and shifting racisms exacerbated in a globalized setting of increasing diversity (1.1 and 1.2), this chapter begins with an overview of the various multicultural education approaches responding to racisms and inequalities internationally (2.2). Identified as mainly located within the contributions approach of multicultural education (1.4.4), Greek-Cypriot intercultural education policy may consequently be subjected to the criticisms of such approaches, offered by multiculturalist, antiracist and critical theorists discussed in 2.2.1. The chapter also reviews the criticisms that approaches such as antiracist education received from postmodernist critics (2.2.2). My review identifies Critical Race Theory (henceforth CRT) and critical multiculturalism as recent approaches within the field in response to the various criticisms. They promote educational frameworks that view racism as multiple and changing, affecting the structural and individual aspects of people's everyday realities (2.2.3). Based on this perception of racism as both structural and personal, the remaining chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework which informs the analysis. Acknowledging the multiplicity of the context-specific racisms, the chapter presents certain conceptualizations of racism that assist my analysis: institutional, dysconscious, colourblind, and everyday (2.3). In addition, the theoretical concepts of differential racialization (2.4), racist discourse from the field of discursive psychology (2.5), and intersectionality (2.6) define the approach of this study and guide the exploration of intercultural education discourses and everyday practices, and the discourses and practices of teachers and children in Cyprus.

2.2   MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION RESPONSES TO RACISM AND INEQUALITIES

Multicultural education began as a response by African American scholars to the negative schooling experiences of Black people (Banks & Banks, 2004) and

developed during the period of the civil rights' movement in the 1960s in the US (Banks, 2004). It emerged as a powerful challenge to the Eurocentric foundations of the US curriculum (McCarthy, 1993) and its various approaches developed as a response to exclusionary and assimilationist forms of schooling (Castles, 2009). Drawing on the work of US scholars, multicultural education was later developed in the UK, where the first government policies were implemented in 1970, with Canada following in 1971, Australia[23] in 1978, and later Japan, India and South Africa (Banks, 2009). Differences in the time period during which multicultural education emerged in each country indicate the significance of each unique historical and geographical context.

On a European level outside the UK, intercultural education was introduced in the mid-1970s by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers of Education, 2003). Fuelled by the increasing migration, intercultural education in Europe was influenced by civil rights movements in the US, debates in international and supranational organizations, and the increasing consciousness of European diversity as a resource (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009). Initially referring to a framework for the education of migrant children (Fyfe, 1993), intercultural education in Europe was further developed in the 1990s, when policies became more inclusive (Osler & Starkey, 2005). By 2005, the migrants' original languages in school curricula and multilingual education were seen as means for better integration of migrant students, while in 2008, the Year of Intercultural Dialogue program[24] of the Council of Europe proposed initiatives for the implementation of intercultural education, including the European and international dimensions (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009).

Despite the acknowledgement of the conceptual and terminological difficulties in the field (1.1), a widely disseminated definition comes from one of the most

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[23] For more on Australia see Kalantzis and Cope (1999) and Leeman and Reid (2006).

[24] As seen in 1.4.1, the Greek-Cypriot Ministry sent guidelines to schools for implementation of this policy.

influential writers on multicultural education in the US and internationally, James A. Banks, who defines multicultural education as having four dimensions (2001, pp. 8-15). The dimension of *content integration* refers to the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories. The *knowledge construction* process relates to the extent to which teachers help their students understand and investigate how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it. The dimension of *prejudice reduction* focuses on the characteristics of students' 'racial' attitudes and how these can be modified through teaching [25] . Last, multicultural education requires an *empowering school culture and social structure* for students from diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups by challenging grouping and labelling practices, disproportionality in achievement, and examining the interactions between staff and students across groups (Banks, 2001). Other definitions of multicultural and intercultural education are met in the literature, usually encompassing similar principles (for example, Aguado & Malik, 2001; Gorski, 2006; UNESCO, 2006).

Implementation of multi/intercultural education, like its definitions, has varied accordingly to historical and spatial contexts. In the UK, for example, educational policies in the field developed through the stages of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and antiracism (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Similar stages have been identified in Australia (Kalantzis & Cope, 1999). These stages did not arise in linear fashion and existed simultaneously in the various contexts. Overall, what seems to be at the heart of multiculturalism, despite the conceptual confusion, implementation differences, and simultaneity of stages, is a commitment to social justice and challenging social inequalities.

Since their introduction, major criticisms have targeted multicultural and antiracist education approaches in the US and the UK, as well as intercultural education on a European level. Among critics were conservatives such as Hirsch

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[25] As discussed later (2.2.1 and 3.8.1), understandings of prejudice as individual attribute are problematic and may further contribute to, rather than eliminate, the effects of racism.

(2008) who proposed the concept of cultural literacy and advocated in favour of a Core Knowledge curricular reform movement on a national level in the US. Such approaches go against democratic standards as they impose the dominant core knowledge, claiming it is representative of all (Buras, 2008), and are therefore contradictory to the point of departure of this thesis, which affirms that education has a role in challenging social inequalities. Neglect of structural inequalities, particularly institutional racism, became a point of departure for the antiracist critics of multicultural education (2.2.1), while essentialist constructions of identity within multiculturalism were criticized by postmodernist critics (2.2.2). For the purposes of this study, I next discuss these two major critiques of multicultural education.

2.2.1 THE ANTIRACIST CRITIQUE

> 'Challenging dominant ethnic, gender and class based cultural constructs, as multiculturalism does, and as the celebration of difference does, is part of the fight against inequality and subordination, but on its own isn't enough' (Anthias, 1998, p. 508).

As seen in 1.4.4, intercultural education in Cyprus, as it is prescribed by the official policy guidelines, falls under the contributions and additive approaches, promoting celebrations of diversity. Such multicultural education approaches were heavily criticized, mainly by leftist/antiracist authors, for having individualistic perceptions of racism and failing to challenge institutional racism. In other words, multiculturalism has been criticized for its tendency to focus on culture and curricular changes while neglecting structural concerns such as racism and socioeconomic inequality (Grant & Sleeter, 1998, 2004; May, 1999a, 2009; May & Sleeter, 2010a; Sleeter & Grant, 1988; Troyna & Williams, 1986). Brandt (1986, p. 117 in Gillborn, 2004, p. 37), an early critic of multicultural education in Britain, stated that 'multicultural education can be seen as the Trojan horse of institutional racism', describing how neglect of structural inequalities contributes to their reproduction. In Europe, intercultural education approaches have been similarly criticized for being conceptually poor, contributing to cultural reductionism, essentialism, ethnicization and

discrimination, and for neglecting socioeconomic factors (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009).

In 'celebrations of diversity', examining minority cultures while avoiding to criticize the dominant one results in the trivialization of ethnic cultures, the study of their strange and exotic characteristics, and the reinforcement of stereotypes and misconceptions about them (Banks, 2006; Parekh, 2006; Phoenix, 1998). In such multiculturalist discourses, religious holidays (Yuval-Davis, 1994) and ethnicity (May & Sleeter, 2010a) become the signifiers of cultural difference within school curricula. From this perspective, multiculturalism is criticized for reifying cultural difference and normalizing hegemonic culture (Anthias, 2001). Furthermore, treating difference 'as formal, ritualistic 'add ons'...may render the 'Other' problematic by reinforcing notions that some differences are more valuable or more 'normal' than others' (Phoenix, 1998, p. 865). In her critique of liberal multiculturalism, Anthias (2002a, p. 276) suggests that '[w]e must be careful not to fix, "museumise" and idealise cultures', our own or of others, as this results in stereotyping, essentialism and condemnation of other cultures. McCarthy et al (2005, p. 163) argue that such approaches to curriculum reform 'merely lead us down the path of a cultural illiteracy of the other – an illiteracy that we cannot afford in a world context of deepening globalization and interdependence'.

Teaching students and teachers about cultural differences through such liberal and benevolent multicultural approaches may, at best, have only mild and temporary effects (May & Sleeter, 2010a). Such types of multicultural education are based on Allport's (1954) theory, which views prejudice as a result of individual ignorance and assumes that if there is intercultural contact between groups, people begin to like each other and racism is eliminated (Phoenix, 1998). Such conceptualizations of prejudice are problematic as they tend to essentialize and pathologize 'the prejudiced individual', whether teacher or student, and make them the target for pedagogies that are supposed to 'cure' them (Rattansi, 1992, p. 25). However, it is argued that 'familiarity does not necessarily therefore

breed liking' and by dealing only with individualized notions of prejudice, multiculturalism fails to deal with racism (Phoenix, 1998, p. 867). In the words of Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 217), 'the psychologizing of racism seems to misplace the problem'.

Critics also argued that multicultural education fails to make connections, analyse and challenge inequalities in class relations. In the US (McLaren & Torres, 1999) and in Britain (M. Cole, 2004) this has been criticized as a theoretical disadvantage. McCarthy (1990) argues that any discussion of curriculum reform must address issues of representation and unequal distribution of material resources and power in society and suggests the *critical emancipatory multiculturalism* model for education.

Following these criticisms, antiracist education became the critical response to mainstream approaches of multicultural education in Britain. Developed in grass-roots politics and inspired by Black Power in the US and anti-colonial movements and former British colonies, the antiracist model opposed the assimilationist and multiculturalist approaches that preceeded it, focusing instead on the unifying concept of 'Blackness', differential power relations and discrimination (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Antiracists in the UK and Canada, Critical Race Theorists in the US, and critical educators from within multiculturalism criticized multicultural education and suggested alternative approaches, namely antiracist education (discussed in this section), CRT and critical multiculturalism (2.2.3).

In Britain, antiracism was concerned with issues of discrimination and disadvantage of black people and added antiracist policies regarding the employment of black teachers and the elimination of racism elements from the curricula to teaching pupils about their own and others' cultures (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). In Europe, the two major institutions of the Council of Europe and the EU, have introduced several policy initiatives on antiracism from 1997-2001 (Starkey & Osler, 2009). Though these policies demonstrate a consensus among European states about antiracist education, Starkey and Osler (2009)

rightly point to the danger that they remain a rhetorical commitment and avoid taking steps to challenge racism within educational structures.

The antiracist critique of multicultural education is represented through the work of several British educational ethnographers (Bhatti, 2004; Connolly, 1998b; Connolly & Troyna, 1998; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Mac an Ghaill, 1989; Troyna, 1991, 1993; Troyna & Hatcher, 1992a; Troyna & Williams, 1986; Wright, 1992). As part of the most developed research tradition in relation to racial and ethnic inequalities in England, these researchers explored the schooling experiences of minority ethnic pupils and identified institutional processes of racism and discrimination, as well as teachers' negative stereotypes and low expectations of minority children, affecting their self-esteem and educational outcomes, and contributing to general inequality (Stevens, 2007). For example, critique about the failure of education to challenge institutional racism in Britain is expressed by Gillborn (1997; 2002; 2005; 2008) and Tomlinson (2005; 2008). Gillborn (2002, p. 1) argues that 'racism (in its numerous, changing and sometimes hidden forms) pervades the very assumptions that shape [the British] education system'. Tomlinson (2008) provides an overview of educational issues and events related to race and education in Britain from the 1960s to 2007 and argues that the attempts of many schools, teachers and local authorities to incorporate minority children equitably in British education failed, as they were inhibited by the negative and contradictory government policies towards minorities and a reluctance to examine structural inequalities.

In sum, the antiracist critique of multicultural education targets its inability to recognize and challenge the various racisms on a structural and interpersonal level simultaneously.

2.2.2 THE POSTMODERNIST CRITIQUE
Multicultural and, to a greater extent, antiracist education approaches discussed above were criticized by postmodernist authors who argued that the sometimes narrow focus of antiracists on racism as the main factor in intercultural relations

fails to treat identities as multiple and fluid, leading to binary or essentialist conceptualizations of difference (May, 1999a). For example, in the 1990s, antiracist education in Britain was criticized by Left academics who questioned the notions of identity and politics in some antiracist practices (Gillborn, 2004). Appearing to lack clear principles and theory (Gillborn, 2006), antiracism was described as 'an ill-defined and changing concept' (Gillborn, 2004, p. 35). In the US, McLaren and Torres (1999) were heavily critical of the Black/White racism paradigm, which they viewed as preventing engagement with the specificities of particular groups and exploration of comparative ethnic histories of racism and their links with class relations.

Donald and Rattansi (1992, p. 3) warn that a narrow focus on institutional racism may underestimate 'the resilience, malleability and power of race as a discursive category'. The antiracists' critique of multiculturalists for focusing on prejudice and attitudes and neglecting structural and institutional racism, Rattansi (1992) argues, misses the fact that challenging prejudice is a much more complex issue, full of contradictions, inconsistencies and ambivalences. Instead, intersections of class, gender and sexuality should be central in any process of racialization (Rattansi, 1999).

Overall, the postmodernist critique led to a move beyond the Black/White dualistic model of racial discrimination and researchers began to consider the consequences of globalization on the construction of identities (1.1), and thus to view racism as heterogeneous, changing, conflicting, and related to the intersections between gender, sexuality, social class and ethnicity (Stevens, 2007). These principles set the conceptual and analytical framework of this study.

2.2.3 CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM

While 'no single critique simultaneously takes up the range of concerns that multiculturalism seeks to address' (May & Sleeter, 2010a, pp. 9-10), two recent approaches in the field attempt to respond to the aforementioned critiques and provide points of departure for critical discussions. In the US since the 1990s, and more recently in Britain, a major response to the failure of multicultural

education to consider or challenge institutional racism and its intersections with other forms of subordination has been CRT (Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004). As Ladson-Billings (1998, p. 22) writes about the US, 'in its current practice iteration, multicultural education is but a shadow of its conceptual self', because it fails to engage students in critical thinking about the actual realities and is manifested through the superficial 'celebrations of diversity' described earlier (2.2.1). Acknowledging that antiracism, similarly to multiculturalism, has been 'reduced to a meaningless slogan', Gillborn (2006, p. 14) suggests CRT as a way forward for antiracists in Britain, as it can provide them with a clear conceptual map.

The most basic tenet of CRT is that racism in contemporary societies is so extensive that it has become normalized and part of the common sense of everyday realities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). In other words, it has become endemic (Gillborn, 2008). Therefore, racism, particularly institutional, is at the centre of analysis for CRT, as part of a process of deconstruction of patterns of exclusion and oppression (Gillborn, 2006). It is perceived not just as crude and overt acts of hatred but also as 'the more subtle and hidden operations of power that have the *effect* of disadvantaging one or more minority ethnic groups' (Gillborn, 2008, p. 27). According to Ladson-Billings (2004, p. 57), CRT is an interdisciplinary 'complex legal and intellectual tool for making sense of all forms of human inequity', as it provides researchers strategies to use on issues of gender, class, ability, and other human differences'. Taking into consideration this multiplicity of identities, intersectionality becomes highly relevant within CRT (Gillborn, 2008). The term was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), a feminist theorist from within the CRT field and forms part of the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study (see 2.6).

Introduced by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) in the US, CRT in education may be used to analyse aspects such as school funding, school desegregation, curriculum, instruction and assessment (Ladson-Billings, 2004). It is an attempt to name and discuss the daily reality of racism in society; expose and deconstruct

colourblind policies and practices; legitimize and promote the voices of people of colour; address the inability of civil rights law and liberalism to eliminate discrimination; and, change and improve multicultural education movements which normalize White students' behaviour (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

From within the paradigm of critical multiculturalism, having taken into consideration the propositions of CRT, and responding to the criticisms of multicultural and antiracist education (2.2.1 and 2.2.2), May (2009) states that they have all underestimated or ignored similar criticisms from critical educators within the multiculturalist paradigm. He argues that multiculturalists have been responding to the critiques directed at multicultural education 'by acknowledging more directly the role of unequal power relations and the inequalities and differential effects that ensue from them' (May, 2009, p. 35). As a response, May (2009, pp. 42-44) develops the paradigm of critical multiculturalism which, I paraphrase,

- aims to provide an adequate understanding and theorization of ethnicity and the social and cultural practices that may be associated with it and thus contribute to sociological understandings of identity combined with a critical analysis of structural inequalities.
- acknowledges unequal power relations and the positionality and differential constraints of individuals and groups by wider structural forces such as capitalism, racism, colonialism, and sexism.
- understands culture as part of the discourse of power and inequality and criticizes constructions of culture, while it attemps to avoid essentialism.
- maintains critical reflexivity of specific ethnic and cultural practices, while it avoids cultural relativism and allows for transformation and change.

Prioritizing a structural analysis, critical multiculturalism understands culture and identity as multilayered, fluid, complex and as constructed through social interaction (May & Sleeter, 2010a). It aims to encourage teachers and students to 'recognize and explore the complex interconnections, gaps, and dissonances that occur between their own and other ethnic and cultural identities, as well as

other forms of social identity' (May, 2009, p. 44). Thus, critical multiculturalism, similarly to CRT, promotes an intersectional approach to the exploration of identities and inequalities.

According to May (2009), critical multiculturalism offers the most useful way forward in the field of multicultural education because it combines structural and culturalist concerns, thus linking multiculturalism to antiracism; and, because it links postmodernist conceptualizations of identity with a commitment to emancipatory group-based politics. The interdisciplinarity and internationalism of critical multiculturalism are additional advantages, as they enable constant critical development in the field (May & Sleeter, 2010a). Identifying as an author from within the paradigm of critical multiculturalism, Rattansi (1999, p. 103) suggests 'reflexive multiculturalism' as a further development which avoids the controversial attributes that the term 'critical' sometimes entails. Nevertheless, reflexive multiculturalism bears many similarities to versions of critical multiculturalism. Anthias (2002a) argues that the advantage of critical/reflexive multiculturalism is that it recognizes the fluid nature of cultural identities and their location within racialized social structures in specific contexts.

Though promising responses and significant contributions to the development of multicultural education approaches, both CRT and critical multiculturalism present some shortcomings which make them unsuitable for complete adoption in this study. Despite the rising number of publications of education scholars of CRT (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Epstein, 2006; Gillborn, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Leonardo, 2005; Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009) and its critics (M. Cole, 2009), there is the danger of transmutation of CRT into a depoliticized discourse in schools (Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004), similarly to what happened to multicultural (Gorski, 2006) and antiracist education (Gillborn, 2006). As Ladson-Billings (1998, p. 22) warned early on, CRT may become 'the "darling" of the radical left, by generating publications and debate, but failing to penetrate daily classroom realities. Also, critical multiculturalism is a paradigm still in development and open to adaptation and critical interrogating. Its literature is also less developed than CRT

or the broader field of multicultural education. Apart from two edited volumes (May, 1999b; May & Sleeter, 2010b) which, arguably, offer useful examples of the implementation of critical multiculturalism in theory and practice internationally, there seems to still be a lack of wide consensus on its definition and implementation. Finally, with its many overlaps with CRT and antiracism, I find that by locating this study specifically and exclusively in critical multiculturalism, I may be disregarding many of their shared assumptions with other approaches, such as intersectionality.

Therefore, though not subscribing specifically to either approach, this study uses CRT and critical multiculturalism as departure points from which to search for the appropriate theoretical and conceptual framework with which it explores issues of diversity and racism within the context of Greek-Cypriot intercultural education discourses and everyday practices. In other words, CRT and critical multiculturalism offer theoretical insights useful to this empirical research, which this study adopts in order to build an understanding of which theoretical approaches are suitable for the exploration of the thesis research questions.

As responses to the critiques of multicultural education by antiracists, multiculturalists and postmodernists, CRT and critical multiculturalism assert certain principles regarding the conceptualization of racism that are considered suitable for the purposes of this study. In particular, this study adopts the CRT principles of defining race as a constantly changing social construct; placing racism – especially institutional – at the centre of analysis; defining racism as disadvantaging effects through crude or subtle processes regardless of intentions; promoting intersectional analyses of inequalities; and, recognizing the role of discourse and the importance of context in the ways in which racism operates. This study also adopts the critical multiculturalism principle which considers critical reflexivity as crucial at any stage of theoretical discussions or empirical research. In sum, CRT and critical multiculturalism take into consideration both structural and interpersonal aspects of the shifting racisms, responding to the criticisms by antiracists and postmodernists. Importantly, both

demonstrate the necessity for intersectionality and attention to the differential racisms.

Before discussing the ways that differential racialization (2.4) and intersectionality (2.6) shape the theoretical framework of this study, I briefly note the conceptualization of the shifting and multiple racisms this study adopts.

2.3   SHIFTING RACISM(S)

> 'Racism is a plastic or chameleon-like phenomenon which constantly finds new forms of political, social, cultural or linguistic expression' (MacMaster, 2001, p. 2).

> 'There is not a unitary system of signification that can be labeled racist nor is there a unitary perpetrator or victim' (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992, p. 2).

Based on the critiques of multicultural and antiracist education approaches for failing to account for material inequalities (2.2.1) and on the postmodernist suggestions for avoiding essentialism (2.2.2), the conceptualization of racism for the purposes of this study needs to incorporate both institutional/structural as well as discursive/anti-essentialist elements. The multiplicity of identities, inequalities, racisms, and their intersections needs to be examined. Such an approach would satisfy the concerns of CRT, critical multiculturalism and postmodernist critics.

Understandings and definitions of the concept of race and the phenomenon of racism have undergone significant changes over the years, moving away from strictly biological and including cultural and national definitions of racism (Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994). It is now arguable that there is no single monolithic racism, but distinct, multiple racisms, which are constructed and reconstructed through time and space by social action (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999; Rattansi, 1999). Consequently, theorizations of racism from various theoretical perspectives abound (for example, Goldberg, 1999; Winant, 2006). The historical context is emphasized by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992, p. 2), who understand racism 'as modes of exclusion, inferiorization, subordination and exploitation that present specific and different characters in different social and historical

contexts'. These may be expressed through extreme practices of extermination, repatriation, segregation, exploitation and slavery and forms of racial harassment, unequal social rights and denial of access to resources (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Adopting the notion of inferiorization, as Anthias and Yuval-Davis do, allows the incorporation of racisms such as Islamophobia (Murji & Solomos, 2005) – a contemporary type of racism that developed further after 9/11 (Goldberg, 2006).

Concepts such as heterophobia (Memmi, 2000), ethnocentrism (Rattansi, 1992), and xeno-racism (Fekete, 2001) have been suggested either as complementary or substitutes to racism. Acknowledging that there cannot be exhaustive lists of racisms, as their 'essential truths' are impossible to be discovered (Anthias, 1999), this study is particularly informed by the cencepts *institutional*, *dysconscious*, *colourblind*, and *everyday* racisms, as these are considered to be the most helpful in analyzing the specificities of racism in the Greek-Cypriot context and particularly in the school I researched.

As seen earlier, *institutional* racism became the point of departure of most critical responses to initial multicultural education approaches and continues to maintain its position as the priority of critical multiculturalism and CRT (2.2.3). The term institutional racism originates in the Black Panther movement's struggles in the US (Rattansi, 1992). It was coined in 1967 by Carmichael and Hamilton (2001, p. 112), who described it as 'acts by the total white community against the black community', characterized as less overt, subtle, and less identifiable in comparison to racist acts leading to death, injury or violent destruction of property, but just as destructive, despite receiving less public condemnation.

Such forms of racism can operate regardless of people's or institutions' intentions and may still lead to racist consequences by discriminating against members of minoritized groups (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Gillborn, 2008). The question of intentionality permeates most conceptualizations of institutional

racism, obvious in the report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999, p. 321) which defined it as:

> 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people'.

This definition has become the most widely used in Britain, despite criticisms for its conceptual confusions in terms of agency and intentionality (Anthias, 1999) and for its lack of attention to economic and political factors (M. Cole, 2004). The emphasis placed on 'attitudes' and 'prejudice' in this definition echoes traditional pathologizing perceptions of people as racist or not, which this study, informed by discursive psychology, finds problematic (2.5 and 3.4).

Augoustinos and Reynolds (2001, p. 4) provide another definition for institutional racism as 'the institutional policies and practices that are put in place to protect and legitimate the advantages and power one group has over another', whether 'overt or covert, intentional or unintentional' resulting in the production and reproduction of racist outcomes. The emphasis on 'outcomes' rather than 'attitudes' shifts the focus from the individual to the institutional level and avoids labelling and pathologizing people. This definition is, therefore, more in accordance with the theoretical and analytical framework of this study, in agreement with the conceptualization of racism as the outcomes of racist discourse, discussed in 2.5.

From a postmodern perspective, Rattansi (1994, p. 62) views institutionalized racism 'not as a smooth, reproductive machine, but as an internally contradictory set of processes', involving racialized, gendered and classed discursive practices. Elsewhere, he suggests the concept of institutional racialization for the exploration of the multifaced institutional racist practices and their articulation with other forms of identification and differentiation (Rattansi, 2005). Therefore,

an intersectional perspective (2.6) is required for the investigation of institutional as well as interpersonal forms of racism.

Another conceptualization of racism relevant to the research setting of this study, as it was introduced to describe teacher racism specifically, is dysconscious racism: 'a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges' (King, 2001, p. 297). King (2001) carried out qualitative research in the mid-1980s in the US with student teachers coming from economically privileged, culturally homogeneous backgrounds. She found that most of them were 'unaware of their intellectual biases and monocultural encapsulation' and had limited and distorted understandings about inequity and cultural diversity, which made it difficult for them to act towards education for equity (King, 2001, p. 301). This is a particularly useful conceptualization of racism for this study, as Greek-Cypriot teachers share many characteristics with King's middle-class White American students, having grown up and been educated in monocultural environments (1.3).

Originating in the post-WWII, postcolonial era, and otherwise referred to as colour and/or power evasiveness (Frankenberg, 1993; Sleeter, 1993; Winant, 2006), *colourblindness* constitutes the dominant 'racial' ideology in the United States (Marx, 2006). Colourblindness is the 'refusal to consider ethnic diversity despite a wealth of evidence that minorities are not sharing equally' (Gillborn, 2001, p. 18). The argument put forward by supporters of colourblindness is that 'unlike racists, we don't judge people on the basis of the colour of their skin' (Pearce, 2005, p. 41). Such liberal notions have been heavily criticized by CRT (Gillborn, 2008). Bonilla-Silva (2006, pp. 28-29), based on his findings of qualitative research with White college students in the US, identifies four central frames in colourblind racism: abstract liberalism ideas, naturalization of phenomena such as segregation, cultural arguments explaining racism, and, strategies of minimization of racism[26].

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[26] See Theodorou (2010) for an application of these frames to Greek-Cypriot teachers' perceptions of immigrant children's school experiences.

In an educational context, research supports that colourblindness characterizes the practices of most teachers in the US and the UK towards minoritized pupils (Gaine, 2005; Pearce, 2005; Sleeter, 1993; Winant, 2006). Multicultural and antiracist educational strategies in Britain, through encouraging colourblind approaches, fail to 'take sufficient account of racialized power differences between young people' (Phoenix, 1997a, p. 196). Teachers' popular liberal notion of treating individual students in colourblind terms 'has the effect of ignoring the effects of racism and racialized economic disadvantage on students' (Rattansi, 1994, p. 62). In the US, Sleeter's (1993; 2005) work focused on White teachers' constructions of race during a staff development programme and found that in their effort not to be racist and to treat all children equally, they insisted that they are colourblind and denied race altogether, while trying to suppress their own negative images of people of colour. Wright (1992) argues that those who advocate colourblind approaches in schools are avoiding the reality that teachers, as other people, treat people differently on the basis of perceived 'racial' characteristics. Phoenix (1997b) also points to the problems caused by educational approaches blind to race and ethnicity.

Greek-Cypriot teachers who participated in my MA research offered accounts that reflected their colourblind approach to their relations with children or their understandings of children's relations (Papamichael, 2006). Keeping these initial findings in mind (Papamichael, 2009), as well as another study's identification of Greek-Cypriot teachers' colourblind approach (Theodorou, 2010), this study views colourblindness as a relevant conceptualization of racism for the exploration of the research questions.

Finally, on an interpersonal level, Essed (1991) argues that racism goes beyond structure and ideology and is regularly created and reinforced through everyday practices. She suggests the concept of *everyday* racism, which connects structural forces with routine situations in everyday life, links ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes, and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of everyday experiences. Everyday racism is

> 'a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through these routine or familiar practices in everyday situations' (Essed, 2002, p. 190).

I find this notion particularly useful in analysing how institutional racism is reproduced through everyday practices. As schools are contexts within which institutional structures meet everyday experiences, the concept of everyday racism is useful in exploring minoritized children's everyday school experiences (see Chapter 7).

Considering the aforementioned conceptualizations of racism, it appears that attention needs to be paid to the differential racisms and racialization processes in order to avoid becoming involved in binary understandings. It is also crucial to avoid essentializing race, as it is still too deeply embedded in public discourse and commonsense and may be useful in antiracist struggles (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Gilroy, 1987; Goldberg, 2006; Guillaumin, 1995; Todorov, 2000; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The concept of racialization may be used in ways that respond to arguments supporting the abandonment of the term 'race', as it is similar to placing race in quote marks, emphasizing that it is not naturally occurring but is, instead, a dynamic concept that gains significance through social, economic, cultural and psychological processes (G. Lewis & Phoenix, 2004; Phoenix & Husain, 2007). Thus, race is not kept in the scare quotes that Warmington (2009) criticizes, and is neither used in ways that risk the continuation of its power as analytical category (Appiah, 1996; McLaren & Torres, 1999; Miles, 1993; Miles & Brown, 2003; Wieviorka, 1995). Occupying a position between race and racism (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005), the concept of racialization is central for the exploration of the racialized and racializing discourses and practices placed under the spotlight in this study. I turn to this discussion next.

2.4 DIFFERENTIAL RACIALIZATION

> 'Racialization tells us that racism is never simply racism, but always exists in complex imbrication with nation, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality,

and therefore a dismantling of racism also requires, simultaneously as well as in the long run, a strategy to reduce relevant class inequalities, forms of masculinity, nationalisms, and other social features whereby racisms are reproduced in particular sites' (Rattansi, 2005, p. 296).

The idea, concept or theory of racialization is increasingly being used without agreement amongst the definitions available. Nevertheless, I find Rattansi's definition above to be explicit and to the point. In other words, racialization signals 'the processes by which ideas about race are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon' (Murji & Solomos, 2005, p. 1). Racialization of individuals or groups may take place not only because of race, but also skin colour, nationality, ethnicity, race, language, accent, gender, sexuality or appearance. Therefore, the concept of racialization functions to open up paths of inquiry otherwise unavailable under certain conceptualizations of racism (Rattansi, 2005). In this process, arguing that individuals and institutions are not only subjects of racialization but at the same time act as racializing agents, Lewis (2003) uses the terms *racial identification* to refer to self-definition and *racial ascription* for external racial categorization or assignment.

Within the framework of intersectionality, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992, pp. 2-3) suggest that an adequate analysis of racism needs to address 'the ways in which the categories of difference and exclusion on the basis of class, gender and ethnicity incorporate processes of racialization and are intertwined in producing racist discourses and outcomes'. They argue that an effective analysis of the heterogeneous nature of racism needs to be contextualized and considered in terms of nation, ethnicity, class, gender and age. Similarly, Brah (1996) argues that racism cannot be reduced to social class or gender or considered as autonomous, but as articulating with patriarchal class structures within each historical context. Furthermore, writing from a gender perspective, Anthias and Lazaridis (2000a) highlight the importance of identification of the crosscuttings of gender, ethnicity and class and of the intersections of sexism with different forms of 'othering' and racialization.

When such processes are related to constructing people as belonging to a particular 'ethnic' group on the basis of culture, nationality and language, Lewis and Phoenix (2004) suggest that these constitute dynamic processes of ethnicization. Ethnicity is constructed as predicated on common culture but also on other signifiers of an essential or naturally constructed community of people such as religion, language or race (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). The processes implied by both racialization and ethnicization work towards avoiding essentialism and assumptions about the notions of ethnic group or race as permanent characteristics of groups (Phoenix & Husain, 2007), and cut across binaries such as White/Black and colonizer/colonized (Kushner, 2005). Exemplifying the intersections of the two processes, Kyriakides et al (2009, p. 293) suggest the concept of 'racialized national exclusion' as:

> '[a] negative process of attribution which includes self-other ascriptions of cultural fixity presumed to determine human action, such that the parameters and hence membership of nationhood are discursively restricted to 'visibly identifiable' individuals, and subsequently experienced as such by those individuals so identified'.

Their definition makes explicit the complexifying processes of racialization and ethnicization and the interweaving constructions of race, nation and ethnicity. Acknowledging these distinctions, I employ the term racialization to refer both to racialized and ethnicized constructions of identities. I emphasize ethnicization processes when appropriate and point to the specificities of each context in order to distinguish the various racializing factors operating.

Highlighting the role of the context, Brah (1996, p. 105) argues that processes of racialization and racism are historically specific, as 'different groups have been racialised differently under varying circumstances, and on the basis of different signifiers of 'difference" and each racism arose under particular economic, political and cultural circumstances, and has assumed different forms in different situations through specific mechanisms. Brah (1996, p. 154) uses the term differential racisms to analyse 'the discursive space of intersectionality within, between, amongst and across different racisms; articulations of racism with

socio-economic, cultural and political relations of gender, class and other markers of 'difference' and differentiation; and, relationality of subjectivity and identity in and through these fields'.

Suitable for analysing the changing forms of the differential and multiple racisms is differential racialization, a conceptual tool which reflects the complexity resulting from awareness of structural inequalities and of fluid and intersectional identities. Specifically, differential racialization is:

> 'a concept for analysing processes of relational multi-locationality within and across formations of power marked by the articulation of one form of racism with another, and with other modes of differentiation' (Brah, 1996, p. 185).

Differential racialization is, then, in line with intersectionality (see 2.6), a significant influence of the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study, also embraced by CRT and critical multiculturalism (2.2.3). Identifying links between differential racialization, intersectionality and positionality, Phoenix (1998, p. 861) argues that work based on differential racialization has produced 'new understandings of the 'multivocality' that arises from the intersections of 'race', ethnicity, nation and gender and the subject positions associated with them'. Thus, acknowledging the advantages that differential racialization offers in the exploration and identification of historically and contextually specific racisms, this study adopts the concept, to be employed alongside the aforementioned conceptualizations of racism (2.3), and those of racist discourse (2.5) and intersectionality (2.6) that follow.

2.5 DISCOURSE AND RACISM

Discourse is central in any view of racism (Goldberg, 1999), with a role in racialization processes, racism operations and contstructions of race − through racial representations, stereotypes, and constructions of diversity and the Other. Hall (1992, p. 291) defines discourse as a 'group of statements which provide a language for talking about - i.e. a way of representing - a particular kind of knowledge about a topic' making it possible to construct a topic in a certain way, but also limiting possible alternative constructions.

Representations of the Other through stereotypes is one way through which racist discourses are constructed and racism is reproduced. Hall (1997, p. 258, original emphasis) makes explicit the essentializing, reductionist and naturalizing effects of stereotypes, which focus on a 'few 'simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized' characteristics about a person, *reduce* everything about the person to those traits, *exaggerate* and *simplify* them, and fix them without change or development to eternity'. Within discursive psychology, categorization and stereotyping are not seen as representing internal cognitive processes but as 'discursive practices that are flexibly articulated within specific social contexts in order to construct particular versions or accounts of reality' (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001, p. 215). Stereotyping thus works for the maintenance of social and symbolic order, by setting up boundaries between what is normal and acceptable and what is not (Hall, 1997). Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) also support that racism is embedded in power relations, including the ability to impose specific discourses as hegemonic.

Discursive psychology conceptualizes racism as:

> 'both interactive and communicative, and as located within the language practices and discourses of a society. It is through everyday language practices, both in formal and informal talk that relations of power, dominance and exploitation become reproduced and legitimated' (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001, p. 10).

As discourses are used 'flexibly and inconsistently' depending on the rhetorical purposes they serve (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001, p. 230), they may have implications beyond the awareness or intention of the speakers. Wetherell and Potter (1992) analyze their White New Zealander participants' talk about race and racism and conclude that, often, liberal and egalitarian arguments, by being selectively drawn on and reworked, may in fact sustain racism, authoritarianism, and exploitation. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) reached similar conclusions when they examined the discourse of tolerance in relation to asylum-seekers and migrants in Belgium. Based on her work in a multicultural school in Australia,

Youdell (2006) argues that discourses employed by teachers and students, regardless of intentionality or beliefs, may still have racist consequences.

In *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*, Potter and Wetherell (1987) set the foundations for the analytical framework for discursive psychology. Viewing racism as 'rooted in the social and structural rather than in the personal and psychological' but also acknowledging that the personal and psychological affect social structures, Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 217) provide an analytical framework for the examination of the ways in which cultural, racial or national groups are constructed and categorized and their possible racist effects. They argue that racism may be distinctively conceptualized not as an intrinsic property of certain discourses but as an effect of discursive and other social practices 'with a flexible, fluid and varying content' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 59). For them, racist discourse is 'discourse (of whatever content) which has the effect of establishing, sustaining and reinforcing oppressive power relations' and 'of categorizing, allocating and discriminating between certain groups' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 70). This definition is particularly useful for understanding how racism operates within the everyday realities of Greek-Cypriot schools, through teachers' and children's discourses, regardless of their intentions.

As my concern is to empathize rather than judge teachers (see Preface), I was mostly attracted to this type of discourse analysis because of the explicit way it avoids labelling individuals as racist or not, or viewing racism as a personal attribute (3.8.1). The analytic site of discursive psychology is not 'the 'prejudiced' or 'racist' individual', but the discursive and linguistic resources that are available in an inequitable and racist society and the ways in which, combined with rhetorical arguments, they construct differences and identities as legitimate and 'real' (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001, p. 10). Conceptualizing society as already racist is consistent with the CRT and critical multiculturalism position that structural racism is a given (2.2.3). Another commonality between CRT, critical multiculturalism and discursive psychology is the emphasis on the potential for social change. By locating racism within societal structures and dominant social

discourses rather than within the psychological states of individuals, the discursive approach has the potential 'to challenge, to undermine, and to *unmake* racist and discriminative realities' through gaining insights into 'the complex linguistic performances that constitute racist explanations' in social policy, education, media, and everyday discourses (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001, p. 230, original emphasis). Thus, informed critical responses may be designed and implemented for the transformation of racist discourses and their effects.

Rattansi (1999, p. 93) finds Wetherell and Potter's discourse analysis framework to be 'a particularly fruitful illustration of a type of 'postmodern' analysis of racism'. By avoiding reductive individualistic and pathologizing accounts of racism and by de-essentializing the 'racist' subject, Wetherell and Potter, Rattansi (1994) suggests, provide a historically and geographically contextualized understanding of people's rhetorical moves in relation to power, domination and advantage. However, Rattansi (1999) also points to the need for attention to issues of gender and sexualization of racial discourse. I would suggest that an intersectional perspective in the analysis of racist discourse would go a step towards the direction Rattansi suggests, as it takes into consideration the multiplicity and complexities of racisms and social positionalities as constructed and represented through discourses. As already mentioned, an intersectional approach allows for consideration of a variety of identities and racisms (2.2.3), racist discourses (2.5), and their effects in the differential racialization (2.4) of individuals and groups. The next section presents the take on intersectionality this study adopts.

2.6 INTERSECTIONALITY

> 'Intersectionality promises feminist scholars of all identities, theoretical perspectives, and political persuasions, that they can 'have their cake and eat it, too' (Davis, 2008, p. 72)

Since the introduction of intersectionality in academia, it has been described as a 'critique' (Grillo, 1995), a 'theory'[27] (E. R. Cole, 2008; Warner, 2008), a 'theoretical framework' (Shields, 2008), a 'theoretical concept' (Valentine, 2007), an 'interdisciplinary approach to empirical research' (Hancock, 2007), a 'catchall phrase' (Brah & Phoenix, 2004) and a 'buzzword' (Davis, 2008). It is commonly described as an anti-essentialist research approach and a 'powerful and relevant method of social analysis' (Grabham, with Herman, Cooper, & Krishnadas, 2009, p. 15). Intersectionality is understood and used as a heuristic device which makes possible the statement and exploration of certain questions (Anthias, 2009; Davis, 2008). It has also been characterized as perhaps 'the most important theoretical contribution' of women's studies, in conjunction with related fields (McCall, 2005, p. 1771).

Despite this recent blooming of intersectionality in academia[28], especially within feminist theory, its origins go back to 1832 and 1851, to the speeches of pioneering black feminists Maria Stewart and Sojourner Truth. Maria Stewart criticized difference and challenged the functioning of race and gender (Jordan-Zachery, 2007), while Sojourner Truth's speech challenged 'all ahistoric or essentialist notions of 'woman'', capturing the main elements of intersectionality (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 76).

Similarly to differential racialization (2.4), but also multicultural education (1.1), intersectionality is a widely used term without agreement on one definition. As seen in 2.2.3, the term intersectionality was coined by Crenshaw (1989) as an attempt to deal with legal discrimination issues black women experience in the

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[27] On the other hand, it is argued that because of the many ways in which crosscutting relations around gender, ethnicity and class may be developed further, intersectionality cannot be considered as a theory per se (Anthias, 2009).

[28] Though recent, imperfect, and still 'an idea in the process of burgeoning' (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006, p. 187), intersectionality attracts growing interest in academia. The first special issue dedicated to intersectionality was published in 2006, by the *European Journal of Women's Studies* (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006) and was followed by *Sex Roles* (Shields, 2008) and *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Bulmer & Solomos, 2009). An internet search reveals a number of books with intersectionality in their title; most are within the legal field (Hardy-Fanta, 2007; MacDonald, Osborne, & Smith, 2005), but also education (Siltanen & Doucet, 2008).

US and as an alternative to identity politics (Jordan-Zachery, 2007). However, the abundance of conceptualizations of intersectionality means there are a variety of definitions provided, depending on the author's theoretical, epistemological and methodological perspective (see Davis, 2008; Fernandes, 2003; Shields, 2008; Warner, 2008). As a result of its openness, specific types of intersectionality have been suggested (see Crenshaw, 1995; Fernandes, 2003; Jordan-Zachery, 2007; Prins, 2006; Shields, 2008; Verloo, 2006).

The initial aim of intersectional approaches was to disrupt the conceptualization of the double or triple burden faced by ethnic minority women, in essentialist mechanistic additive models of oppression of race, class and gender (Anthias, 2009; Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Burman, 2003; Grillo, 1995; Valentine, 2007; Warner, 2008). Collins (1990) suggested a reconceptualization of race, class and gender as interconnecting, interlocking systems of oppression, operating through a matrix of domination on several levels (personal, community, and institutional), and allowing consideration of other oppressions such as age, sexuality, religion and ethnicity. The matrix concept was taken up by black feminists within the legal field (Grillo, 1995) and adopted as a principle by CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) (2.2.3). Intersectionality offers a critique to essentialist identity politics (Anthias, 2009; Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994; Burman, 2003; Grillo, 1995; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006; Ringrose, 2007; Warner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006b), aiming 'not to find 'several identities under one" but 'to anayse the differential ways in which different social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities' (Yuval-Davis, 2006b, p. 205)[29].

Most understandings of intersectionality maintain that gender, race, class and nation, as systems of oppression, mutually construct one another (Collins, 1998). In other words, intersectional identities are defined in relation to one another

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[29] The scope of this thesis does not allow for further elaboration on the conceptualizations of identity and social divisions in intersectional approaches (see E. R. Cole, 2008; Crenshaw, 1995; Grabham et al., 2009; Staunæs, 2003; Warner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006b).

(Shields, 2008). Incorporating these understandings, Brah and Phoenix (2004, p. 76) view the concept of intersectionality as

> 'signifying the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts'.

Adopting this definition of intersectionality, this study maintains the intersectional proposition that social positions are relational (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006) and identity is always a process (Anthias, 2009). It views identities and differences as:

> 'plural and intersecting, rather than singular; decentred, rather than organized around a core; dynamic, rather than static; historically located, rather than timeless; relational and contingent, rather than absolute; productive of diverse subjectivities and potentially contradictory'(Phoenix, 1998, pp. 860-861).

This study is also informed by the significance that intersectionality attaches to the investigation of the specificities of each socio-political, historical and economic context (Yuval-Davis, 2006b), in agreement with differential racialization (2.4).

2.6.1 CRITIQUES OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Used by both postmodernists and critical race and gender theorists, in different ways and for different purposes, intersectionality has been subjected to criticism from both sides.

Postmodernists have criticized intersectionality for maintaining a problematic, essentialist conceptualization of identity (Davis, 2008). The term 'intersection' and the prefix 'inter-' are specifically criticized for assuming that the multiple intersections may be bridged or connected, therefore implying static rather than fluid connections and thus conveying notions of deterministic homogenized social categories (Anthias, 2009; Archer, 2004; Fernandes, 2003; Grabham et al., 2009; Staunæs, 2003). For these reasons, Anthias (2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2009) suggests the term translocational positionality as an adjunct concept for

researching the complexities of inequalities. Translocational positionality acknowledges the importance of context, variability and contradictions, as well as 'the complex nature of positionality faced by those who are at the interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialization' (Anthias, 2002b, p. 502).

Critical race, gender and class theorists have criticized intersectionality for being too relativist and negligent of structural oppressions, and thus becoming apolitical (Anthias, 2009; E. R. Cole, 2008; Conaghan, 2009; Crenshaw, 1995; Jordan-Zachery, 2007). However, there are suggestions from both sides that the two fields may be combined by engaging both with theorizations of categories and structures and the historically specific power relations (Grabham et al., 2009; Hancock, 2007; Staunæs, 2003; Valentine, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006a).

Finally, intersectionality has been criticized as being methodologically ambiguous and weak, by not providing appropriate or usable methods for research, and lacking a definition and clear parameters (Davis, 2008; Jordan-Zachery, 2007; McCall, 2005; Warner, 2008; Winant, 2006). As a response, Shields (2008, p. 307) suggests 'comparing individual identities to each other as well as considering intersections and their emergent properties'. Others emphasize contextual analysis in methodological considerations (Jordan-Zachery, 2007; Warner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006b) or raise calls for the necessity of interdisciplinarity in methodologies, including fieldwork, in-depth interviewing, discourse and narrative analysis (E. R. Cole, 2008; Jordan-Zachery, 2007; McCall, 2005; Warner, 2008). This study takes the suggestion regarding the contextual and interdisciplinary analysis on board.

2.6.2   APPEAL OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Responding to the methodological criticisms of intersectionality as weak and problematic because of its vagueness and ambivalence by drawing on the sociology of science, Davis (2008) presents a rather convincing argument about these elements being the signs of a successful theory for four reasons. First, intersectionality addresses the fundamental concern about difference and diversity through the creation of a new shared platform for feminist theory,

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promising wide geographical, cultural and social applicability. Secondly, it manages to reveal the social and material consequences of gender, race and class categories that critical feminists are concerned with, with the use of poststructuralist methodologies. Thirdly, intersectionality links theory to practice and everyday lives. Finally, the ambiguity, vagueness and openendedness of intersectionality create opportunities for its use in any context of inquiry and for a myriad of differences to be critically explored. An additional advantage is that intersectionality uncovers the multiple, relational social positionalities and the power relations that are central to everyday life, and it 'foregrounds a richer and more complex ontology than approaches that attempt to reduce people to one category at a time' (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006, p. 187).

In sum, intersectionality fits with anti-essentialism, qualitative research, and attention to structural inequalities; attaches significance to context and meanings; and, promises to address the exclusion of minoritized individuals or groups. The theoretical and methodological openendedness of intersectionality allows for an adaptation of intersectionality to the historical, geographical and social specificities of Cyprus. Focusing particularly on minoritized children's school experiences is in line with use of intersectionality as a political tool as well as analytical (Jordan-Zachery, 2007). Intersectionality is of interest to policy and data research (Anthias, 2009) and allows for the exploration and understanding both of structures and discourses, all examined by the research questions of this thesis (1.6).

Therefore, I adopt intersectionality as a heuristic device in order to remain alert to the multiplicities of identities that may be played out in the context of Cyprus, embedded with postcolonial, post-conflict, nationalistic, hellenocentric and, to a lesser degree, leftist reconciliatory discourses. An intersectional approach will enable me to identify the specificities of the social divisions that are constructed by, and construct social relations among individuals experiencing their life realities within the structures of Greek-Cypriot schools and society. Keeping with an intersectional approach allows me to keep in mind during the analysis the

'other' question (Davis, 2008) and to constantly search for the 'invisible' (Warner, 2008). While not focusing explicitly on identities, my concern with teachers' constructions of diversity in Greek-Cypriot society involves constructions of one's identities in relation not only to who they are but to who they are not (Anthias, 2002b).

2.7 CONCLUSION

My research fits into the international field of research in multicultural education, informed by multicultural education approaches and their critiques. It departs from the principles offered by CRT and critical multiculturalism – the two approaches which respond to the culturalist and postmodernist critiques of multicultural education about neglecting institutional racism and essentializing identities.

The conceptualizations of institutional, dysconscious, colourblind and everyday racism are useful for my analysis as they are suitable for exploring educational contexts with majoritized teachers working in multicultural classrooms. Differential racialization brings together the multiplicity of racisms and reveals how individuals are racialized through discourses and practices. Discursive psychology enables analysis of institutional and individual discourses of racism and how these affect the realities of majoritized and minoritized individuals and groups. Finally, intersectionality, as a heuristic device for the exploration of the differential positionality of groups and individuals, deals with the multiplicity of inequalities and reveals the variety of intersecting factors which differentially racialize individuals.

The above theoretical concepts combined help me maintain a structural and discursive perspective for the interpretation of my data. They enable me to maintain awareness of the material and structural inequalities and racisms while at the same time avoiding essentialism in the construction of the groups and individuals at my research setting. I am looking at both the ways in which racisms are constructed and subjects positioned, and the effects that such discursive practices have on individuals' everyday lives. The next chapter outlines the

methodological and analytical frameworks emanating from the theoretical concepts presented in this chapter.

3   METHODOLOGICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Having established the theoretical and conceptual starting points, this chapter seeks to outline the methodological and analytical frameworks that inform this empirical study. In 1.6 I outlined the aims of this study, namely to explore intercultural education discourses and everyday practices in a Greek-Cypriot primary school, responding to research questions about teachers' constructions of diversity and racism and minoritized children's racialization processes and everyday school experiences. The calls for interdisciplinarity within intersectional approaches (2.6.1) are echoed in this study, which is not labeled as of any one paradigm, but is also informed by ethnography, sociology, and discursive psychology.

In this chapter, after a brief statement regarding the epistemological framework (3.2), I discuss my choice of the ethnographic (3.3) and discursive (3.4) approaches, which provide the framework for the data collection and analysis. I move to a discussion of the practicalities of the two fieldwork phases, explaining the reasons for choosing the specific research setting (3.5). I describe the school context with reference to representations of diversity (3.5.1) and the implementation of intercultural education (3.5.2). Section 3.6 is concerned with the negotiation of access to the school and the data collection through interviewing (3.6.1) and observations (3.6.2). I pay particular attention to the multiplicity of my roles and identities as a researcher (3.6.3), and I discuss the ethical considerations and dilemmas during all stages of the research (3.7). I then introduce the key analytical concepts this study adopts from the field of discursive psychology, interpretative repertoires (3.8.1) and ideological dilemmas (3.8.2). Finally, I present the steps taken for the data analysis, from transcription and translation (3.9.1) to coding, analysing and writing up (3.9.2).

3.2   EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the theoretical and conceptual framework with its emphasis on the social construction of social divisions, the epistemological framework within

which this study is located is social constructionism. The term was introduced by Berger and Luckmann (1966), who drew on the perspective of symbolic interactionism to argue that people, through social practices, construct and sustain all social phenomena, which they experience as if they were natural. Social constructionism today is a theoretical orientation which characterizes a number of alternative approaches to the study of human beings as social animals – including discourse analysis, discursive psychology and poststructuralism (Burr, 2003), all of which theoretically and conceptually influence this study.

The data collection and analysis methods are also situated within social constructionism. Ethnography is interested in the meanings that people attribute to their social practices (Brewer, 2000), while discourse analysis is a social constructionism research method (Potter, 1996). The discursive approach within social psychology is based on the theoretical orientation of social constructionism (Burr, 2003), and is suitable for the analysis of ethnographic data (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). As a constructionist empirical project exploring intercultural education in primary schools of Cyprus, this study looks at how Greek-Cypriot teachers construct notions such as diversity, otherness and racism, and the effects of these constructions for minoritized children's racialization processes and school experiences. Importantly, ethnography, intersectionality and discourse analysis all emphasize the location of the researcher and her contribution to the co-construction of realities with the participants, in accordance with social constructionism.

I next critically discuss my choice of the ethnographic and discursive approaches as the methodological and analytical frameworks, explaining how I employ them in this study.

3.3   ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

> 'a short-term ethnography may be better than no ethnography at all'
> (Spindler & Spindler, 1992, p. 66).

The extended use of ethnographic approaches in previous studies of diversity and racism in education has significantly influenced my choice of methodology.

Most studies that have explored racism in education in Britain and the US used qualitative ethnographic approaches (Carspecken & Apple, 1992; Connolly, 1998a, 1998b; Connolly & Troyna, 1998; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Gunaratnam, 2003; King, 2001; Reay, 1991, 1995; Sleeter, 1993; Troyna & Hatcher, 1992a, 1992b; Woods & Hammersley, 1993b; Wright, 1992). So did the Greek-Cypriot researchers who investigated nationalism, racism and diversity in education (1.5) (Angelides et al., 2003; Panayiotopoulos & Nicolaidou, 2007; Papadakis, 2005; Philippou, 2005; Skapoulli, 2005; Spyrou, 2002; Theodorou, 2008, 2010, 2011 in press; Trimikliniotis, 2001; Zembylas, 2010a, 2010f, in press; Zembylas & Lesta, 2010).

Ethnography is defined as:

> 'the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social **meanings** and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally' (Brewer, 2000, p. 6, original emphasis).

The emphasis placed on people's social meanings locates this definition within the epistemological paradigm of social constructionism. The process described is fieldwork, the most characteristic element of ethnographic research, which involves the 'prolonged, intensive and direct involvement of the researcher in the lives and activities' of the group studied through participant observation (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995, p. 119). During fieldwork, the ethnographer gathers information inductively and generates more hypotheses than concrete findings, aiming to 'draw an overall picture of how a system works from myriad minute details and preliminary conclusions' (Fetterman, 1998, p. 11). Studies are characterized as different types of ethnography depending on the amount of time spent in the field, the data collection methods used, and the final account that is produced.

A major debate in the field of ethnography concerns the time spent on the field. Considering the significance of social context in the contradictions and

ambivalences of racialized discursive positionalities and practices, Rattansi (1992, p. 29) argues that 'subtle, long-term ethnographic research' is necessary, in order to identify the ways in which individuals negotiate the effects of teaching in relation to race and the ways in which subjectivities are shaped in different contexts. Spindler and Spindler (1992, p. 65) suggest that a desirable time for an adequate study of a single classroom should be three months, preferably spread over an entire school year. According to Delamont (2004, p. 226), when the fieldsite becomes familiar, it is time to move on, as fieldwork 'should be uncomfortable'.

Jeffrey and Troman (2004) address the issue of time in ethnographic research more explicitly. They argue that ethnographic time does not necessarily have to be lengthy and identify three different time modes depending on the length of time spent on the field and on the frequency with which the researcher visits the field: a 'compressed', a 'selective intermittent', and a 'recurrent' time mode. My study falls into the category of compressed time mode of ethnographic research, during which the researcher 'captures the dynamics of a context, documenting the visible and less tangible social structures and relations' through 'a lot of hanging around, soaking up every tiny detail in case it might be of some particular significance' (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004, p. 538). However, following Wolcott's (1992, p. 26) advice that 'if you are uncertain how genuinely ethnographic your study may be, here is the moment for exercising restraint in making claims', I choose to call my study *ethnographic* and not *an ethnography*.

In terms of exploring issues of racism and diversity in education, ethnography is particularly appropriate because of its open-ended orientation; its concern with the investigation of complexities in everyday human interaction and social reality (Blommaert, 2001, 2006; Silverman, 2005; Woods & Hammersley, 1993a); its attention to participants' multiple perspectives and to power within institutions (Gillborn, 1998); and, its ability to enable children to be acknowledged as competent social actors and to make their views accessible to the world (James, 2001). Ethnography is theoretically and empirically equipped to locate the

ideologies and behaviour of children in relation to race and racism within the multiple contextual layers of their lives (Connolly, 1998b; Troyna, 1991).

Despite arguments against the use of quantitative research for the exploration of issues of racism in schools (Rattansi, 1992; Troyna, 1991), when qualitative and quantitative research approaches are integrated in epistemologically consistent ways, they may provide rich understandings of race (Phoenix, 2004) and strengthen the validity and reliability of research designs (Stevens, 2007). Some Greek-Cypriot researchers also used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Harakis, 2005; Makriyianni, in press; Spyrou, 2006c; Zembylas & Lesta, 2010). Though I acknowledge the possible contributions of quantitative research to the field of racism and education, I choose a qualitative approach, which is 'stronger than quantitative research in exploring how complex, subtle processes related to institutionalized forms of racism and discrimination affect pupils' experiences' (Stevens, 2007, p. 171). It may also explore the development of good practice and gain understandings of the variability in claims of racism in school contexts (Stevens, 2007).

Qualitative methods are theoretically compatible and historically linked with intersectionality (Shields, 2008). Therefore, employing intersectionality as a heuristic device (2.6) is compatible with my choice of the ethnographic approach. Despite the use of quantitative methods in intersectional analyses (Bowleg, 2008), it is widely agreed that qualitative research methods better serve the aim of intersectionality to explore the complexities and multiplicities of locational experiences of individuals without a priori hypotheses (Warner, 2008) and to remain open to emergent phenomena (Shields, 2008). Intersectionality complements the openness of ethnographic fieldwork and the inclusion of the participants' concerns into the research focus[30].

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[30] Furthermore, intersectionality historically involves qualitative and discourse analysis, which shape the analytical framework of this study (3.3 and 3.4). I find particularly attractive the fact that intersectionality is not a 'normative straitjacket', and thus encourages the possibility for critical reflexive engagement with my own assumptions as a researcher (Davis, 2008, p. 79).

Ethnographic researchers need to consider the critique against ethnography in relation to generalizations. Connolly (1998a) responds to criticisms claiming that the historical and social specificity of each ethnographic study of racism in education do not allow for the development of generalizations. He argues that ethnographies may be relevant and contribute to the development of theory, as findings from one study may be taken on board, empirically tested and refined by further studies in similar contexts (Connolly, 1998a). Blommaert (2006, p. 15) further argues that the situated events analysed in one case may reveal a lot about wider social relations and, therefore, make generalization 'perfectly possible' in ethnography, depending on the theoretical framework within which the data is analysed. This study does not aim to produce generalizations, but to gain insights into the specificities of racialized discourses and practices and their effects on minoritized children's lives within the context of intercultural education in Cyprus. These may be illuminative for developing further understandings in similar contexts and, when juxtaposed with similar ethnographic studies, may even lead to generalizations.

3.4 DISCURSIVE APPROACH

> 'Much of the work of discourse analysis is a craft skill, something like bicycle riding or chicken sexing that is not easy to render or describe in an explicit or codified manner' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 101).

Discourse analysis is not merely a methodology, but a wider theoretical approach developed within social psychology and emphasizing the importance of language (Billig, 1997b). Discourse analysis views talk and texts as social practices for which people need to draw on certain resources (Potter, 1996). Discursive work empirically demonstrates the ways in which people discursively construct and use social categories and identifies the ideological effects of these constructions and uses, always with an emphasis on the contextual and functional processes (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001). Emphasizing the importance of examining talk in its context, Billig (1997b, p. 43) argues that discourse analysts are interested in discourse without treating it *as a sign of psychological phenomena which are presumed to lie behind the talk'* (original emphasis). Instead, they focus on the

details of what is said and how it is said when people are giving their opinions, which can differ depending on who they address and what they are doing with their talk (Billig, 1997b).

Discursive psychological analysis informs our understanding of the production of racism and prejudice in talk-in-interaction and does not intend to define what 'real' racism is or is not (M. Rapley, 2001). As already stated, because of the focus of this study on teachers' constructions of diversity and racism (1.6), Potter and Wetherell's (1987; 1992) conceptualization and analytical framework for racist discourse as racist effects has been particularly influential (2.5). Especially in relation to racism, discourse analysis aims to 'develop a new perspective on the acts of categorization, discrimination and identification which seem to be at the heart of racism', whether this concerns people's definitions of their own or others' identities, and how these definitions are related to actions (Wetherell, 1996, p. 219).

Within the intersectionality paradigm, discourse analysis allows for 'a more fundamental view of language and discourse in structuring social action' and challenges so-called stereotypical 'truths' (Jordan-Zachery, 2007, p. 260). The combination of CRT with poststructural and discursive approaches to understanding subject productions and power can be especially useful (Gillborn & Youdell, 2009). A number of CRT scholars employ discourse analysis, focusing on the ideas and categories through which race and racism are socially constructed and understood, often leading to unconscious discrimination (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

This study's analytical framework is particularly influenced by the concepts of interpretative repertoires and ideological dilemmas, discussed in 3.8. Having introduced the ethnographic and discursive approaches, I next describe the research setting chosen for this study.

3.5 THE RESEARCH SETTING

> 'Racialized discourses are always articulated in context: in an English or history class; in a school corridor, dinner queue or playground; at work or on the streets; in one neighbourhood or another' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 27).

The choice of the specific school in a town centre in the south of Cyprus for my research was primarily based on the ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural diversity of the school population. The school is attended by a large percentage of non-Greek-Cypriot pupils, mainly Eastern Europeans of Pontian origin and Iraqi-Palestinians (approximately 38% with one or both non-Greek-Cypriot parents) (Appendix 10.1). Despite this diversity, the school functions as any other public mainstream primary school, with the provision of extra periods for Greek language support lessons (1.4.2). This context suited my aim to explore the everyday realities of teachers and children in the backdrop of intercultural education within the environment of a typical, mainstream school.

The second reason for my choice of this school related to issues of socio-economic class, as it is attended by children of migrant workers who live in the town centre because of the low rents. I often heard the school described as the town's 'ghetto', in random everyday conversations or by teachers working at the school. At the same time, being one of the oldest schools, it is also attended by the children of the doctors, lawyers and businessmen whose work is nearby. As I noted in my fieldnotes in 2007, 'a characteristic of this school is that next to the Cypriot doctors' daughters sit the sons of the doctors' Pontian cleaning ladies'[31]. The visibility of socio-economic class differences among the pupil population is demonstrated in the following fieldnotes extract from 2008:

> This morning I was thinking of writing a few words about the school's profile. One thing that's certain is that the kids that I see coming out of the neighbouring buildings and walking to and from the

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[31] Since the early 1990s when the Pontians migrated to Cyprus, most Pontian women have been employed in jobs as cleaners. More recently, new female migrants from Sri Lanka and Philippines took up the sector of domestic cleaning and Pontian women moved to other low-wage jobs such as sales persons and hotel maids (Gregoriou, 2008).

> school are *not* Greek-Cypriot. It's clear that few
> Greek-Cypriots attending the school actually live in
> the neighbourhood. It's also interesting to note that
> at 1pm it's either Greek-Cypriot grandfathers or
> Filipino domestic workers that are waiting for the
> children to take them home. There are of course, a few
> Greek-Cypriot young mothers with their huge designer
> sunglasses and their expensive leather boots. I
> suppose the only parents who are able to pick up their
> children from school are the ones that are either not
> working, or have flexible timetables which allow them
> to be there at 1pm. I'd be surprised if any of the
> Pontian salesladies or construction workers would be
> able to drop their work to pick up their kids from
> school[32].

The final reason for my choice was related to gaining access. I had already visited the school to collect data for my MA dissertation and established excellent relations with the participants. Initially this was facilitated by my own and my parents' networking as primary school teachers.

The school has two divisions: *Infants,* including the first, second and third grades (6-9-year-olds) and *Juniors,* including the fourth, fifth and sixth grades (10-12-year-olds). Both are situated in the same space and all children share the garden, playground and sports facilities. Each division's classrooms are located in different buildings next to each other. The school has one Parents Association, which holds common meetings with both administrations and organizes whole-school events. Infants and Juniors are run separately by two Headteachers (Anna and Andreas) with different teaching staff – with the exception of Yiorgos, the PE teacher, who teaches all grades. As Infants and Juniors have more similarities than differences, I discuss teachers' practices and discourses and children's relations without distinguishing between the age divisions.

During both years of my fieldwork and the year before, when I conducted my MA research, almost a third of the school population consisted of children of economic migrants from Eastern Europe countries, mainly Georgia, but also

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[32] Observation data are typed in this font to easily distinguish interview data from fieldnotes.

Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, and Hungary (Appendix 10.1). Most children from Georgia were of Pontian origin, who usually spoke Russian as well as Georgian. In teachers' and children's discourses, Eastern European children were often constructed as one group, with terms such as 'Russian-speaking', 'Eastern-countries', 'Bulgarians', 'Slavs', 'Russians', 'Pontians', 'Russian-Pontians'[33] used interchangeably to refer to all of them. Therefore, I find *Eastern-European* useful as a descriptive term for the analysis and use it to refer to children from all the aforementioned countries[34]. When necessary, I make the distinctions, as in the case of Pontian boys (6.3.1).

With the exception of a handful of children already at the school, most Iraqi-Palestinian children gradually started arriving in September 2007 and continued to do so until the end of my fieldwork, reaching a rapidly increasing percentage of 6% (Appendix 10.1). Their families are third-generation refugees who arrived in Iraq from Palestine in the 1940s and 50s and are still denied Iraqi citizenship. In order to escape the Iraq war, as one of the families explained to me, they obtained fake Iraqi passports and travelled to Cyprus through Syria and Turkey. Arriving at the occupied north, they passed through the buffer zone to EU ground in the south and applied for asylum. *Iraqi-Palestinians* is the term used by the children and their families and official and everyday discourses to refer to them. In the analysis, I distinguish between the group of Iraqi-Palestinian children and the few children from other Arab countries such as Iran and Egypt — a necessary distinction for the analysis of the differential racialization processes of minoritized children (6.4.2).

3.5.1 DIVERSITY REPRESENTATION IN THE SCHOOL ETHOS

Considering the monoculturalism and nationalism identified in the general aims of education (1.3), I was not surprised to encounter a monocultural environment at the school, characterized by the dominance of Greek language, nationalistic

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[33] See 1.2.1 for the derogatory connotations attached to the term 'Russian-Pontians'.

[34] Using any category to refer to groups runs the risk of essentialism. Keeping this in mind, I highlight the exceptions to the more predominant constructions in order to avoid generalizations on the basis of any identity marker.

ethos, and Orthodox Christianity. Representations of other cultures, religions, ethnicities and languages at an institutional level were almost completely absent.

As in every other Greek-Cypriot school, the staff was all Greek-Cypriot, White and Christian-Orthodox – including the cleaning ladies and the canteen keepers. All members of the Parents' Association were also Greek-Cypriot. The majority of teachers were, unsurprisingly for Cyprus and most countries, female: only two male teachers worked at Infants in a total of thirteen and three out of fifteen in Juniors. With one exception, teachers had received no initial or in-service teacher training in relation to diversity, racism, human rights or intercultural education, similarly to the vast majority of Greek-Cypriot teachers (1.3). Only Constandinos, teaching fifth grade in 2007 and fourth in 2008, had participated in a series of voluntary seminars on intercultural education teaching practices, organized by the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute.

Regarding the school activities and ethos, the national curriculum was delivered (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1994) and all the annual national and religious celebrations and commemorations were organized, as instructed by the Ministry. The flags of Cyprus, Greece and EU were hoisted at the front of the school and the everyday activities were indicative of the monocultural ethos (1.3).

On a classroom level, the boards displayed children's work and the maps of Cyprus, Greece and/or Europe. Each classroom also had a board for the *I do not forget and I fight* (Δεν ξεχνώ και αγωνίζομαι) theme, part of the curriculum, about the struggle of the Greek-Cypriots to maintain the memories of the Turkish-occupied land and their will to claim their violated human rights. Another board common in all classrooms was titled *All different, all equal* (Όλοι διαφορετικοί, όλοι ίσοι) – the slogan of the Council of Europe antiracist campaign. This was related to the declaration of 2008 as the Year for Intercultural Dialogue by the Council of Europe (1.4.1). The photographs included stereotypical representations of children from around the world, who were visibly minoritized compared to Greek-Cypriot children and pictured in poor

conditions. An example is the following, as drawn in my fieldnotes from observations in Stella's fourth grade in 2007. It consisted of pictures from UNICEF calendars (see Appendix 10.2 for a representation of the actual board). The words between the pictures read:

LITTLE BLACKS (ΜΑΥΡΑΚΙΑ)	ALL LITTLE SIBLINGS OF CHRIST (ΟΛΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΑΚΙΑ)	picture
picture		picture
WHITES (ΑΣΠΡΑ)	YELLOWS (ΚΙΤΡΙΝΑ)	picture
picture		
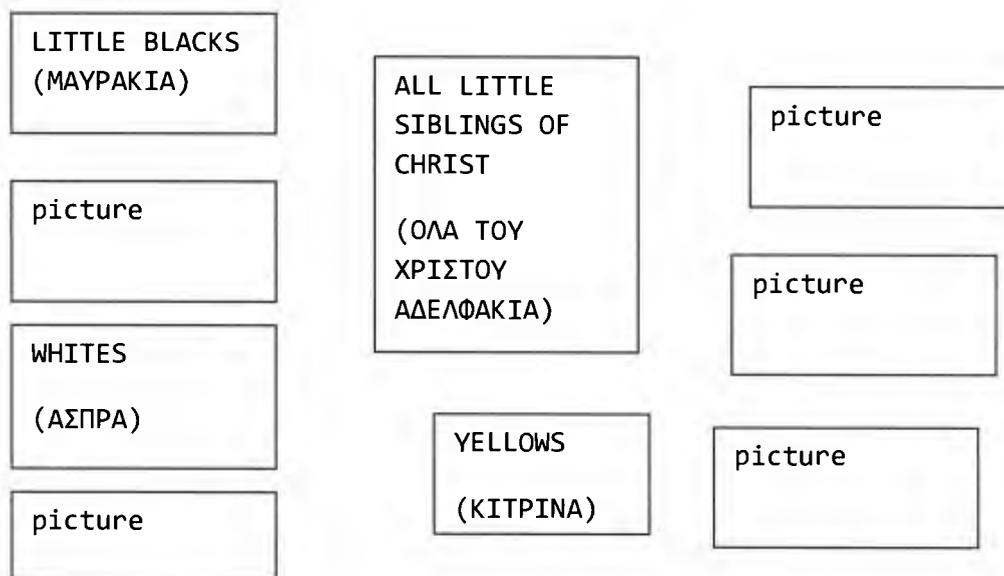
The board normalizes Christian religion and implies the validity of a racial classification system based on skin colour. Minoritized children are represented as exotic and poor, living somewhere far away. Moreover, the connection between children of all skin colours is constructed through their relation to Christ. The way diversity and religion are presented on this board is likely to create and reproduce ethnic stereotypes, promote the perception that humans should be classified into races based on skin colour, and, enhance the predominance of Christianity as the norm, while excluding other religions[35].

In addition, every morning, teachers said Morning Prayer with the children in the classroom or school assembly. According to the Ministry's policy since 2005, non-Greek-Cypriot, non-Christian-Orthodox parents may ask in writing for their child's exemption from Religious Education lesson, and attendance, instead, of lessons in other classes. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether all parents were

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[35] As will be argued in 5.4.1, such representations of diversity in the hidden curriculum may be linked to the reproduction of stereotypical assumptions about Arun, a dark-skinned Indian boy in Stella's class, and to the failure of her intervention to challenge children's racialized discourses about his skin colour.

aware of this right, as often there was no common language between home and school. Generally, little is known about the way this information is passed on to the parents in Cyprus (Trimikliniotis, 2006). Furthermore, such withdrawal policies may create additional forms of exclusion for minoritized children from the mainstream classroom.

3.5.2 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION AT THE SCHOOL

Following the official policy guidelines on intercultural education (1.4.2), newly-arrived children who do not speak Greek are placed at a class with children a year younger and are provided with two weekly periods of Greek support lessons. However, Juniors' Headteacher Andreas exhibited a rare instance of resistance to the structural constraints that he found did not provide the much needed support to teachers and children. He arranged so that Nane, an Arabic and Greek speaker, comes to Juniors twice a week and provides support lessons to some of the Iraqi-Palestinian children and interpretation services. Andreas arranged this unofficially, having pulled some strings in his wider professional and personal network and bending several bureaucratic rules.

Nane spoke to me about the first time she met the Iraqi-Palestinian children: 'you should've seen their little faces the first time I entered this class and told them 'marhaba' (hello in Arabic)! They were immediately lit with joy!' Even Antonia, a Greek-Cypriot teacher teaching some of the support lessons, who does not speak Arabic, reported that children were equally excited when learning Greek with her in their small group:

> The other day we were doing a support lesson and we were learning the alphabet and we started saying some words and the children got so excited that they *didn't* want to go to their classes! So you understand that the children *want* to learn! They try. (...) And, well, I don't see them frustrated or unhappy at all when they leave the classroom to go and do the support lesson. On the contrary, they are *much* happier!

Nane's and Antonia's claims were confirmed by my observations. Children had such a good time in those lessons with Nane and Antonia, as opposed to being in the mainstream classroom, that, sometimes, when a change in the school

programme required that the lesson is postponed, I observed them create emotional scenes, refusing to go back to their mainstream class. Also, I was shocked when I first observed Iraqi-Palestinian children in a support lesson with Nane. I could see a complete transformation of the children I was used to watching in the mainstream classes – lying on their desks, arms dropping by the sides of their chairs, yawning, being passive, playing with their hands/hair/pencils/erasers, falling asleep, staring into the void – into loud, participating, happy, smiling, excited, verbal, active children. The following extract shows my surprise when I watched children in Nane's class being much louder and alive than I was used to seeing them in mainstream classes:

> It's unbelievable how loud Noor can actually talk! All kids seem sooo willing to participate and learn with Nane, they listen to everything she says, it's so obvious that they are so happy to be here. Totally different image from what you see in class. Now they're asking her for the meaning of words like 'just fine' (μια χαρά), 'certainly' (βέβαια), 'bee' (μέλισσα). They've obviously heard them in class. One boy asks repeatedly what 'write' (γράψετε) means! Another boy raises a leaflet about the afternoon sports classes, asking Nane to explain to him what it's about. They must be so lost in the classroom. And yet not, because they obviously keep recording words in their minds to remember so they can ask Nane. What a contrasting reality to their passive image in class!

Similarly, Turkish-speaking children in Zembylas' (in press) study said they were much happier and comfortable in support lessons. Such examples point to the fact that 'emotional geographies of exclusion are not homogeneous', as, on the one hand, minoritized children 'deal with the emotional pain and vulnerability of being racialised and ethnicised, but at another level these boundaries of exclusion are not accepted as 'natural' or 'inevitable' by these children' (Zembylas, in press, p. 8). These examples demonstrate that 'identities are situated accomplishments' and when they are '"done" differently in particular temporal moments they rub up against, and so expose, the dominant spatial orderings that define who is in place/out of place, who belongs and who does not' (Valentine, 2007, p. 19). Thus, Iraqi-Palestinian children's experiences of

being excluded and 'disabled' in the mainstream classroom while being empowered and 'enabled' in the support lessons 'expose the ways that power operates in and through particular spaces to systematically (re)produce particular inequalities' (ibid.).

Because of spatial constraints within the school, these support lessons were held in the Special Education classroom, normally used for personalized lessons for children with special needs by their teacher. In addition to the constructions of diversity as deficit in official intercultural education policy discourses (1.4.2), these spatial arrangements also construct diversity as a disability that needs to be treated, albeit unintentionally. Because of the lack of appropriate material for teaching Greek to Arabic speakers, with the help of some first grade teachers, Nane, despite her lack of teacher training, put together a pack of Greek language activity sheets for beginners, which she paid herself to have photocopied and bound for each child.

Evidently, Iraqi-Palestinian children benefited greatly from the support lessons with Nane or Antonia. However, as with the Religious Education exemption policy, the children's withdrawal from the mainstream classroom remains problematic, adding to the institutional exclusion due to the lack of appropriate material and suitably trained teachers.

3.6   ACCESS AND DATA COLLECTION

> 'Ethnographers are notorious for collecting rubbish' (Blommaert, 2006, p. 52).

Having received official permission from the Ministry and approval from the two Headteachers to enter the school (Appendices 10.3 and 10.4), I spent May 2007 and six weeks in January-February 2008 doing fieldwork. Another visit of two weeks preceded the two data collection phases for the purposes of my MA dissertation the previous year (Papamichael, 2006). My MA served as a pilot study which identified initial themes related to intercultural education discourses and practices, such as teachers' discourses of colourblindness (2.3). My repeated visits to the school enabled me to observe changes in the demographics and in

the relevant discourses, but also to complement my preliminary findings. They also contributed to the development of more egalitarian and nonexploitative relationships with the participants (Vincent & Warren, 2001).

I conducted the main body of research during school hours (7.30am – 13.05pm) and arranged the interviews with the Inspectors, Ministry officials and parents during the afternoons. On the first days of both phases of fieldwork, during the weekly staff meetings at Infants and Juniors, I introduced myself and my research to the teachers and gave them the explanatory and consent forms (Appendix 10.5). Explaining the research and gaining consent was much easier in 2008, as I was already familiar with most teachers. Many teachers were willing to participate in the research as interviewees and/or by allowing me to observe lessons in their classrooms.

In addition to interviewing and observations at a classroom and whole-school level, I collected documents related to intercultural education (i.e. curriculum, policy documents, teaching material, children's work, reports, pupil population demographics) (Appendix 10.6). I next discuss the choice of methods and the process of data collection, followed by a presentation of my 'identities' in the field.

3.6.1 INTERVIEWING

'[I]nterviewers are seen as active participants rather than like speaking questionnaires' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 165).

A data collection method for ethnography (Blommaert, 2006) as well as discourse analysis (Potter, 1996), interviewing is the major method in this study. It allows for a range of themes to be explored with different individuals and is particularly effective in providing researchers with the range of interpretative repertoires available to participants and the uses to which they are put (Potter, 1996). Informal qualitative interviewing with open-ended questions provides the researcher with unexpected, rich data, voluntary and spontaneous accounts, a continually revised and reframed focus of the research project, and a variety of interpretations (Bryman, 2001; O'Reilly, 2005; Seale, 1998; Walsh, 1998).

The topics are usually raised from within the research setting and the time and place are such that the participants are comfortable enough to express themselves (O'Reilly, 2005). Such interviews are similar to casual conversations but carry specific and implicit purposes: they help the ethnographer to create and maintain a healthy rapport with the participants; compare people's perceptions; identify shared values in a community; explain and contextualize the observations and experiences in the setting; and, discover the cultural or subcultural connotations behind the denotative meanings of words and expressions (Fetterman, 1998).

Rapley (2007) considers interviews to be the production of accounts of experiences, emotions, identities, knowledges and opinions, which depend on the specific interactional context. Therefore, the analysis of interview data does not intend to establish the *truth* of the respondents' actions, experiences, feelings or thoughts, but *how* these truths are produced and negotiated. Consequently, one of my main roles as a researcher during fieldwork was as an *ethnographic interviewer*, conducting individual recorded interviews and group discussions with adults and children. In all cases, I used an interview guide (Appendix 10.7).

3.6.1.1 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND OTHER ADULTS

During the two main phases of fieldwork, I conducted 36 interviews with 27 Headteachers and teachers (Appendix 10.8). Eight teachers and the two Headteachers were interviewed twice over the two phases of fieldwork. As teachers did not seem willing to dedicate more than one of their free teaching periods to talk to me, most interviews lasted an average of 30 minutes, with recorded material ranging from 10 to 36 minutes. This resulted in 26.02 hours of recorded material[36] (Appendix 10.9). All but one out of the 27 Headteachers and teachers agreed to be recorded. I also had casual non-recorded conversations with Lakis, a substitute teacher at Juniors in 2007, and Nane, the Arabic speaker at Juniors in 2008. In total, 33 interviews of teachers and Headteachers, were

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[36] Recorded material excludes the initial conversation and explanatory questions and answers.

recorded and are used in the data analysis. Teacher interviews began with an open question about their experiences of teaching at a school with children from various backgrounds: 'What can you tell me of your experience in a multicultural school?'

The interviews with two Inspectors and two Ministry officials in 2007 (Appendix 10.10) were more structured and formal. One of the Ministry officials requested the questions in writing in advance. I carried telephone and face to face interviews with thirteen parents (Appendix 10.11) in 2008. These were less structured and evolved around the question 'How do you feel as a parent of a child attending a multicultural school?' Interviews with Ministry officials, Inspectors and parents are used for contextualizing the discourses of teachers and children for my analysis and, due to scope and space limitations, are not analysed in this thesis. My increasing concern with racialization processes in everyday school and classroom realities as the fieldwork progressed narrowed the scope of the thesis to the discourses and practices of teachers and children.

3.6.1.2   GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN

Research with children may potentially be different from research with adults, not because children are inherently different, but because of adults' constructions of childhood (Connolly, 1998b; Punch, 2002). I viewed my interactions with children as complex as those with adults and did not treat them as simplistically different. However, I spent longer amounts of time explaining to children the research purposes and the process and implications of their potential participation, based on their age. I emphasized that their potential unwillingness to participated or request to withdraw from the research would have no consequences for them.

For the exploration of children's school experiences I organized planned discussion groups. Planned discussion groups are not as formal as focus groups and can be arranged with small numbers between participants who usually know each other, enabling the researcher to learn from the spontaneous interaction between the participants and to direct future research in line with the

participants' views (O'Reilly, 2005). In addition, discussion groups provide more breadth of information compared to individual interviews which are suitable for gaining in-depth information instead.

Sixteen teachers agreed that I give consent forms to their pupils and their parents (Appendix 10.12) and conduct group discussions with the children. All children agreed to be recorded. I started the interview by generally asking 'What can you tell me about your school, where there are children from all over the world?' and followed the interview guide (Appendix 10.7). I conducted 76 group discussions with 179 children from 16 classes, including a group of six Iraqi-Palestinians, interviewed with Nane's help (Appendix 10.13).

In the classroom, after introducing myself or being introduced by the teacher, I explained to the children that I chose their school because *it has a very good reputation as a school and because there are children attending it from various countries* and that I was interested in their school experiences. Group discussions were organised based on friendship relations between the children (Connolly, 1998b; Devine, Kenny, & Macneela, 2008), so that children felt as comfortable as possible, with a maximum of five children in each group (Appendices 10.14 and 10.15). In total, 22 children (29%) specifically asked that they come alone and I accepted their request (Appendix 10.16). Slightly more than half the children I spoke to were Greek-Cypriot and the rest had other national origins (Appendix 10.17). There were national origin and gender divisions in the group formations that resulted from children's choice (Appendix 10.18). Over both phases of fieldwork, the vast majority of groups were homogenous in terms of gender (72%) and national origin (61%)[37]. Both percentages of gender and national origin homogeneity were lower in 2007 than in 2008, rising from 64% to 79% in terms of gender homogeneity and from 52% to 65% in terms of national origin. While no generalizations or causal links may be drawn from these numerical

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[37] Homogeneity in terms of national origin is considered to appear in groups consisting of only Greek-Cypriot children or groups consisting of only non-Greek-Cypriot children. Rarely were groups formed between non-Greek-Cypriot children of exactly the same origin, though a few pairs of girls had Georgian/Pontian origin in common.

observations, I would suggest that they reflect certain patterns of segregation also observed in the playground, especially in relation to friendship groups based on national origin (Sections 5.3, 6.3, 6.4).

The recordings of group and individual discussions with children resulted in a total of 11.49 hours (Appendix 10.9). The rather short length of group discussions with children (approximately 10 minutes) resulted mainly from the Headteachers' suggestion that the time children spend outside the classroom is kept to the minimum to avoid disturbing the normal curriculum delivery. Also, most parents who called me prior to signing the consent form asked that their children 'do not miss the lesson'. To minimize this pressure, I asked teachers to decide when would be the best time to leave the classroom with groups of children. However, I never interrupted the flow of my discussions with children because of time pressure. Overall, the short length of group discussions with children does not jeopardise the analysis, as it is mainly based on teacher interviews and observational data.

3.6.2   OBSERVATIONS

'Participating enables the strange to become familiar; observing enables the familiar to appear strange' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 109).

'Asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out' (Blommaert, 2006, p. 5).

Direct observation is 'the guts of the ethnographic approach' (Spindler & Spindler, 1992, p. 63), as no observation in ethnography can be non-participant (O'Reilly, 2005). During fieldwork I took detailed fieldnotes of everything I observed in relation to diversity in all school settings: the staffroom, the classrooms, the playground, the canteen, even the surrounding area outside the school. I took photographs with the children during breaks to use as a memory aid. I also drew diagrams and I copied teaching material, policy documents (Appendix 10.6), children's work, timetables, and material from classroom boards (for example Appendix 10.2).

Most of the time, I acted as an *observer-participant*, sitting at the back of a classroom, watching the lessons and taking detailed fieldnotes. When observing whole-school events, such as school assemblies, celebrations or commemorations, I took detailed notes at a later stage. I acted as a *participant-observer* when, on some occasions, I was asked by the Headteachers to substitute for absent teachers for a couple teaching periods. I recorded relevant incidents or conversations afterwards.

In the first phase of fieldwork in 2007, I observed 27 teaching periods in 13 classes at Infants and Juniors, observing 24 teachers (Appendix 10.19). In 2008, I preferred to focus on six classrooms, in order to spend longer periods with the same teacher and children. I carried out observations for a week in each (Appendix 10.20), observing 175 teaching periods in 6 classes over 6 weeks, three at Infants and three at Juniors. Overall, my observations produced over 100.000 words of fieldnotes.

3.6.3 MY 'IDENTITIES' AS A RESEARCHER

> 'Should the Asian man stay at home when researching Asian girls and should the Sikh researcher stay at home when researching other Asians of differing religions? However, at this point the question arises of what is an 'Asian'?' (Singh-Raud, 1999, p. 8).

Writing about his dilemmas while doing ethnographic research with Asian Muslim girls, Singh-Raud discusses the limitations in terms of being unable to empathize with the girls in some ways and the advantages of conveying another perspective on the research data, stemming from his differential positionality. Looking closely at the intersections of interviewers' and interviewees' skin colour and gender, Phoenix (1994) suggests that the potential effects of the power positions on the interview situation are not unitary nor essential but complex. She concludes that the dynamics of the intersecting 'race', class, and gender identities of researchers and participants, but also wider social relations, affect the interviewing process in unpredictable ways, which makes attempts to 'match' researchers' and participants' identities not necessarily methodologically wise (Phoenix, 1994). The ways in which the researcher is represented in the

eyes of the participants has implications upon the research process and product (Henry, 2003).

Teacher-researchers especially, like myself, as a classroom's natural participant-observers, encounter greater difficulty disengaging sufficiently from personal experiences to be convincing as 'detached' observers (Wolcott, 1992). Even outsider researchers affect the surroundings which they observe, which inevitably cause adaptations to their presence within a classroom (Blommaert, 2006). I found myself somewhere in between. During fieldwork I was both an insider, because of my experience as a primary school teacher, my shared national origin and language with all teachers, and my shared gender identity with most. I was also an outsider, because of my current status as a doctoral student and my age – younger compared to most teachers and older compared to the pupils.

Teachers viewed me as a *researcher* in the sense of a doctoral student in need of their help, rather than an academic professional researcher. Because of my previous teaching experience in primary schools of Cyprus, I was also viewed as a *teacher*. Both representations had positive implications for the research: the participants offered their help gladly to help a struggling PhD student, and easily welcomed me to their classrooms, as 'one of them', who would empathize with their everyday struggle and would not criticize them for shouting or losing control.

The children generally viewed me as an (older) *student*. One reason, I believe, was my red Converse shoes, quite fashionable among 11-12-year-olds at the time, but not at all among teachers. Luckily, unlike Smith's experience (2007), I was not asked by the Head to go home and change from jeans into a suit on my first day of fieldwork. There were instances in which I had to negotiate this representation in the pupils' eyes by avoiding identification with 'teacher' and any other level of authority. For example, while sitting at the back of a classroom observing, I was sometimes asked general questions that teachers were unsure of. I purposefully expressed my ignorance in order to avoid becoming further

involved in the lesson. Also, when teachers introduced me as a *teacher*, I explained to the children that even though I was a teacher in the past, I am now a student like them, attending a university in London. Still, like teachers, I was called 'Miss' (Κυρία), by children, even though I introduced myself as 'Elena'.

Further instances of managing my identity as a researcher rather than a teacher appeared when I was asked by the Headteachers to substitute for absent teachers; when some teachers pointed the children's attention to my presence as a way of disciplining or encouraging them; and, when some teachers would leave the room for a few minutes and leave me 'in charge'. Luckily, I did not have to 'hide' any misbehaviour incidents from the teachers.

My identity as an *unmarried woman* in her late twenties also influenced the way I was perceived – a factor commonly affecting a researcher's representation (Henry, 2003). Two of the older female teachers advised me to 'find a husband' while doing my PhD, 'so that it won't take you much longer to have children'. One of them offered her services as a matchmaker – which I kindly refused. Two teachers shared their experiences of social pressures as single women in their early thirties. At the same time, twelve-year-old girls would approach me during breaks and confide in me about boys they were interested in, or girlfriends they had fallen out with. These examples highlight the specificities of my positionality as a woman researcher.

It should be emphasized that my impressions of the participants' views of myself are solely based on my own interpretations of their comments and behaviour towards me. It would be false to assume that these identities were ascribed to me by all participants or at all times.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND DILEMMAS

During the design and conduct of this study I followed the BERA ethical guidelines (British Educational Research Association, 2004) and I completed an Ethical Approval Form which was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Education. In this section, I discuss the ethical considerations and dilemmas that were raised during this study, focusing on issues of anonymity,

confidentiality and consent, deception, subjectivity, intervention dilemmas, and, power relations between researcher and participants.

Dealing with the issue of anonymity and confidentiality, the consent forms and agreement letters (Appendices 10.5 and 10.12) informed the participants of my commitment to confidentiality and anonymity and of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. An accompanying explanatory statement referred to the research aims. All explanations were adjusted to children's age. All names were changed and confidentiality was kept. However, in a small island like Cyprus there is an unavoidable danger of identification of the participants or the school. To address this I have altered some details about the research setting and participants' identities. The same will be applied in future publications.

Confidentiality and anonymity will also be carefully considered for the dissemination of the findings. Returning to the school to provide feedback is particularly complex, as with the completion of this study, most participants will have moved to other schools. The most appropriate way of disseminating my findings is through contributions to relevant in-service teacher training seminars and conferences, for example through the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute.

Another consideration relates to the risks of researching racism. Being explicit about the study's focus on racism would endanger gaining permission from the Ministry and Headteachers to access the school, discourage participants from giving their consent, and affect their responses. Considering the sensitive nature of racism, Stevens (2008) never mentioned to his participants that he was focusing on issues of teacher racism, but only discussed these with pupils. Blommaert (2006, p. 43), suggests that the tactic for discussing such sensitive topics is 'taking an *indirect* route' by selecting words that are not negatively loaded. According to Blommaert, doing an interview on racism without mentioning the term as such to the participants does not violate any ethical rules and does not involve lying or misguiding the participants. Nevertheless, I always included the term 'racism' at least once in my conversations with teachers and mentioned it in the explanatory statement that accompanied the consent form

(Appendix 10.5). Also, I always responded positively in questions about whether racism is part of my research focus (for example, 5.3.2). Though I did not explicitly express my interest in racialization processes, evidence in the fieldnotes and interview data suggests that participants *were* aware of my interest in racism.

Another ethical consideration relates to my subjectivity as a researcher, which I discuss here, because:

> 'transparency and space for the human being behind the researcher can help us to appreciate, at the right moments and for fitting purposes, sense *and* sensibilities, rationality *and* fears, conceptual rigor *and* political strategizing' (Essed, 2004, p. 131, original emphases).

As most interviewers, I faced the difficulty of being detached in relation to what was said, while at the same time engage in an interpersonal relation with the interviewees. I made efforts to remain as neutral as possible, despite my frustration caused by my disagreement with some views. However, having to remain passive and non-judgemental of the everyday racism pervasive in the school exacerbated already present emotions of fatigue and guilt (Smith, 2007). An interviewer may find it difficult to detach herself from what she hears from the respondents and may react negatively to parts of their accounts, especially if they include negative constructions of a category that the interviewer may identify with, or make sexist or racist comments (Phoenix, 1994). In my case, most negative feelings I experienced had to do with the latter, as I matched the national, linguistic, religious, and gender identities of most interviewees. Vera and Feagin (2004, p. 76) suggest that such emotions need to become, 'critically and reflexively, an integral part of our research method for studying these phenomena' in order to 'truly understand the contours and underlying realities of contemporary racism'. Not just ethnographers, but discourse analysts aim to explore ways of practising reflexivity within their research by drawing attention to their own talk and their answers and reactions to expressed opinions (Gill, 1996; Koole, 2003).

On a different note, in criticizing political ethnographies, Hammersley (2006, p. 11) argues that 'the ethnographer must neither be in the service of some political establishment or profession nor an organic intellectual seeking to further the interests of marginalised, exploited, or dominated groups' as this would increase the risk of systematic bias. However, I am more convinced by Blair's (1998, p. 13) argument that regardless of intentions, there can be no neutral interpretations and analyses, because 'our histories and memories are shot through with gendered, classed, racialized and other 'excluding' understandings which give us our particular perspectives on the world'. Those stating that they are in a traditional 'value neutral' position are simply unwilling to accept that all social researchers include their values, emotions and understandings, which may lead to deeper insights of the phenomena under study (Vera & Feagin, 2004). Keeping these points in mind, I approach the data analysis with awareness of my subjective intersectional positionalities and I make efforts for constant reflection.

As an observer participant, when faced with the ethical dilemma of remaining a passive observer in order to collect as much 'naturally' occurring data as possible, or interfering in order to challenge exclusionary or discriminatory behaviours or discourses, I usually chose the former. However, I always interfered when I sensed that a child was emotionally or physically abused. For example, during two group discussions with children, I observed a Pontian boy and a Greek-Cypriot girl being teased by their peers about their accent and their taste in pop music accordingly. I interrupted them and did not allow for either situation to go on, without, however, making my position explicit, as that would risk additional data collection. My decisions to intervene also created ambivalence as to whether they were beneficial (see 7.2.1 for an example).

Furthermore, power imbalances are present at all stages of a research project. As a researcher speaking the language of the majoritized to which I belonged I was in many ways more powerful than the minoritized children and families. Also, while in interviews power may lie both with researchers and respondents, during the data analysis and writing up researchers are almost always more powerful

(Phoenix, 1994). Power ethical issues also arise considering the representation of minoritized groups and individuals' experiences in the data as they did not speak Greek. For example, there have been minimal contributions from children like Arun (5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.4.1, 6.2), Ahmed (Section 5.3.1, 5.3.4, 5.4.1), Hashim (Chapter 7) and Iraqi-Palestinians in general (6.4). An exception was the group discussion with the six Iraqi-Palestinian children with Nane's help as an interpreter. This, however, had the triple burden of Nane's translation from Arabic to Cypriot dialect, my transcription from Cypriot to Modern Greek, and the translation from Greek to English. Therefore, the analysis of minoritized children's experience is mostly based on my interpretation of observational and interview data regarding their presence, behaviour and interactions. Minoritized children's limited 'words' in the research may invite criticisms of silencing their 'voice' and even turning a colonial gaze upon them. However, I did not embark on this research journey with false assumptions such as 'giving voice' to oppressed groups or individuals, but to uncover some of the everyday classroom realities. Therefore, this 'invisibility' of minoritized children in the data precisely reflects their 'invisibility' from everyday school life. It is these realities that the analysis aims to highlight.

3.8 KEY ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS

Drawn from the field of discursive psychology and within the framework of the discursive approach (3.4) that informs this study, the key analytical concepts of interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and discursive racism denials are considered to be suitable for the data analysis in this study. I briefly introduce them in this section.

3.8.1 BEYOND LABELS OF 'RACIST' AND 'NON-RACIST'

Discursive psychology is anti-cognitivist and non-mentalistic (M. Rapley, 2001). Discursive psychologists are generally highly critical of cognitive conceptualizations of attitudes and beliefs as enduring cognitive entities and argue that the focus of analysis should be how people construct objects and issues in their talk, the variability and functions of their talk (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Sale, 1999; Billig, 1997b; LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001). These are suitably

explored with the analytical tool of interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). First introduced by Gilbert and Mulkay (1984, in Wetherell & Potter, 1992) and developed by Potter and Wetherell (1987), interpretative repertoires were used to analyze racist discourse in interview data collected from White New Zealanders regarding their perceptions of the Maori minority (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Though often used interchangeably with discourse (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), interpretative repertoires differ on a level of scale and personal agency as they are conceptualized on a smaller scale and are resources used by the speakers, rather than structures that are imposed on them (Burr, 2003). They have been employed in analytical frameworks by researchers internationally and interdisciplinary (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, 1999; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Sale, 1999; Burr, 2003; Edley, 2001; Marshall & Raabe, 1993; Moir, 1993; Reynolds, 2008; Seymour-Smith, Wetherell, & Phoenix, 2002; Steyn & Foster, 2007; Zembylas, Charalambous, & Charalambous, in press).

Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 90) define interpretative repertoires as 'broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled through metaphors or vivid images', which can also be described as 'systems of signification' or 'the building blocks used for manufacturing versions of actions, self and social structures in talk'. They are often used systematically, with grammatical and stylistic coherence, and are organized around central historically developing metaphors (Potter, 1996). Interpretative repertoires are similar to 'the moves of an ice dancer' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 92), or to 'books on the shelves of a public library' (Edley, 2001, p. 198), from which the speaker selects the ones that fit most effectively in the context of the conversation. Repertoires enable people to justify particular versions of events, excuse or validate their behaviour, respond to criticism, or maintain a credible stance in an interaction (Burr, 2003).

The concept of variability, conceptualized through interpretative repertoires, shows how different ways of constructions of events, processes or groups are

deployed to achieve different effects (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The variability indicates the abundance of interpretative repertoires which inform people's accounts of diversity in a given context and may be employed simultaneously, switching from one to another, depending on the context and on what the speaker aims to achieve with their account (Potter, 1996). The variations and contradictions in interviewees' discourse are used as a source, instead of an obstacle to the revelation of the participants 'pure' and 'real' perceptions or 'racist' or 'non-racist' beliefs. Interpretative repertoires allow for the explanation of variability and contradictions as a normal and expected part of people's discourses with different group memberships (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; van den Berg, 2003). When Wetherell and Potter (1992) noted that their respondents moved between ideas and statements that might be characterized as racist or antiracist, they wondered:

> 'How should these many confusingly variable interviewees be classified? Are they basically anti-racist liberals who have picked up one or two racist ideas? Are they racists trying to present themselves in a more liberal manner? Or should some sort of mid-point or average be computed: so many racist utterances balance out so many anti-racist ones?' (p. 102)

Their answer is that it would be surprising if people *were* consistent in their discourse. People's talk generally varies as they draw on different repertoires to explain and justify their claims in different contexts (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Thus, variability and inconsistency in people's talk are normally expected, as the content of their talk reflects contextual changes and functional purposes of that moment (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Sale, 1999; van den Berg, 2003).

Discursive psychology is particularly critical of labelling individuals (Augoustinos & Every, 2007) and discourses as racist or not racist, as they consider such static categorical definitions of people to oversimplify racism (Phoenix, 1997b). The discursive psychological approach 'does not try to apply a litmus test, to see if people really are prejudiced, whether openly or behind the camouflage of their talk' (D. Edwards, 2003, p. 32). In one of their discursive projects, Augoustinos

and Every (2007) even avoid labelling discourse as 'racist' and instead call it 'race talk', leaving it up to the reader to make the judgement of whether it is racist or not. Also, labelling incidents as racist has been problematized by Stevens (2009), who found that the interpretations pupils may give to racialized incidents involving teachers may vary, depending on their relations. I avoid describing individuals or incidents as racist or not racist, but, drawing on the concept of racialization (2.4), I view individuals' practices and discourses as *racialized* and, if producing racist effects, as racist (2.5). Therefore, the aim of this study is not to classify people as racists or non-racists, but to 'reveal the discursive practices through which race categories are constructed' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 102).

Interpretative repertoires are criticized for not addressing the link from social organization to categories (Reicher, 2001) and for potentially obscuring local discursive interactions because of their generality (Potter, 1996). Like ethnography, discourse analysis may be criticized for not producing broad empirical generalizations; however, such criticisms are misplaced, as discourse analysis does not aim to identify universal, or representative processes or discourses (Gill, 1996). On the contrary, discourse analysis supports that all discourses are occasioned, contextual, historical, and constructed by particular interpretative rhetorical resources (ibid.). I would argue that a combination of discursive analysis employing interpretative repertoires with analysis of institutional and other forms of racism (2.3) may address concerns such as the above. After all, Wetherell and Potter (1992) clarify that their analysis of racist discourse is not meant to substitute, but to complement other kinds of analysis of racism.

In sum, in order to set the research aims of this study in terms of institutional and participants' discourses, I paraphrase the research aims of Augoustinos et al (1999, pp. 91-92):

> I did not set out to detail the exhaustive stock of resources and
> rhetorical arguments that majority group members can possibly
> utilise when discussing racial issues (...) My aim was to identify the

specific resources participants used in these interactive instances and to analyse how these resources were put together in constructing migrants/asylum-seekers/minoritized children and intercultural education and racism in Cyprus.

3.8.2 IDEOLOGICAL DILEMMAS AND RACISM DENIALS

> 'the reasonable discourse of prejudice needs its unreasonably prejudiced Other' (Billig et al., 1988, p. 115).

Billig and his colleagues (1988, p. 25) suggested the concept of ideological dilemmas to describe the lived ideologies, or the common sense of a society, defining them as 'varying patterns of dilemmatic concerns' caused by the 'varying patterns of cultural norms, beliefs and values'. Ideological dilemmas explain the contradictions apparent in the variability of interpretative repertoires, such as discursive racism denials, as representative of the commonsensical dilemmas that individuals face when constructing their accounts about minoritized groups in given social and historical contexts (van den Berg, 2003). Tensions and contradictions in people's talk point to the inherent dilemmas that cannot be solved by rhetorical means because they are part of the discursive resources on which people draw in specific rhetorical contexts (Willig, 2003).

Interpretative repertoires and ideological dilemmas are closely linked because of the speakers' efforts to reconcile contradictory argumentative threads within the inconsistent repertoires that are available to them. Therefore, a number of discourse analysts combine analysis of interpretative repertoires with ideological dilemmas (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Edley, 2001; Reynolds, 2008; Seymour-Smith et al., 2002; Wetherell, 1998).

Common examples of the dilemmatic nature of talk about race are the discursive strategies of racism denials. Racism denials represent the dilemma people are faced with when they try to put forward arguments in their accounts that may be considered racist, while trying to avoid any racist accusations due to the social condemnation of racism. Such denials demonstrate that people are aware that

they may be held personally accountable for their talk in everyday interaction (M. Rapley, 2001).

Typical racism and prejudice denials are described in Billig (1991) and Billig et al. (1988) with the concept of 'prolepsis' through the typical statement of 'I'm not prejudiced/racist but...'. This common preface is evidence of the social and cultural undesirability of racism and prejudice, which make their denial obligatory, especially in European countries in talk about immigrants (Billig, 1997a). It also works to disarm criticism in advance. Furthermore, speakers can present themselves and their views as reasonable, as the 'but...' is usually followed by rational facts and arguments which justify views that may otherwise appear as irrational feelings (Billig et al., 1988). Rattansi (1994, pp. 70-71) argues that such disavowal statements need to be viewed as 'part of complex rhetorical strategies by subjects as reflexive *agents*, attempting to articulate different subject positions within a framework of perceived interests' drawing on interpretative repertoires (original emphasis). Through this denial speakers implicitly distance themselves from the category of prejudiced individuals (Billig, 1997a) and lay claim to be members of the moral community of the unprejudiced (Billig, 1991). Another form of prolepsis is the formulation of 'on the one hand...on the other hand', which indicates the existence of an ideological dilemma, and is illustrative of the ambivalence the speakers may experience, as they are torn between the various, sometimes contradictory, repertoires that are available to them (Billig et al., 1988).

Face-saving and argument building mechanisms of racism denials are explicitly analysed by van Dijk (1992; 2002), who focuses on discourses in the Netherlands. However, his work has been criticized for its functionalist and cognitive approach to discourse analysis which assumes that contradictions in discourse represent real, underlying cognitions of the speakers (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001; van den Berg, 2003). The work of Bonilla-Silva (2002; 2006; 2000) in the US can be subjected to similar criticisms as it analyses the talk of 'Whites' about 'Blacks' or minorities and assumes that racism denials aim to hide already existing attitudes of individuals. Though this study does not adopt a cognitive conceptualization of

attitudes, Van Dijk's and Bonilla-Silva's work is still useful in terms of their analytic identification of denial strategies.

Racism denials are also expressed through racism mitigations or trivializations by minimizing racist discourses or the importance of racist acts. Reeves (1983) suggested the notion of sanitary coding to describe discourses which refer to race indirectly. Further rhetorical moves of racism denial people make in their talk about race or diversity include techniques of quantification, analogy, ambiguity and quotation (Reeves, 1983), strategies of reported speech, narration of incidents, making general claims about the state of relations, drawing on images from the media, proposing common-sense explanations (Buttny, 2003), humour, personal experience, and self-censorship (Barnes, Palmary, & Durrheim, 2001). Finally, Condor et al (2006) highlight the collaboration and defense strategies of individuals against racist accusations in the everyday production of racist discourse.

As seen in 1.4.3, racism denials were identified in Ministry discourses about intercultural education and racism. Identification of participants' racism denials is done throughout the data analysis chapters of the thesis.

3.9 ANALYTICAL PROCESS

In this last section, I describe the process following the data collection and my return to London after the two fieldwork phases in 2007 and 2008. Beginning with a discussion of the transcription and translation complexities, I move to the coding, analysing and writing up, before the conclusion of this chapter.

3.9.1 TRANSCRIBING AND TRANSLATING

'The idea that transcription is 'simply putting the words down on paper' is very far from reality' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 165).

Transcribing is an important and difficult task: important, because a good transcript is essential for the repeated readings required for data analysis; difficult, as it is extremely time consuming and it is a skill that requires practice to perfect (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Being pragmatic, since I thought best to transcribe the total amount of recorded interviews at full length, including my

own speech, I chose to avoid adding the fine details of timing and intonation to the transcripts. Similarly to Wetherell and Potter (1992), I ignored most features of speed, breathing and intonation, but my transcripts were a faithful representation of everything that was said both by the interviewer and the interviewee. I included speech errors, remarks such as 'hmm' or 'umm', gross changes of volume and emphasis (*in italics*), as well as long pauses, laughter or interruptions which are noted in parentheses (see transcription conventions in Appendix 10.21). Each interview transcript begins with a paragraph outlining the context in which the interview took place and what was said before (see Appendix 10.22 for an example).

Following Potter's (1996) advice, I made analytical notes in parallel to the actual transcription, a process which proved particularly fruitful in terms of analytical insights. At the same time, re-listening to and transcribing interviews, albeit an illuminating and productive experience, often became 'a source of deep embarrassment' due to the 'painful confrontation with badly formulated statements, errors in comprehension, missed opportunities in the interview, [one's] accent, [one's] irritating insistence on particular points, and so on' (Blommaert, 2006, p. 44). Despite such realizations, the awareness that such 'mistakes' decreased as the number of conducted interviews increased, provided me with the confidence that my skills as an interviewer were constantly improving.

The process of transcription and subsequent data analysis was complicated in two ways by the translation(s) process(es). First, the conversations and interviews were conducted in the Cypriot dialect, which is the informal, casual way of speech for Greek-Cypriots. As speaking in Modern Greek is common practice in formal occasions, I did not wish to add a more formal, perhaps estranging, character to the interview interaction. However, because Cypriot dialect is not used in written form, the transcriptions were a faithful representation of what was said in Modern Greek, apart from certain words or expressions specific to the Cypriot dialect. For the data analysis I read through the transcripts in Greek.

The second complication relates to the translation of the extracts from the interviews in English for the purposes of this thesis and other publications. I sometimes avoided word by word translation in order to produce the same meaning with the equivalent English expressions. To make matters simpler, I wrote my fieldnotes directly in English. However, when observing a dialogue, I wrote it down as I heard it, either in Cypriot dialect or Modern Greek. I have also translated all the Ministry's policy and Greek literature extracts quoted in this thesis from Modern Greek to English.

The biggest challenge and possible limitation of the translation process relates to the word *race*. A direct translation of race is *ράτσα* (from the Italian *razza*); however, *ράτσα* is mostly used in Cypriot dialect than in Modern Greek. I noticed that the word *φυλή* *(fili)* – for which the direct translation in English is *tribe* – would be used instead of *ράτσα (razza)* when the interviewees spoke in a more formal way, closer to Modern Greek rather than Cypriot. The interviewees might have felt it was more polite or politically correct to use the word *φυλή* *(fili)* instead of *ράτσα (razza)*, as the latter is often used in swearing expressions and carries negative connotations. Overall, when interviewees used either *ράτσα/ράτσες (razza/razzes)* or *φυλή/φυλές (fili/files)*, it seems to me that they referred to *race/races*. Their choice depended on whether they were adapting their speech to a more formal type by using Modern Greek or whether they felt comfortable enough using the Cypriot dialect. For purposes of validation, I clarify the exact Greek words used in each relevant extract.

3.9.2 'DOING' ANALYSIS AND WRITING UP

'an ethnographic analysis will attempt to 'mirror' the events and processes it describes. If these are complex, the analysis is complex; if they contained paradoxes, such paradoxes will also emerge' (Blommaert, 2006, p. 79).

'At this point the researcher usually sits back in contentment and surveys a whole set of cardboard boxes with bits of paper in them (...) contentment can easily be transformed into total immobility and panic. Where should one start? We find it reassuring to begin with some coding' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 66).

More than two decades have passed since Potter and Wetherell's encouraging statement, which means, among other things, that instead of surveying cardboard boxes full of paper I had everything stored on my computer. The panic, however, remained the same. Therefore, I embarked on a long painstaking (Gill, 1996) process of re-re-reading my data, both in electronic and printed form.

In addition to the seminal text by Potter and Wetherell (1987), guidelines offered by Billig (1997b), Willig (2003), Potter (1996), Gill (1996), and Antaki et al (2003) were particularly helpful in my attempt to 'do' or 'not do' discourse analysis. As a first step, I performed a series of codings on the whole body of transcripts. I searched through the data for a number of themes, which had either arisen from my research questions or emerged during fieldwork.

I used the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti to organize and manage the transcripts. I did not, however, rely on Atlas.ti for any analytic work, but simply to manage and organize the data. Then, similarly to Wetherell and Potter (1992), I copied extracts from the interviews that belonged to a code (for example, 'curriculum', 'policy', 'intercultural education', 'race', 'racism', 'name calling', 'parents' etc.) into single files to work with. The categories used for coding were as inclusive as possible, even of remotely relevant instances (Gill, 1996; Willig, 2003). Through a process of going back and forth between the initial codes and the data, I developed code families as I saw some of the themes merging together. Inevitably, some of the categories were developed while in the actual process of indexing (Billig, 1997b).

Gill (1996) identifies two phases in discourse analysis, as simultaneously searching for pattern in the data in the form of variability or consistency, and also being concerned with function, while remaining open to alternative readings and paying attention to what is said but also silenced. Billig (1997b, p. 47) refers to 'developing "hunches"' or 'intuitive understandings' while reading the data and searching for regularities or significant discursive features, which could lead to theoretical understandings. Throughout this process, I paid attention to my own transcribed utterances as well as the speakers'. This enables identification

of the action orientation of the accounts, because of the significance of the discursive context in which they are produced, which includes both the researcher's and participants' accounts (Willig, 2003).

This process was repeated many times as my analysis became more sophisticated and new questions were formed as others were answered. The patterns of variation, repetition and consistency in the form and content of accounts helped me to map out the pattern of interpretative repertoires that the participants are drawing on (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). To achieve this, I looked for metaphors, grammatical constructions, stylistic features, terminology, and figures of speech that people use in constructing their accounts; as patterns of talk about a topic become clearer, I identified them as belonging to a particular repertoire (Burr, 2003). In Chapter 4, the analysis focuses on the underlying principles and assumptions of each of the identified interpretative repertoires, the characteristic lexical codes employed, and the participants' feelings associated with their constructions of diversity (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

In addition to identifying the repertoires, discursive analysis also explores how the participants' talk works; in the case of this study, how it constructs the Other and in particular, whether it has racist effects (2.5 and 3.4). In Chapter 4, I analyse both typical and infrequent examples of teachers' repertoires of diversity, reflecting their distinct aspects and the complexity, variability and simultaneity in their use.

The writing up process is inseparable from that of analysing discourse data. It is through writing that analysis occurs as inconsistencies and tensions are identified, leading to new insights (Willig, 2003). It was a relief to read Billig's (1997b, p. 48) honest account of what counts as 'progress' in discourse analytic research:

> 'In short, progress can be judged by the volume of unsatisfactory drafts in the waste-paper basket. By painful trial and error, the analyst works towards the "final draft"'.

Consequently, Billig concludes, all analyses are provisional and the understandings of the material are never 'complete', depending on various practical reasons for which the researcher ends the analysis. The view of the final written product as provisional and subjective is also found within ethnographic perspectives:

> 'It will be interpretive research in a situated, real environment, based on interaction between the researcher and the subject(s), hence, fundamentally *subjective* in nature, aimed at demonstrating complexity, and yielding hypotheses that can be replicated and tested in *similar*, not identical, circumstances (Blommaert, 2006, pp. 18-19, original emphasis)'.

It is with these acknowledgements in mind that this thesis is considered to be 'complete', aware of the constant improvements or developments that it could potentially benefit from.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter was dedicated to locating the thesis methodologically, by linking the theoretical assumptions advanced in Chapter 2 to the selected procedures for investigating intercultural education discourses and everyday practices in a Greek-Cypriot primary school setting. In pursuit of this broad objective, I first discussed how the ethnographic (3.3) and discursive (3.4) approaches, both related to intersectionality and located within the epistemological framework of social constructionism (3.2), inform the methodological and analytical framework of this study, with particular references to research on racism and diversity. The chapter then offered a description of the research setting and my reasons of choice (3.5). I provided information on the school actors and diversity representation on a school level (3.5.1) and critically discussed intercultural education implementation at the school (3.5.2). Specific attention was paid to the main methods and processes of data collection: interviews (3.6.1) and observations (3.6.2). I concentrated on my roles and 'identities' as a researcher in the field (3.6.3) and discussed several ethical considerations in detail (3.7). Linked to the theoretical approach this study adopts with regard to racism (2.3 and 2.5) and based on the key analytical concepts of interpretative repertoires

and ideological dilemmas, the analysis does not aim to classify people as 'racist' or 'non-racist' (3.8.1), nor does it assume that the contradictions and ambivalences inherent in people's talk are problematic, but indicative of the ideological dilemmas they are faced with in commonsensical issues (3.8.2). Instead, the analysis aims to identify the effects of institutional and individual discourses and practices on people's everyday life experiences. The last section (3.9) looked at the analytical process, focusing on transcription and translation, coding and writing up. The next chapter analyses interview data with teachers and identifies their discursive repertoires regarding diversity in Greek-Cypriot society.

4 TEACHERS' REPERTOIRES OF DIVERSITY IN GREEK-CYPRIOT SOCIETY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

> 'This is not the collection of 'real' or 'actual' discourses, but is wholly constrained by my own discursive repertoire—the discourse that I see and name—and my capacity to represent these. I am, then, absolutely entangled in the data I generate and the representations I produce'
>
> (Youdell, 2006, p. 513).

This first data chapter explores the ways in which participant teachers construct in their interview accounts the phenomenon of diversity in Greek-Cypriot society. It thus provides the discursive background in Cyprus, against which teachers' discourses and practices emerge. To do so, the chapter uses the analytical concept of interpretative repertoires (henceforth repertoires) (3.8.1), in order to identify and describe the different cultural resources from which teachers draw in order to talk and construct accounts about diversity. The chapter specifically addresses research questions 1 and 2 (1.6) regarding the organizational and functional aspects of teachers' discursive repertoires:

- How do teachers construct diversity and multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot society?
- How is the Other constructed through their accounts about diversity?

The chapter discusses both typical and unique examples of each repertoire. The interview data selected for analysis in this chapter usually occurred towards the end of our conversations, when I asked participants to speak about diversity in Greek-Cypriot society from the position of an individual citizen, as well as a professional teacher. As will become obvious, the importance of these two roles for the generation of teachers' accounts reveals the significance of the interactional context for participants' choices amongst the various repertoires available to them.

Beyond representing Greek-Cypriot society, teachers' accounts of diversity also produce constructions of the Other as well as the Self. Additionally, teachers' accounts display a variety of racism and prejudice denial discursive strategies

(3.8.2) in talking about diversity. Presented based on the predominance and frequency with which they emerge from participants' accounts, the chapter discusses the five repertoires of inevitability (4.2), intolerance (4.3), fear (4.4), interest (4.5), and empathy (4.6).

4.2   REPERTOIRE OF INEVITABILITY

The repertoire of inevitability constructs diversity as inescapable, something participants partially attributed to the Europeanization and globalization of the island. This repertoire was employed by the majority of participants (20 out of 27) but it was shorter in length compared to other repertoires. Most regularly it appeared in teachers' brief introductory statements that open their accounts of diversity in Cyprus.

Importantly, teachers never constructed diversity as ever-present in the social context of Cyprus but, as a rule, synonymized it with the global and European migration and refugee movements of the last two decades. There was a prevalent assumption that the inevitability of diversity leaves them no choice but to accept it, thus constructing Greek-Cypriots as weak, powerless, and passive. Furthermore, diversity is mostly cast in negative terms, as impossible to change or eliminate, despite many participants' implicit or explicit wish to do so.

Common descriptors of diversity within this repertoire include phrases such as 'normal', 'inevitable', 'a natural phenomenon', 'a contemporary phenomenon', 'a fact', 'a reality', 'inevitable reality', 'inevitable evil, 'necessary evil', 'irreversible evil', 'inevitable change', 'unbeatable reality', 'uncontrollable phenomenon', 'a reality no one can win', and 'irreversible reality'. Participants expressed their negative feelings towards the demographic changes observed on the island through statements such as 'I am not positive', 'I don't like', 'it doesn't satisfy me', 'I would like to say no', and 'I'm not in favour'.

Accounts of the inevitability repertoire placed Cyprus in a globalized context and constructed diversity as a result of global movements. In Stella's words:

01 Alright, it's a natural phenomenon because the
02 transportations – one goes from one country to the other

03 for business, for a better way of life, therefore it is natural
04 from now on. (2007) [38]

Migration is described as a natural phenomenon which occurs because of the globalization of the market, according to Stella, and the need for achieving better life standards. Especially after Cyprus' accession to the EU, diversity is viewed as the price to pay in order to 'follow the times', as many teachers said. In 2007, Headteacher Anna said:

01 It is a reality that no one can win! It is a phenomenon of the
02 contemporary times that we live in. With our accession to
03 the EU we are ready to accept (...) It's a phenomenon I can't
04 control, it's globalization; all the countries are facing it.

Anna's descriptions of diversity as unbeatable (L01) and uncontrollable (L03-04) subtly construct the phenomenon as potentially problematic. Accordingly, Greek-Cypriots are constructed as weak and powerless in the face of migration. Participants' accounts were often explicit about the majoritized population's difficulty to accept diversity, employing the phrase 'whether we want it or not', which often accompanied this repertoire. Yiorgos, for example, said:

01 E: What about your personal view for multiculturalism in
02 Cyprus...
03 Y: I see it is a reality that whether we want to or whether we
04 don't want to we must accept it and adjust. I mean this
05 phenomenon now exists in all countries. Maybe in Cyprus,
06 where we are a smaller place it is more apparent. (2007)

Similarly to other participants, Yiorgos appears aware of the inevitability of Cyprus remaining intact from the global reality of population movements. Yet, he accompanies his statements with the rather popular representation of Cyprus as a small place, which intensifies the 'appearance' of diversity (L06)[39].

Angela described diversity as 'inevitable evil', with which she is not comfortable:

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[38] As this chapter employs interpretative repertoires as an analytical tool and attempts a more detailed discourse analysis than elsewhere, I have added line numbers to interview extracts.

[39] As will be seen in 5.2, the small size of the island was also employed to support arguments justifying the prevalent xenophobia and even racism.

01 Can I tell you very clearly? It doesn't satisfy me! I view it as
02 an inevitable evil, as irreversible (laughs). I prefer that the
03 populations remain cleaner.

Angela's reference to 'cleaner' populations constructs ethnic groups in a clearly essentialist way and echoes earlier conceptualizations of races as biologically distinct entities. Angela's laughter after describing diversity as an 'evil' works to minimize the negativity in her statements and indicates her nervousness caused by her awareness that her statements may potentially be interpreted as racist.

In another typical example of this repertoire, Minas responded to my question whether the recent demographic changes affect him as an individual:

01 I know that the change is inevitable. I know that it is a
02 necessary evil. Evil (laughs). Because from now on we all
03 became one planet, one...And therefore we have to see,
04 to change some structures in order for it to function. I
05 mean I am not negative towards doing something, but
06 certainly I don't like the whole way we have come to so
07 far. (2008)

Minas states that the recent demographic changes on the island are 'inevitable' and 'a necessary evil' (L01). Repetition of the word 'evil' and his subsequent laughter (L02) indicate an instance of self-reflection upon his statement. His laughter could be caused by nervousness, or an attempt of self-censorship and indicates a certain degree of ambivalence. This may be related to a conscious effort to present a certain image of himself or his views to me as a researcher during an interview. It may also indicate the dilemmatic nature of the issues Minas is grappling with in his account. He is torn between what he sees as the inevitability of the fact that 'we all became one planet' (L02-03) and the 'evilness' that is created because the system does not 'function' (L04) under the current structures. However, Minas remains vague about the specific structures that need to be changed, the degree and type of changes he suggests, and, most importantly, who should act in order to realize these changes. His last sentence confirms the negative constructions of diversity in his account in a dilemmatic

way by stating simultaneously that 'I am not negative' (L05) and 'I certainly don't like' (L06).

Overall, apart from a few constructions of diversity as natural, participants' accounts within the repertoire of inevitability generally paint diversity in Cyprus in negative colours, constructing it as inescapable, recent, problematic, and impossible to change.

4.3   REPERTOIRE OF INTOLERANCE

The accounts that gave rise to this repertoire constructed diversity as negative, unwanted, incompatible with Greek-Cypriot culture and sometimes unjustly present in Cyprus. The repertoire of intolerance, employed by fourteen out of twenty-seven teachers, emerged as distinct from other repertoires because of the lengthy and extensive arguments provided, the vivid negative constructions of the Other, the intense metaphors employed, and, most importantly, the expressions of negative feelings (other than fear). In other words, the repertoire is characterized by explicitly negative constructions of diversity in Cyprus; it gives rise to very strong and emotionally charged negative representations of the Other as inferior; and, it displays racism declarations alongside racism denials and dilemmas, indicating the predominance of variability in participants' accounts (3.8). These characteristics are demonstrated through expressions of feelings such as anger, frustration, sadness, irritation, annoyance, despair, concern, refusal to accept the situation, and a general sense of denial. The sense of intolerance was conveyed through verbal expressions such as 'I am very very angry', 'it bothers me', 'it troubles me', 'I don't want', 'it is worrying', 'I will be very sad'. There were also expressions of irony and helplessness ('excuse *me*', 'Holy Mary', 'what are we supposed to do?'). Participants also often raised their tone of voice when employing this repertoire.

Negative constructions of the Other, commonly referred to as 'the foreigners', along with positive constructions of the Self/Greek-Cypriots, referred to as 'us' in the first person plural, were prevalent in this repertoire more than in others. The Other was frequently accused of living parasitically and taking advantage of

national resources at the expense of the Greek-Cypriots, on an island that is constructed as too small to accept the reportedly huge numbers of arrivals. Thus, the Other is constructed as endangering or violating the rights of the majoritized, and also as 'arrogant', 'ungrateful', and 'lazy'. At the same time, these negative Other-presentations were accompanied by positive Self-presentations of the majoritized Greek-Cypriots as respectful, hard-working, even as the 'race' which rightfully belongs to the island. The white, 'Greek', Christian-Orthodox population was normalized and their majoritized positionality was never questioned, but was constructed as under threat. In terms of lexical choices, the sharpness of the antithesis between the Other and the Self is conveyed through the recurrent use of the words 'completely', 'totally', 'different' and 'opposite'. This antithesis is demonstrated most clearly through participants' objections to interreligious or interethnic marriages.

The analysed examples of the repertoire construct arguments against diversity related to numbers of arrivals, language, receipt of state benefits, cultural influences, and interreligious and interracial marriages. For example, responding to my questions about how he feels as an individual citizen in contemporary Cyprus, Headteacher Andreas said:

```
01  Look. Hearing the data about the number of foreigners in
02  general in Cyprus, uuum, I started worrying. I am not racist
03  definitely, but if these numbers are true, which speak about
04  150000 foreigners, on an island with a population of 700
05  750000, from now on I see this becoming a social problem.
06  In the matter of employment and in the matter of – I won't
07  say assimilation, but integration of all these people with a
08  very different culture, different religion, different
09  everything. If these numbers are true. (2008)
```

The above extract includes characteristic manifestations of the repertoire of intolerance: a typical case of racism denial (L02-03), negative constructions of diversity (L05) and constructions of the Other as essentially antithetical to the collective Self (L07-09). After portraying himself as 'not racist', Andreas automatically sets a boundary between his unprejudiced Self and the prejudiced

others. In order to appear reasonable and non-racist at the same time, Andreas goes on to argue against the presence of Others on the island and justifies this with 'numbers' (L01,03,05). By referring to these numbers and 'facts' Andreas seems to construct his views about diversity as 'reasonable' and disassociates them from the 'irrational feelings' of prejudiced people. As Billig et al. (1988) explain, such racism and prejudice denials work to present the majoritized ('us', Andreas, the Greek-Cypriots) as 'forced' to 'resent' and to 'legislate against' 'them' by reality itself.

Andreas' constant references to the hypothetical nature of 'these numbers' (L01,03,09) which are reported by vague others, possibly the media (L01), could also be seen as attempts to shield himself against potential racist accusations. Andreas locates the problem mainly in the 'very different' culture, religion and 'everything' (L08-09) of these large numbers of 'foreigners', which, reportedly, cause problems in their employment and integration (L06-07). While Andreas' distinction between the concepts of assimilation and integration attempts to show awareness of the critique of the former and indicate his embracement of more liberal values, ultimately his account constructs an intolerable Other.

Ioanna vividly expressed her negative views of multiculturalism in Cypriot society in the following extract:

> 01 It's not a positive thing for me. I don't speak as a teacher;
> 02 I speak to you as a person. Because we ended up being
> 03 in a country, on an island which is very small and there are
> 04 all kinds of races (φυλές). From the Cypriot, who *must* be
> 05 in Cyprus, to the Filipino, the Indian and all of that. (...) I
> 06 mean we reached a point where, for example, you see
> 07 the Turk in the free area, you see...they stay! Cyprus filled
> 08 up with Filipinos, with Indians, with all of that. Alright,
> 09 personally it doesn't affect me, but what bothers me a bit
> 10 is to walk and see all kinds of races (ράτσες) except the
> 11 Cypriot – that's what bothers me. (2007)[40]

This extract is a typical example of the repertoire of intolerance, because it constructs diversity in essentialist terms as a negative phenomenon (L01), while

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[40] See note on translation of the term 'race' in 3.9.1.

it represents the Other as belonging to a separate race (L04,10). Also, a series of other expressive patterns construct the diversity of Greek-Cypriot society as absolutely unwelcome and problematic; for example, the repetition of the verb 'bothers' (L09,11), 'we ended up' (L02), 'we reached a point' (L06), and, 'filled up' (L07-08), construct diversity in Cyprus as absolutely unwelcome and problematic. Ioanna's lexical choices signify the limits of the tolerance of the majoritized group, which now seem to have been reached. Ioanna refers to the Turkish-Cypriots who cross to visit the south as 'the Turk' and as people who end up 'staying' (L07) in Cyprus. However, the 'Turks' that she sees walking in the 'free areas' are already inhabitants of the north part of the island and citizens of the Republic of Cyprus.

By vaguely mixing references to tourists and recently arrived economic migrants (Filipinos, Indians) with the historically endemic ethnic groups living in Cyprus ('Turks') Ioanna implicitly constructs the majoritized group as endangered and victimized by 'all kinds of races' (L10). It is important that her acknowledgement that ethnic diversity in Cyprus does not interfere with her personal everyday life (09) does not seem to change or shift the perspective of intolerance that Ioanna constructs in this account.

When I asked Maria how she views diversity as a citizen of Cyprus she referred to issues of language, revealing another element of the argumentative resources of this repertoire:

> 01 First of all it bothers me that wherever we go from now on
> 02 we cannot communicate in our language! It personally
> 03 bothers me. (...) Are we *forced* to speak English? (.) Uum,
> 04 perhaps isn't it the one (.) the one who comes to live in the
> 05 country, shouldn't he feel the responsibility to learn the
> 06 language of the country? Is it also perhaps a kind of
> 07 appreciation towards the country that accommodates you? I
> 08 mean I come to this country to live the rest of my life. To
> 09 work, to earn, to... I wonder, don't I owe to learn the
> 10 language of this country? (.) I don't have an answer (...)
> 11 Is it an arrogant stance on their behalf? Is it a wrong stance
> 12 of our own that (.) that we go and we don't insist in Greek?
> 13 (2008)

Maria refers to the fact that the majority of salespersons and waiting staff in Cyprus are not local, with little or no knowledge of Greek. She expresses her frustration about being 'forced to speak English' (L03) 'wherever we go' (L01). Similarly to Ioanna previously, Maria's frustration becomes evident through repetition of the phrase 'it bothers me' (L01,03). The question marks (L03,06,07,10,12), hesitations, unfinished sentences (L03,09), and pauses (L03,04,10) convey a sense of indecisiveness about the issues she discusses. Maria often changes the person from which she speaks, as if having imaginary dialogues. She uses 'we' when speaking on behalf of the 'Cypriots', possibly including me in her statements, while excluding any non-Greek-Cypriot from the category (L01,02,12). She uses first person singular to speak for herself (L01-02,10), but also to speak as if she was in the Other's position (L08-10). She also addresses the Other in second person singular with rhetorical questions (L06-07). These role interchanges express the ideological dilemmas (3.8.2) Maria is dealing with while attempting to make sense of the issue of the migrants not speaking Greek, and the Greek-Cypriots speaking English. She appears torn between her need to maintain her (national) language and her need to communicate as efficiently as possible in her everyday activities.

Maria's antithetical portrayals of 'us' and 'them' befit the repertoire of intolerance. 'We' are victimized by the presence of the Other in Cyprus in a context which 'forces' 'us' to speak English. The Other is constructed as possibly irresponsible for not learning 'the language of the country' (L05-06), as disrespectful and lacking appreciation towards the accommodating country (L07), as 'arrogant' (L11) for refusing to learn Greek, and as manipulative, for taking advantage of the Greek-Cypriots' knowledge of English. At the same time, as 'we don't insist in Greek' (L12), Maria constructs the Greek-Cypriots as partially responsible for the situation. The question marks at the end of her final sentences indicate her inability to point a steady finger to those responsible and perhaps indicate a strategy deployed by Maria to minimize the significance of her arguments against diversity in Cyprus.

When I asked Nicoleta in 2008 to describe her experience as a teacher in a

multicultural school, she replied:

01 N: Basically I am racist, each one at his place! You'll tell me
02 that we also went abroad after '74 because of the war, but
03 we never sat on anyone's back[41]. The Cypriots are hard-
04 workers (δουλευταράδες). The Cypriots are *hard-workers*!
05 (...)
06 E: Outside the school, how do you see this situation, that
07 Cyprus is now considered...
08 N: I am very *angry*, very very angry! They come so that we
09 give them funding, to rent houses for them and everything, I
10 am very angry with this situation. (...) They unleash them
11 over here, how much is this republic supposed to bear? I am
12 *very* angry.
13 E: Does it affect your life?
14 N: Now at the beginning yes. I would go home and I was
15 very very angry because I'd say where are we going
16 financially? Because you see them, 30-35 years old alright? If
17 you give them a pickaxe (κούσπο)[42] they will throw down
18 the wall from the first try, and they sit around and the
19 Republic feeds them. *Weeell*? I mean, excuse *me*! Alright,
20 they should come to work, but then they should go,
21 goodbye and farewell (να πάνε στο καλό)[43]! We shouldn't
22 make them citizens of this state on top of it, excuse *me*.

Nicoleta refers to the asylum-seekers who arrive through the buffer zone, and specifically to those who come by sea from Syria (L08)[44]. From the onset, Nicoleta constructs herself as a 'racist', something that justifies her conviction that people should be staying in their own country (L01)[45]. Foreseeing the

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[41] Expression used in Cypriot dialect for 'became a burden' or 'took advantage of others'.

[42] Pickaxe is the English equivalent that responds most closely to the meaning of κούσπος (kouspos) in Cypriot dialect, meaning a tool used for demolitions.

[43] Literally translated as 'they should go to the good', 'να πάνε στο καλό' is a phrase used for wishing someone farewell, used here ironically.

[44] During my fieldwork the media and politicians paid a lot of attention to the beginning of daily cruises from Syria to a port in the north of the island, carrying asylum-seekers, who were then left past the buffer zone in order to enter EU ground and seek asylum. This had caused great controversy and troubled the diplomatic relations between Syria and the Republic of Cyprus, as use of the ports in the north implies recognition of the self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Syria and Turkish-Cypriots were heavily criticized in Greek-Cypriot discourses for bringing 'illegal' migrants to the south.

[45] Nicoleta's statement echoes the racist rhetoric of differentialism that the boys in Archer's (2003) study also drew on.

possible counter-argument ('you'll tell me' L01), Nicoleta first acknowledges the parallels between the migrants in Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot migrants who went abroad during the post-1974 period. Yet, she moves on to undo this comparison, by constructing the Other as lazy and parasitic (L18-19), living at the expense of Greek-Cypriots (L08-09), as opposed to the Cypriot migrants who worked hard to earn their living abroad (L03-04). By differentiating the two cases, Nicoleta's acknowledgment that the Cypriots in the past had similar experiences of displacement and migration to the 'foreigners' arriving to Cyprus does not lead to feelings of empathy but, instead, rather enhances antithetical representations of the positive Self and the negative Other[46]. As for Nicoleta's lexical choices, the above extracts include repeated statements about her intense feelings of anger at the arrival of asylum-seekers (L08,10-12) and the phrases 'excuse *me*' (L19,22) – indications of strong emotional reactions. Nicoleta's figurative language and vivid imagery is also a characteristic of the strong emotional resistances within the repertoire of intolerance: the Cypriots never live 'on anyone's back' (L03), the asylum-seekers are 'unleashed' (L10) and strong enough to 'throw down the wall' with a pickaxe (L17), while the Republic 'feeds them' (L19).

While Nicoleta acknowledges the need of Cyprus for workers and welcomes the migrants for work, this emotional tension leads her to dissociate this need from the right to permanent stay and Cypriot citizenship (L21-23). This reveals Nicoleta's assumptions of Cypriot citizenship as primarily based on ethnicity and thus as exclusionary of foreign workers, regardless of their contribution to the Cypriot economy.

Conveying intolerance towards intercultural exchanges and influences, in 2008 Antonia spoke of her concerns about the creation of a 'grey civilization' in Cyprus:

01 It will bother me if Cyprus ends up becoming a country of a

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[46] As will be seen in 4.5, Nicoleta later in the interview also drew on the repertoire of empathy, though based on the values of shared humanity rather than similar experiences of dislocation.

02 grey civilization, if each of us speaks a little Arabic, a
03 little Greek, a little English. If our civilization is forgotten, if
04 we start denying our religion; not just us, the others as well!
05 I don't *want* - I do not demand from the Muslims to become
06 Christians so that I don't have a problem. I don't have any
07 problem with their religion or their language. The only thing
08 that troubles me and which I don't want to happen and it
09 will make me very sad if it happens is what I said. I want — as
10 long as each civilization prevails, their language and religion,
11 I don't have any problem. As long as they are separate!

Antonia constructs civilization as constituted by religion and language, arguing emphatically against intercultural exchanges and maintaining that religions, languages and civilizations should remain 'pure' and unchanged. She thus constructs them as essentialized, rigid entities, failing to acknowledge their dynamic nature and their interdependence. On the other hand, by expressing her fears for the creation of a 'grey civilization' (L02), Antonia indirectly acknowledges the possibility of intercultural influence, exchanges, and, ultimately, changes in people's religions and languages, and, consequently, 'civilizations'. Thus, her account constructs cultural and religious identities as rigid and fluid at the same time. Furthermore, while Antonia emphasizes that she wishes that civilizations remain unchanged, her statements that she does not have 'a problem' with Muslims (L06-07) and that she does not support religious assimilation act as a form of 'prolepsis' (3.8.2), commonly found in participants' accounts. This positions Antonia on the side of liberals, making it easier to refute any possible racist accusations. The negative statements 'I don't want' (L05), 'it will bother me' (L01), and 'it will make me very sad' (L09) indicate the highly emotional status this matter has for Antonia and reveal the power of the repertoire of intolerance. Despite the lack of explicit racialized lexical choices, such expressions reflect Antonia's concerns regarding the maintenance of the purity of 'our' civilization.

The scenario of intermarriage between Greek-Cypriots and 'foreigners' — in three cases a Muslim man — especially when applied to the participants' children, often gave rise to the repertoire of intolerance. In the case of Maria, the scenario

involved an Eastern European woman:

```
01  I don't know how I will – I still don't know – when my son
02  comes to me and tells me 'I want to marry this Russian or
03  thiiis Lithuanian or thiiis'. Without this meaning that we
04  people are better than them. I just can't – I wonder how I
05  will (.) I have my precautions. I can't tell you... (2008)
```

Wondering about her reaction to her son announcing his choice of an Eastern European woman as a wife, Maria hesitates (L05), pauses (L05) and fails to finish her sentences (L01,04), indicating her difficulty in talking about this issue. Employing a strategy of avoidance of racist inferences, Maria states that her worries do not mean 'that we people are better than them' (L03-04). She thus constructs herself as not belonging to those who consider themselves ethnically superior to others and, thus, as not potentially racist. In other words, through Maria's hesitations, this excerpt demonstrates her emotional resistances, despite her awareness that 'foreigners' might be as 'good' as the Greek-Cypriots.

Responding to my question about what she thinks of the demographic changes, Headteacher Anna also argued that she would be 'terrified' and 'hurt' if her granddaughter introduced 'a Muslim or one from Iraq' as her future husband. When I asked why, Anna replied:

```
01  They have other mentalities and other culture. Maybe for
02  them violence and beatings are part of everyday life. Which
03  for us, the Westerners and the democratically thinking
04  Greeks and Europeans, these are not things that we deal
05  with. (2008)
```

Anna constructs Westerness, democratic thinking, Greekness and Europeanness as completely different and opposite to Islam, which she equates with – domestic and gendered – violence (L02). Her construction of Greek-Cypriots' identities as Greek, European and Western but not as Cypriot, echoes the hegemonic hellenocentric ideologies, evident in the curriculum aims (1.3). Anna continued her account criticizing marriages of Greek-Cypriots to foreigners with

reference to her personal experience of attending the wedding of a Greek-Cypriot man to a black woman, which she described as 'a little bit foreign':

```
01  It was at a church and the bride was black. It kind of
02  shocked all of us. We are not ready for such a transgression
03  darling yet. I think we are not ready as a people either (...)
04  We are not ready to accept it. I think we will never reach a
05  point where we are ready, that's my estimation. (2008)
```

Compared to the previous comments by Anna against marriages with Muslims, in the above extract, skin colour appears to be a differentiating factor equally powerful to Islam. Though the bride got married in Orthodox Church, she was still othered because of her skin colour. Anna uses the first person plural to refer to herself – probably her husband – and the rest of the Greek-Cypriot guests (L02) and then to the whole Greek-Cypriot 'people' (L03). The initial reaction of a 'shock' (L01-02) she reports at the sight of a black bride gradually builds up to her statements 'we are not ready' (L02,03,04), and, finally, 'we will never reach a point where we are ready' (L04-05). Anna thus constructs co-existence as an impossibility, and intolerance almost as a natural phenomenon.

Arguably, these excerpts construct interreligious marriages as the utmost denial of one's ethnic and religious identity. The Other is highly gendered in these examples. While for the female 'Self' the Other is the Muslim man, for the male 'Self', the Other becomes the Eastern European or black woman. These representations could be seen as reflections of the major stereotypes found in the prevalent discourses about the Other in Greek-Cypriot society, where sexualization of Eastern European women and racialization of Muslim men is not uncommon (1.2). At the same time, the negative constructions of black people that are prevalent in public discourses (1.2) are also reflected in the discomfort that Anna reports feeling by the sight of a black bride.

Overall, in the repertoire of intolerance, constructed negatively through vivid metaphors and frequent racism denials and declarations, the Other appears to be absolutely different, almost the exact opposite of Greek-Cypriots, and, for this

reason, unwanted, and not granted the right to belong to Cyprus. Asylum-seekers are constructed as manipulative, lazy and parasitic and economic migrants as arrogant, disrespectful, annoying and ungrateful. In the two accounts where foreigners are welcomed to Cyprus, this is under the condition that they stay temporarily for purposes of work only (Nicoleta) and that there are no interreligious exchanges (Antonia). Muslims especially are portrayed as essentially different and as incompatible to Westerners/Europeans/Greek-Cypriots/Christians. Stereotypical assumptions of Muslim men as violent, conservative, sexist and patriarchal are provided as justifications for this incompatibility, especially in relation to mixed marriages. Ultimately, the repertoire of intolerance conveys a sense of ethnic supremacy on behalf of Greek-Cypriots, which leads to the negative categorizations of the Other on the grounds of their inferior cultural or physical characteristics (religion and skin colour), and their inferior character ('lazy') and behaviour ('violent'). All constructions are used to build the 'reasonable' argument of intolerance of diversity in Cyprus, whether regarding migrants or asylum-seekers.

4.4   REPERTOIRE OF FEAR

Employed by twelve out of twenty-seven teachers, the repertoire of fear also constructed diversity in negative terms, by representing it as dangerous and threatening for Greek-Cypriots. Rather than inferiority, like the repertoire of intolerance, the repertoire of fear is based on a perception of the Other as a threat. Fear emerged in two forms, related to the physical and cultural survival of the collective Self. First, a fear of crime in people's everyday lives, for which minoritized groups are held responsible. Secondly, a fear of losing 'our' identity from the increasing numbers of migrants and asylum-seekers who threaten the maintenance of Greek-Cypriots' 'Greek' national identity. Thus, in the repertoire of fear, the Greek-Cypriots are constructed as weak and powerless in the face of the threatening Other, whereas in the repertoire of intolerance, it is the Greek-Cypriots that appear powerful enough to exclude, inferiorize and deny rights to the 'foreigners'.

The repertoire of fear includes negative representations of the ethnicized and racialized Other, who is constructed as having fixed and rigid characteristics.

Migrants in particular are stereotypically constructed as criminals, naturally 'aggressive' and 'violent', despite the rare connections of Greek-Cypriot individuals to crime. Particularly recurrent are phrases expressing feelings of fear and insecurity, such as 'it scares me' (με φοβίζει), 'it frightens me' (με τρομάζει), 'I am scared/afraid' (φοβάμαι) and 'I feel insecurity' (νιώθω ανασφάλεια). The words 'criminality' (εγκληματικότητα) and 'fear' (φόβος) are repeatedly met in this repertoire. There are characteristic metaphors such as 'we shrunk' (συρρικνωθήκαμε) and 'the local gathers into his skin' (ο ντόπιος μαζεύεται στο πετσί του)[47] that dramatically express the consequences of the arrival of 'foreigners' as viewed by the Greek-Cypriots. The repertoire of fear was so powerful that it emerged even in the few teachers' accounts that portrayed diversity in a slightly positive or neutral manner.

In a typical example of this repertoire, Rebecca offered some essentialist negative representations of specific minoritized groups, based on what she constructs as her fear of criminality:

> 01 Hearing now recently about the various crimes,
> 02 robberies, murders, which are all by foreigners, I started
> 03 being afraid a bit and considering that possibly in the future
> 04 it will indeed be a problem. Because alright, most of those
> 05 who come are Asian races (φυλές) that have a little bit of
> 06 that aggressiveness, do you understand? The Italian, the
> 07 German, the French is not going to come and stay in *Cyprus*.
> 08 It frightens me a bit, mostly when it comes to criminality.
> 09 (...) And I remember that my uncle, who was high up in the
> 10 police, told us that *especially* the Pakistanis are a very very
> 11 hot-tempered people. When they get angry they're not
> 12 going to think; anything they find in front of them,
> 13 you're finished. I mean it's a people who is very very
> 14 hot-tempered, especially the Pakistanis (...) I don't want
> 15 to be – I mean *really* I never view the other in an
> 16 inferior way. But up to a point, a limit! I mean if Cyprus
> 17 will fill up with Pakistanis, Iraqis, Iranians, you understand.
> 18 (2007)

Rebecca begins her answer with the rhetorical device of prolepsis of the type 'on

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[47] In Cypriot dialect, this phrase means 'the locals gather into their shell' and expresses fear.

one hand...on the other hand', common in expressions of ideological dilemmas (3.8.2), and serving the avoidance of racist accusations on behalf of the speaker (Billig et al., 1988). She contradicts her initial statement that diversity in Cyprus is 'interesting' by referring to the fear that she has developed, influenced by the media reports of crimes, 'all' of which are conducted by 'foreigners' (L02). Vaguely referring to 'it' becoming 'a problem' in the future, Rebecca constructs diversity as problematic, basing her argument on her feelings of fear, which appear difficult to challenge. She then specifies the 'foreigners' and the 'problem' (L04) as being the 'Asian races' (L05), which she views as naturally aggressive (L06). She constructs them as directly opposite to the Europeans (L6-7), who Rebecca does not seem to consider as aggressive, and would probably not find their potential arrival to Cyprus problematic. Thus, the 'Asian races' become the 'aggressive' Other who is essentially different and opposite to the Europeans. At the same time, the Italian, German and French are constructed as somewhat superior, as they would not 'come and stay in *Cyprus*' (L07). Rebecca's ironic tone when pronouncing 'Cyprus' reveals a sense of inferiority not uncommon amongst Greek-Cypriots when comparing themselves with the 'true' Europeans.

Throughout the interview, she speaks of the media as an authentic source of 'true' information ('hearing', L01). Furthermore, by attributing the construction of Pakistanis as naturally hot-tempered, dangerous and aggressive to a police officer (L09-10), Rebecca leaves little space for doubt in her argument, as it is supported by someone considered to be the most authoritative figure in making such judgments. She thus evokes the authority of the police officer to justify and fortify her argument through the rhetorical move of quotation (3.8.2), which makes her reporting sound as undeniable facts.

Rebecca also draws on the popular discourse which views Cyprus as a small island 'swamped' or 'filled up' by foreigners – an example of the rhetorical device of analogy (3.8.2). It appears that once the migrants' numbers reach a limit (which remains unspecified), they are no longer welcome. Rebecca refers to a conversation with her father about Cyprus 'filling up' with Pakistanis (L17). In this

sentence, Rebecca adds further validity to her account, as she presents her views as shared with others. These reported conversations are followed by a typical racism denial (L14-16), where Rebecca repairs her initial sentence 'I don't want to be –' by avoiding to add the word 'racist' and replaces it with viewing 'the other in an inferior way'. Rebecca also says that I 'understand' (L17) what she is talking about, assuming that I share her views or experiences on the matter or seeking my agreement.

It is also important to note that Rebecca uses the words 'hot-tempered' (L10-11) and 'afraid/frightens' (L03,08). These repetitions underline the negative constructions of the Other and convey the intensity of Rebecca's feelings of fear. While denying racism, Rebecca makes sweeping generalizations for all Pakistanis and other – mainly Muslim – ethnic groups. Thus, she strengthens her initial construction of the 'Asian races' as naturally aggressive, as opposed to the Europeans. Finally, Rebecca's fear at the increasing arrivals of foreigners appears to be justifiable and non-racist, as the Other is constructed negatively not because she is racist, but because of the reported undeniable facts.

In another example, Dina in 2008 repeatedly highlighted her fear of criminality which she partially attributed to her own personality. She responded to my question about how the demographic changes in Cyprus affect her as a citizen:

```
01  D: I do feel more insecurity. I feel it. I don't know,
02  maybe because I'm a coward or something. I mean it's
03  not random that alright, on the news you hear, I don't
04  know, they broke into the apartment, the Russians (laughs)
05  did this, they did that. I'm afraid. I feel insecurity (...)
06  It is fear. And I think, it is very honestly that I speak, I
07  think that many will be feeling this...I mean you hear
08  many times that you can't walk around let's say
09  downtown in the alleys of (town's name) because there
10  are always people there who (.) (.) you understand, I
11  don't know, what I want to say.
12  E: Yes.
13  D: Alright, this may be considered racist as well, I don't
14  know. (.) Maybe.
```

Apart from the obvious hesitations (L07), and pauses (L10,14), Dina employs various other rhetorical devices in the above extract, some repeatedly: laughter, repetition, quotation from the media and others, vagueness, involvement of the interviewer and others in her account, and, racism minimization. Similarly to Rebecca, Dina draws on the media reports of crimes done by foreigners, referring to Russians (L04) – a statement followed by laughter, functioning as a minimizing device of the accusation of the specific ethnic group. In addition to quoting the media, Dina also refers to statements made by others (L07), whose identity remains vague. By often using the phrase 'I don't know' (01,03-04,10-11,13-14), she adds further vagueness and ambiguity to her statements. This is necessary in order for her to challenge potential racist inferences because of her negative constructions of diversity; if she appears uncertain enough, she may easily reverse her vague statements.

Dina partially attributes the feelings of 'fear' (L05,06) and 'insecurity' (L01,05) to her own personality as a 'coward' (L02). By constructing herself as a 'coward', Dina again may avoid any possible racist inferences: she is not 'racist', she is justifiably 'afraid'. By involving (vague) others in her account (L07) she generalizes her own fears of diversity to the majority of Greek-Cypriots. Thus, she defends others from racist inferences as well as herself. Dina often involves me in her account, by seeking my approval or implicitly expressing the assumption that I agree with her statements (L03,07,08,10). Finally, she acknowledges the possibility that her statements about her fear of diversity may be 'considered racist' (L13). However, another repetition of the phrase 'I don't know' and the emphasis on 'maybe' (L13-14) as her last word in this extract act to minimize the possibility of such conclusions.

Another aspect of the repertoire of fear includes constructions of diversity in Cyprus as a threat and intrusion to the Greek-Cypriots' 'identity' (ταυτότητα), 'race' (φυλή), 'traditions' (παραδόσεις) and 'nation' (έθνος). In this line of argument, hellenocentric ideologies become intensely apparent and the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots is often rendered through descriptions such as 'Cypriot Greeks' (Κύπριοι Έλληνες, Έλληνες της Κύπρου) and the reiteration of

the risk of losing their 'hellenism' (ελληνικότητα). The following extract from a conversation with Headteacher Anna is illustrative. Here, she is responding to my question regarding her feelings about Cyprus becoming more multicultural:

```
01  As a person, it is my fear, both in and out of quotation
02  marks, that maybe because of all of this foreign culture,
03  mentalities and ways of life, we might lose – what has
04  already been lost – some very genuine and traditional pieces
05  of our own place. This is my fear. That some things might be
06  altered.  And it's good if we are in constant guard, to keep at
07  least our identity as Cypriot Greeks (Κύπριοι Έλληνες).
08  Whether this is our hellenism (ελληνικότητα), whether it is
09  our traditions, whether it is our dances, whether it is our life,
10  to keep it genuine and unharmed, and to guard it like the
11  pupil of our eye, because the foreign intrusions and the
12  foreign cultures are upon it. (2007)
```

In this rather polemical extract, Anna clearly identifies – as an individual but also as a member of the educational community – more as a Greek rather than Cypriot: her references to 'Cypriot Greeks' (L07) and 'hellenism' (L08) rather than Cypriot or Cypriotness, point to the ideology of hellenocentrism, dominant in public and educational discourses. Anna views cultures and identities as rigid and fixed, and the Greek-Cypriots' identity as strictly hellenic. Here, Anna's discourse highly resembles the general aim of Primary Education Curriculum (1.3). Anna's account constructs intercultural exchanges and influences as harmful and unwanted and views them as a recent phenomenon. The possibility of loss or alteration of 'Greek' identity elements, such as traditions, dances, and way of life (L09) is a cause of great distress and fear (L01,05) for Anna. This is also evident in the powerful metaphor she employs, representing hellenism as the 'pupil' of the eye (L11) of 'Cypriot Greeks', which needs to be guarded from the foreign attacks and cultural 'intrusions' (L11-12). Though not described as belonging to a specific ethnic or cultural group, the Other is negatively constructed as a powerful enemy of hellenism, culturally alien, antithetical, threatening, and intrusive.

When asked to provide her personal opinion on diversity in Cyprus, Vasiliki in 2007 described intense negative feelings of dislike and fear of foreigners in Cyprus, who she also sees as a threat to 'our' identity:

01 I live with them in the neighbourhood they somehow terrify
02 me. I mean they behave like the masters. It's not like the
03 Cypriots that when we go abroad we stay low
04 (λουφάζουμε). They make the place their own! This thing
05 terrifies me, as a nation. I feel a threat. We are few and we
06 have to keep our authenticity. I know, I told you, I am racist.
07 (...) The fact that so many families broke so that they (Greek-
08 Cypriot men) could marry foreigners (ξένες – foreign
09 women) – I feel that our own race (φυλή) suffers injustice.
10 I thus feel a threat. I'm also from the occupied land, I feel
11 that what is lost is lost – let's not lose this part here as
12 well. Lately I was talking with my nephew and he tells me
13 'alright auntie, if you had an apartment or a piece of land
14 and a foreigner wanted it, wouldn't you give it to him?'
15 Maybe I wouldn't. Maybe I would starve but I wouldn't sell
16 it. I don't want my country to be sold out in this way.

Vasiliki's constructions of diversity in Greek-Cypriot society and of specific minoritized groups are directly related to her personal experiences in Cyprus and abroad: she lives in a neighbourhood mainly inhabited by migrants; she has lived in England and has reported being the subject of discrimination by the locals; and, she has experienced the war of 1974 and has become a refugee. These personal experiences appear to shape Vasiliki's highly negative constructions of diversity, her negative feelings, and her constructions of racism.

The lexical choices of 'terrify' (L01,05), 'threat' (L05,10), 'sold out' (L16), and 'lose/lost' (L11) are the main indicators of the repertoire of fear, while other choices – 'broke up' (L07), 'injustice' (L09), 'lost' – also convey the negativity of Vasiliki's constructions of diversity. In this extract, she communicates feelings of fear, terror, anger, frustration, pain, sadness and despair. Vasiliki's account creates a clearly distinct image of 'them' posing a threat to 'us' in various ways: they behave as 'the masters' (L02); they lack strict morals (L07-09); and, they take over Cypriot land, even if this is done legally (L15-16).

Vasiliki's statements mirror the assumption that there exists a homogeneous group of people, the 'race' of Greek-Cypriots, which is being threatened by foreign women – who are blamed for the increasing percentage of divorces, as

opposed to Greek-Cypriot men (L07-09)[48]. While not explicitly stated, the context-specific dominant stereotypes about the low morals of Eastern European women and their links to prostitution in popular discourses (1.2) are so powerful that, I would suggest, it would be impossible, or highly unlikely, that Vasiliki here is attributing the responsibility for the increased divorce rates to Muslim or Arab women. The occupation of half the island increases the need to keep the other half ethnically homogeneous even stronger; which is why Vasiliki sees the ownership of Cypriot land by 'foreigners' as a mistake to avoid by all means (L15-16). Ownership of land, family traditions, and the feeling of belonging, are constructed as the basic elements of what Vasiliki refers to as 'our' 'nation' (L05) or 'race' (L09)[49].

In sum, the above excerpts show how in the repertoire of fear, the Other appears to be naturally criminal, aggressive, violent, dangerous, threatening the material possessions and personal safety of Greek-Cypriots. Accounts that draw upon the repertoire of fear were regularly supported and justified by media reports which represent foreigners, mainly Asians and Eastern Europeans, as natural criminals. Teachers also drew on their personal experiences, while they frequently reported conversations with other citizens – especially with authoritative figures – to add validity to their accounts and to avoid racist inferences. The religious group most regularly referred to were Muslims, through references to specific ethnic groups (Pakistanis, Iranians, Iraqis). None of the teachers inferred that Greek-Cypriots may also have been involved in criminal activities against minoritized groups. When referring to the fear of losing 'our' identity, participants constructed the Other as essentially different and powerful, while they represented Greek-Cypriots as too weak to avoid 'negative influences' from intercultural exchanges with 'foreign' cultures.

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[48] Greek-Cypriot children in another study offered almost identical accounts, blaming Russian and Romanian women for divorces in Cyprus (Spyrou, unpublished paper).

[49] See 3.9.1 for the complexities in translating the word 'race'.

4.5   REPERTOIRE OF EMPATHY

Characterized by an attempt to place oneself in the Other's position, this repertoire includes descriptions of feelings of empathy as well as subtle indications of awareness of the discriminatory treatment that migrants and refugees are subjected to in Cyprus. Only five out of the twenty-seven participants employed this repertoire. The repertoire of empathy was expressed in two ways: through imagining oneself in the position of a migrant and through identifying with migrants and asylum-seekers because of the similar displacement experiences of Greek-Cypriots after WWII and the invasion of 1974. The few participants who drew from this repertoire acknowledged the suffering of the Other because of war and material inequalities. That four out of the five teachers who drew on this repertoire also employed the repertoire of intolerance and one of them the repertoire of fear, is evidence of the simultaneity in the use of the repertoires, even of contradictory content.

In one of the examples of the repertoire of empathy, Yiota expressed that she makes conscious efforts to imagine herself as a migrant pupil:

> 01   I sometimes put myself in the position of finding myself in a
> 02   foreign country where I don't know anyone. What will I feel?
> 03   And I try to understand what those children feel, who found
> 04   themselves in a foreign space. (2007)

Speaking about minoritized children in her class, Yiota says that she uses self-reflection in order to 'understand' how her pupils feel. In her argument lies the assumption that, as a teacher, Yiota needs to become aware of her pupils' feelings and identify with their experience of being in an unknown place in order to support them. In a similar way, referring to an example outside the school, Antonia expressed her conscious effort to identify with her grandmother's domestic helper:

> 01   I think that perhaps I would also go to live in a foreign
> 02   country and that it would be very unfair to be treated like
> 03   this. I always try to bring myself in their position. We have a
> 04   girl (κοπέλα) from Sri Lanka who takes care of my

05 grandmother and I always try to think that she's around my
06 age – she's about 25 years old – and I say this girl, because
07 of necessity, she came to our country to work and how
08 unfair it is to her for us to treat her differently. (2008)

Antonia hypothetically places herself in the position of the Sri Lankan woman and argues that differential treatment of migrants is 'unfair' (L02, 08). Thus, she indirectly acknowledges the operation of racism in migrants' lives in Cyprus. Their similar age appears to be triggering the feelings of empathy that Antonia reports towards the employee of her family. The Other, through the example of the Sri-Lankan domestic helper, is constructed by Antonia as an equal, with the same human rights to fair treatment. Antonia acknowledges that economic necessity (L07) has brought the Sri-Lankan woman to Cyprus for work and in her account this is constructed as the only difference between them. Antonia clearly finds this to be insufficient excuse for any differential treatment. Her account, as will be seen later (5.2 and 5.3.3) includes rare examples of racism awareness amongst participants, which may be linked to her feelings of empathy as they appear here.

In another example of the repertoire of empathy, Nicoleta simultaneously expressed the dilemma between empathising with the Other and protecting one's own rights:

01 N: Alright, now I'm saying – the other day this mother came
02 and says her husband was killed at the war. Well, and she
03 brought three orphans over here and they didn't have
04 money to buy the school uniform. Anyways, I say aren't they
05 humans as well? Now a mother with three orphans, if I was
06 in her position, what would I do? Apparently she left that
07 place to save her children because they're all like those
08 kamikazes[50]. He was a kamikaze from what I understood.
09 E: You mean her husband?
10 N: Yes. Well, anyways, you say for God to have created
11 them, it means you also have to respect them, but up to a
12 point, where they don't step onto my own rights. (2008)

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[50] In Cypriot dialect the term 'kamikaze' (καμικάζι) is used to refer to suicide bombers.

Through the example of an Arab mother of three orphans attending the school, Nicoleta provides an account of an ideological dilemma (3.8.2), as she is torn between her feelings of empathy towards her fellow human beings and her need to preserve her own rights, which she views as threatened by the Other's presence. As Nicoleta reports her dilemma, she speaks of the Other in contradictory ways. On the one hand, the Other is constructed as sharing a similar human condition with the majoritized (L04-05) and origin from God (L10-11). This dictates to Nicoleta a duty of respect (L11) and empathy towards the Other, as another one of God's creatures and a human being, imagining herself in the mother's position. On the other hand, through the sweeping generalization about 'kamikazes' (L08), Nicoleta constructs the Arab father as merely one of the Muslim fundamentalist terrorists who commit suicide and thus victimize their wives and children. Constructions of Muslim women and children as victims of the naturally violent Muslim men are not uncommon among teachers (4.3 and 6.4).

Juxtaposing Nicoleta's deployment of the repertoire of empathy about the Arab mother with the popular repertoire of intolerance about asylum-seekers in Cyprus (4.3) reveals the ambivalent constructions of the 'abusive' asylum-seekers who benefit at 'our' expense and the 'genuine' refugees who deserve 'our' sympathy (Kushner, 2005, p. 222). Kushner (2005) explains that such distinctions are similar to those made about Jews, some of whom were constructed as 'desirable', assimilable and even 'whiter'. Still, he argues, the racialization process is complex in such ways that it rarely embraces the whole group, thus producing positive and negative racialized constructions.

Even accounts of empathy were overruled by negative constructions of the Other. For example, Angela in 2007 drew on her personal experience of displacement in 1974 in order to express her empathy towards minoritized groups in Cyprus:

> 01 Look, we also became refugees, it is a situation that we also
> 02 went through, many noteworthy people left from us as well,
> 03 and also come to us. But I believe that a big percentage is

04 not the best. But you see them every so often, dying from
05 drugs in building basements. And they are *all* from Georgia.

This extract highlights the dilemmatic nature of the issues Angela attempts to make sense of: the contradiction between her feelings of empathy with refugees and migrants because of the Greek-Cypriots' displacement experience, and her concerns raised by the reported deaths of drug addicts. Angela acknowledges that after 1974 many 'noteworthy' Greek-Cypriots left the island and that, similarly, 'noteworthy' people arrive in Cyprus. However, moving on to her second argument, Angela constructs 'a big percentage' of foreigners as 'not the best' (L04). No Greek-Cypriots who migrated abroad are characterized in this way, while responsibility for drug-related deaths are attributed to migrants themselves. Connections between Georgians (mainly Pontians) and drug-related crime is repeatedly met in the data, confirming the popularity of public and media discourses (1.2) and their influence on participants' accounts.

Overall, the repertoire of empathy is deployed alongside positive, neutral, ambivalent, or negative constructions of the Other. The two factors contributing to feelings of empathy on behalf of the participants towards the foreigners are the acknowledgement of the universal right to dignity, and the similar experiences of dislocation. Except Yiota, all other four teachers who employed the repertoire of empathy drew on the repertoire of intolerance elsewhere in their accounts (4.3). This demonstrates the simultaneity with which repertoires of even contradictory content may be employed, bringing egalitarian statements alongside racializing discourses. It expresses the ideological dilemmas that individuals face when dealing with feelings of empathy in a context where nationalist and racist discourses predominate, but also those of human rights and equality.

4.6 REPERTOIRE OF INTEREST

The repertoire of interest, portraying diversity in a positive lens as potentially beneficial, was the least deployed, evident only in Angela's account. Angela generally constructed diversity in negative terms by employing the repertoires of fear (4.4), inevitability (4.2) and intolerance (4.3). Even when she drew on the

repertoire of empathy, Angela focused on the negative constructions of Georgian migrants (4.5). As the following extract illustrates, towards the end of our conversation, Angela referred to ways in which the presence of migrants and asylum-seekers in Cyprus could potentially be beneficial for the majoritized:

01 It's not in our interest to ghettoize them. This thing is not in
02 our interest at all. And it's neither in our interest that they
03 don't have a good time. It's in our interest that they live
04 well, that they make money, they build houses, they make
05 fortunes, and that it's *forgotten* that they came from
06 another country. I don't know if the terminology I've used is
07 correct. Their welfare is in our interest. That is my opinion,
08 and we have to give them opportunities, to want to educate
09 them for now and for the future. We will not give them
10 *more* opportunities than to the other children but it is in our
11 interest that they prosper, to not find other ways – so they
12 don't end up in crime – because, alright, we also have a
13 problem, it's not just the foreigners. (...) If you extend this
14 issue a bit, like the Turks who bring the settlers and they
15 increased in population, and because we don't have
16 many children, it is in our interest to naturalise them, to
17 make them Greek-Cypriots in the end, because it is in our
18 interest population-wise. (2007)

Angela repeats that the 'foreigners'' welfare is 'in our interest' (μας συμφέρει) eight times (L01,02,03,07,11,16,17-18) in the above extract. She argues that minoritized groups should be given equal opportunities with the majoritized in terms of education, housing, employment and overall prosperity. Furthermore, Angela suggests that education and other opportunities must be provided to minoritized children (L08), to help them develop and stay away from crime as an option for securing their necessary means to life. If they prosper, they will not turn to crime and thus the majoritized will not have to fear for their everyday safety (L11-12). Thus, according to Angela, the national interest is served, as crime will be minimized. As opposed to most teachers, Angela does not essentialize the foreigners as natural criminals but she views crime as the result of the material and social inequalities in which minoritized groups are subjected to, an assumption rarely found in the data. However, these opportunities should not be more than the ones given to Greek-Cypriot children (L09-10).

Furthermore, the provision of equal opportunities is accompanied by the condition that the minoritized groups are completely assimilated in Cypriot society and their backgrounds forgotten (L05). Such a suggestion entails, I would argue, disregard of the minoritized individual and group identities and constructs them as inferior and potentially exploitable for the sake of the power maintenance and safety of the majoritized.

In other words, through assimilation of the Other, Angela suggests a potential solution to the Greek-Cypriots' fear of crime and fear of losing their majoritized beneficial positionality. Seen from a CRT perspective, this appears to be an example of interest convergence (Gillborn, 2008), even if it is merely a suggestion that has not materialized. In such cases, measures taken for the benefit of the minoritized, in essence and in the long run serve the interests of the dominant group.

According to Angela, complete assimilation of the migrants would not only help to eliminate social problems, but also enhance the decreasing numbers of the Greek-Cypriot aging population, as opposed to the increasing population of the north, due to the presence of Turkish settlers and higher birth rates. Constructing as a constant threat the increasing population in the north, Angela suggests that through naturalization (L17) of minoritized groups in the south, the population of Greek-Cypriots, who have low birth-rates (L15-16), will increase. Therefore, they will be able to compete with the inhabitants of the north, ideally, based on Angela's argument, as an ethnically homogeneous group. This argument reflects the powerful impact the national problem has on participants' talk about diversity. While Angela constructs diversity as a potentially positive attribute of Greek-Cypriot society, this is done only to serve the nationalistic interests of the majoritized. Thus, diversity is constructed as a useful tool that can be used to advance the national interests of the Greek-Cypriots towards the increase of the population of the ultimate Other in the north.

4.7 CONCLUSION

'If we can understand how representations of self and other emerge as collective phenomena and become meaningful for individuals and groups, then we have gone a long way to understanding the perpetration of racism' (Wetherell, 1996, p. 222).

In an attempt to map the discursive background regarding diversity in Greek-Cypriot society from which teachers draw to construct their accounts, this chapter addressed research questions 1 and 2 (1.6) and identified the five interpretative repertoires employed by participants in their talk about diversity.

The *repertoire of inevitability* was the most popular repertoire in participants' accounts, through brief, however, expressions. It constructed diversity through a range of positive to negative characterizations, including neutral understandings of diversity as a natural aspect of contemporary societies. Mostly, however, diversity was constructed as unwanted, despite being necessary and inevitable. The *repertoire of intolerance* was very popular and the most powerful in terms of emotional expressions and vivid metaphors. Even though it was employed by fewer teachers than the repertoire of inevitability, it was expressed in the most lengthy arguments and accounts, and incorporated negative and powerful feelings such as anger and frustration. Participants who drew on this repertoire offered constructions of migrants and asylum-seekers that were essentialist at best and disturbing at worst, portraying them as physically and culturally inferior to Greek-Cypriots. The *repertoire of fear* was expressed in a twofold way. Participants constructed themselves as afraid for their physical safety because they considered migrants as responsible for the reported increase in criminality. They also reported feeling threatened from the possibility that the increasing diversity will distort, alter and, even, eliminate the majoritized cultural and ethnic identity. The *repertoire of empathy*, was the only one that included positive constructions of the Other – though the teachers who employed it also employed the repertoire of intolerance or fear. The one instance of the *repertoire of interest* also constructed diversity in a positive way, but only if it benefits the majoritized. Migrants and asylum-seekers were considered by Angela as a potentially positive addition to the population of Cyprus, if

assimilated completely and thus enhance the demographics of Greek-Cypriots. Their welfare is also desired to ensure the elimination of crime in Greek-Cypriot society.

Several rhetorical devices were used by participants while drawing on the repertoires in their accounts about diversity: racism denials, laughter, repairs, hesitations, pauses, quantification, quotation/reported speech, analogy, ambiguity, metaphors, and, reference to personal experience (3.8.2). Some participants attempted to engage me as an interviewer in their account by expressing the assumption, or even certainty, that I share their viewpoints, or as a way of seeking support for their arguments. Racism denials and declarations were frequently employed in participants' talk about diversity, particularly before or after making statements that could be characterized as racist. The ambivalence and contradictions between racist statements and racism denials encountered in talk about diversity in other research (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2000) were also evident in this chapter.

In addition to the identification of the repertoires in terms of their organizational aspect, the analysis also dealt with their functional aspect, and identified their accompanying constructions of the Other. In all repertoires, there were explicit or implicit assumptions of the ethnicized or religioned Other as naturally belonging to a different 'race'. Also, throughout the repertoires, essentialist constructions of 'us' and 'them' were commonly met. 'We' were defined as the 'Greeks', 'Greek-Cypriots', or 'Cypriots' while 'foreigners', 'Pontians' and other Eastern Europeans, 'blacks' and, most intensely, 'Muslims', were constructed as 'they'. The constructions about 'them' were predominantly negative and stereotypical, reflecting the popular discourses about Eastern Europeans, Muslims and blacks that are prevalent in Greek-Cypriot society (1.2).

Muslims and the religion of Islam in particular are constructed in essentialist and negative ways across teachers' accounts. Such constructions do not resemble old or skin colour racisms but they constitute particular racialization processes similar to those identified about Australian Muslims, including stereotypes about

Islam, perceptions of threat and inferiority, and fantasies about the Other (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007). At different points in my analysis, the Muslim man has been stereotypically constructed as sexist, powerful and authoritarian – and a husband that any (Christian or Muslim) woman will be unhappy with. As Karim (1997) notes, the Eurocentric constructions of the Muslim Other through specific sets of discourses have been generating a series of biased depictions of Muslims for centuries. Fundamentalism, lust, violence, barbarism, and greed are included in the basic myths about Arabs and Muslims that Karim identifies in his historical overview of Muslim stereotypes. The explicitly negative constructions of Asian groups evident in all the repertoires – especially of fear (4.4) and intolerance (4.3) – confirm Anthias' (2006) argument that Cyprus is a society where Muslim or Asian migrants are especially feared for bringing foreign cultural and moral elements, and where the media promotes a discourse which constructs such dangers for Cypriot culture.

Constructions of Eastern Europeans include stereotypical highly gendered representations of, mainly Pontian, male migrants as thieves, vandals and criminals and of Eastern European women as immoral and prostitutes, who appear to be threatening the family values and morals of Greek-Cypriots despite sharing, usually, the same religion (4.3). Thus, my findings confirm previous research in the Greek-Cypriot context (Skapoulli, 2009; Spyrou, unpublished paper; Trimikliniotis, 2001). Viewed from an intersectional approach, the constructions of the Other in the repertoire of intolerance (4.3) provide evidence of the complexity with which foreigners in Cyprus become racialized, religioned, ethnicized and gendered in participants' talk.

There were, however, instances of resistance to the hegemonic negative constructions of the Other. The repertoire of empathy, for example, included constructions of 'foreigners' as equal to 'us', entitled to the same universal human rights. The participants who drew on the repertoire of empathy, at the same time, offer accounts which are ambivalent and dilemmatic, as they also drew on the repertoires of intolerance and fear elsewhere in their accounts.

The interpretative repertoires, even of contradictory content, were employed simultaneously, sometimes enmeshed within participants' discourses. This is evidence of the variability of the repertoires (3.8.1) and the ideological dilemmas (3.8.2) which their accounts express. Variability in the use of repertoires was common in the data, as participants sometimes combined different repertoires in the same sentence. Importantly, not all participants drew on the repertoires in the same way. Choice of the repertoires employed depended on the role participants assumed, usually that of a professional teacher or an individual citizen; on whether others were present when the interview took place; and, on the stage in the interview, as participants tended to be more relaxed and appeared to feel more comfortable towards the end.

The repertoires of inevitability, empathy and interest where employed when participants spoke both as teachers and citizens. However, the repertoires of fear and intolerance, which included the most negative representations of the Other, were only employed by participants who clarified that they spoke as citizens. The transfer of their account to a personal from the professional level potentially allows participants more freedom to express negative views. At the same time, avoidance of potential racist inferences would perhaps be more successful on behalf of a citizen rather than a professional teacher – as the latter carries immense social responsibility.

To conclude, I would argue that the analysis demonstrates that there are specific cultural resources available to Greek-Cypriot teachers in the current social context, from which they draw to construct their accounts of diversity and the Other. Some of these resources appear to be more powerful than others; this is evident from the variability in their frequency and popularity. While the five repertoires identified are not exclusively representative of all available repertoires informing teachers' accounts of diversity, I would suggest that, to a large extent, they cover the range of context-specific cultural resources available to the Greek-Cypriot teachers interviewed for this study at the specific period of time.

Most participants who were interviewed twice, during both phases of the fieldwork, repeated their arguments and expressed highly similar or identical views about diversity and constructions of the Other, reflecting a degree of stability in the availability of these resources. It is possible that changes in the available discourses have emerged since the end of data collection, due to the change in government and the intensification of the reunification talks between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots. As teachers are the main school actors who transform institutional policies and teaching resources into practice in the classroom, their constructions of the Other through their repertoires of diversity are likely to have effects on all children. Such examples are analysed in Chapter 7, focusing on the school experiences of an Iraqi-Palestinian boy, where his teacher Maria's assumptions of Islam appear to influence her classroom practices.

The next chapter also draws on interview data with teachers in order to analyse their constructions of racism in Greek-Cypriot society and in children's relations.

5 TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACISM

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Having identified the discursive background regarding diversity in Greek-Cypriot society, from which teachers draw to construct their accounts, this chapter explores teachers' constructions and understandings of racism on the societal and school levels. Drawing on interview data, it addresses research question 3 (1.6):

- How do teachers construct racism on a school and a wider society level?

The chapter explores the ways in which racism is constructed, minimized or denied, directly or implicitly. The analysis focuses on how participants construct incidents of name calling, harassment, discrimination, and exclusion. As they emerge from the data, participants' constructions of racism fall under three categories: constructions of racism on a wider society level; denial of racism in children's lives; and, constructions of racism in children's lives. I first analyse teachers' constructions of racism in Greek-Cypriot society (5.2), providing examples of accounts which recognize racism. However, these often involve racism denials, minimizations, justifications and, rarely, condemnation of the phenomenon. The analysis then identifies teachers' constructions of racism on a school level, most of which support that racism does not exist in children's lives (5.3). Their arguments are based on perceptions of children's relations as colourblind and on the assumption that racism cannot operate amongst young children because of their age (5.3.1). Even when racialized incidents are described, these are deracialized, normalized (5.3.2), minimized (5.3.3), or blamed on minoritized children's behaviour or personality (5.3.4). A few participants recognize racism as present in children's school lives (5.4). Though they challenge the predominant colourblind approach, they appear unable to successfully eliminate racialized incidents and discourses among their pupils (5.4.1). Furthermore, most of the teachers who acknowledge the presence of racism, attribute responsibility to Greek-Cypriot parents' discourses (5.4.2).

5.2 CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACISM IN GREEK-CYPRIOT SOCIETY

None of the participants explicitly denied the presence of racism on a Greek-Cypriot society level. However, even when they acknowledged it, most of them minimized the presence of racism, avoided to name it as such, or replaced it with 'xenophobia', which they justified.

Only two teachers explicitly condemned racism and showed evidence of understandings of the ways in which racism operates on an institutional level, without naming it as such. One of them was Antonia:

> E: What about issues of racism, xenophobia, discrimination, does this concern you on a school or a society level? Do you see...
> A: Yes there is a problem in Cyprus. Umm, we are a people who have a problem with prejudices. We see something that happens to an other-language or other-religion person and we *immediately* generalize. We may not generalize the first time, but the second time we will generalize. Oh, this one Russian girl, she worked at an entertainment night club, *all* the Russian girls work in night clubs and do the same job. There *is* a racism in Cyprus. Of course I simply view it as unacceptable. (...) It is very — it is the *most* unacceptable thing I have ever seen because there is no essential difference. Alright, apart from the people who come because of need or poverty, there are also people who may even be university professors from foreign countries and you still see a certain suspicion. As if because you are Cypriot, just the *random* fact that you were born in Cyprus gives you a benefit let's say, or a gift.

Antonia's quote exhibits a rare amongst the data awareness of how racism operates on a societal and interpersonal level and acknowledges the presence of racism in Cyprus. Though she essentializes Greek-Cypriots as 'a people' with 'prejudices', she simultaneously offers understandings of the intersectional identities of migrants, particularly in relation to nationality, social class, and professional status. Antonia, most uniquely, shows awareness of the global order of things by characterizing one's Cypriot nationality as a 'random fact' that bears no additional importance to being born somewhere else. Antonia's awareness of world inequalities can be linked to her deployment of the repertoire of empathy in her account about her grandmother's domestic worker (4.5). As seen earlier,

however, Antonia also employed the repertoire of intolerance (4.3), while elsewhere (6.5.1) she maintains an essentialist construction of religion[51].

Drawing mostly from the media discourses rather than everyday life, Constandinos criticized the tendency in popular discourses to use migrants as scapegoats in Greek-Cypriot society:

> I think Cyprus has a dose of racism. Now how much of a dose I don't know…Maybe I can't explain it with words, but it's the feeling that I have. (…) If anything happens, we will immediately blame someone. And we see it in the news, on televisions. Remember when there was a rapist and from day one they announced 'foreigner'? Or in the newspapers? We immediately rush to blame someone else. Or the human capital exploitation. It happens a lot. Whether with the domestic workers, or with the sexual harassment cases that reach the public surface, and all of those that don't. Or in constructions, especially in public constructions, there is exploitation of human capital. And I believe it is very difficult; the Cypriot is still at early stages – he is not as open as he wants, or as he thinks he is.

Though he does not describe them as institutionally racist, the examples that Constandinos provides indicate his understanding of the extent of the phenomenon across society, at the intersections of ethnicity, social class and gender. His account indicates the powerful impact that media discourses have on the construction of migrants as criminals, seen operating especially in accounts drawing on the repertoire of fear (4.4). Constandinos also highlights the institutional aspect of discrimination by pointing at the exploitation of human capital in public constructions. The gendered aspect of racism is represented by Constandinos' examples of sexual harassment, mentioned in the same sentence as the domestic workers, the vast majority being female. As noted earlier (3.5) Constandinos was the only member of staff with a postgraduate diploma in intercultural education (3.5.1), after attending a voluntary in-service training programme offered at the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, which has possibly

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[51] Following the completion of the analysis, section 8.3.5 will particularly discuss such ambivalences in participants' accounts.

influenced his perception of racism. Antonia and Constandinos were also the only two teachers who referred to teacher racism, which, however, they both minimized (5.3.3).

Three other teachers recognized the presence of racism in Greek-Cypriot society, defining it as a universal, natural, inherent, unavoidable human attribute. Treated as an aspect of the subconscious, racism in these accounts was considered as 'impossible to avoid', manifested through 'indirect' or 'naturally' occurring prejudices, 'doubts', or 'suspicions' at the previously 'unknown' presence of 'foreigners'. Despina, when asked about what intercultural education can do in relation to racism, said:

> (laughs) Let's not lie, we are *all* indirectly racists! Don't tell me anything. *Indirectly.* Somewhere, that is, not racists in the sense of racism let's say in South Africa, you are black you are dead. But indirectly you don't feel the same as you used to feel before when you didn't have as many foreigners, I mean, like I told you, you walk and you see so many foreigners. Maybe I don't want to sit at that restaurant that has a lot of foreigners. Or I don't like it that this neighbourhood has so many foreigners. Indirectly we *are* racists. (2007)

Despina distinguishes between the apartheid racism of South Africa, that is the overt, violent forms of racism, and the 'indirect' forms of racism she observes in Cyprus, such as avoiding restaurants or neighbourhoods with concentration of 'foreigners', which she constructs as inherent in all. The assumption that racism is a universal and natural human attribute combined with the distinction between overt and more subtle forms of racism, though acknowledged by Despina, still functions to minimize their importance.

Vasiliki also acknowledged the presence of racism in Cyprus, but, as opposed to most participants, justified it and constructed it as necessary for the survival of Greek-Cypriots. In both interviews, she based her justification of racism on her personal negative experiences while living in England for a short period, where 'the attitude of the English was very hostile' towards her. As she stated in 2008:

V: And it's not just us that are racists. Even the Americans themselves are the greatest racists. So we need to protect ourselves a little bit.

E: Now that you mentioned racism, how do you see it? How do you define it and how do you see its presence or not, in what aspects, in Cyprus, within or outside the school?

V: We tend to *become* racists in order to protect ourselves and our families and our homeland and our customs and our habits and our religion. Because the way that foreigners behave in our place tends to invade us, to alienate us.

Juxtaposing this extract with Vasiliki's use of the repertoire of fear (4.4) reveals a link between teachers' constructions of diversity and racism. Constructing otherness as a threat, as the repertoire of fear does, may provide justifications for racism, as Vasiliki's argument above. Becoming 'racist' is, according to Vasiliki, a necessity as a defense strategy towards the 'alienation' that foreigners bring to 'us'. While such explicit justifications of racism were not commonly met, eight participants distinguished racism from xenophobia, minimizing the first and justifying the latter, offering arguments similar to those by Vasiliki. Antigoni, for example, said:

E: What about intercultural education in relation to racism and xenophobia?

A: It must be implemented because we are an intercultural society. And we still *have* a lot of racism. I believe it is because of our fear. It is our defense. We have been for years a small island on its own, cut, divided. It is not accidental that we live with this phobia.

E: What do you mean we have racism?

A: Generally. Generally, not as much racism as phobia. Let's say when we watch the scenes in France with the migrants burning cars etc, somewhere I believe that we receive the negative elements and we are afraid that we might become like this as well in the end. I mean, it's more the phobia that terrifies us. Fear for the unknown, for living – if you think that when we were primary school kids, did we have foreigners in the schools? You walked in the street, how many foreigners could you have seen? There weren't any. I remember I was 24 years old when I first saw a black, when I went

to America! Well now it's very easy to see a black, a Filipino, an Indian. (2007)

Antigoni's argument begins with the acknowledgement of the need for intercultural education as a means to challenge racism, of which 'we have a lot' as a society. Immediately, however, this racism is justified because of the Cyprus national problem of division, supported by the discourse of powerlessness of a 'small island on its own'[52]. When challenged to provide examples of her assertion that racism is present in Cypriot society, Antigoni turns to a series of racism minimization and denial strategies: she speaks 'generally' as a way of avoiding concrete examples, and she replaces racism with 'phobia'. Media reports about migrants' riots in France are then used as an example that justifies this 'terrifying' phobia. These are complemented by the contact hypothesis argument, which supports that 'phobia' is justified if groups have had no contact[53]. It is not uncommon for the terms discrimination, resentment or xenophobia to be used to describe manifestations of everyday racism as a form of racism denial (van Dijk, 2002). Similarly, Gotsbachner's (2001) analysis of the xenophobic discourse in situations of interaction between immigrants and native Viennese shows that xenophobia has infiltrated common sense in such a way that it is no longer considered racist. The large number of participants who expressed justification of xenophobia in their accounts reflects the popularity and influence of the repertoire of fear of diversity (4.4) in their constructions of racism.

Four teachers acknowledged the presence of racism in Greek-Cypriot society and tried to minimize it by adding vagueness and doubt in their reports. For example, Assistant Headteacher Pavlos in 2008 first acknowledged the necessity for intercultural education in order to challenge racism in the form of feelings of

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[52] This perception, popular among participants, was also brought up in accounts within the repertoire of inevitability (4.2).

[53] As seen in 2.2.1, multicultural education approaches based on such assumptions of racism were heavily criticized.

ethnic superiority, but when asked whether he observes racism in Cyprus, he replied:

> No, I... Well, I don't know of course sometimes maybe some are like that but I think that people are not like that, generally the people in Cyprus.

The several unfinished expressions add to the sense of vagueness and, finally, lead to a racism denial on behalf of Cypriots, including Pavlos himself.

In sum, with the exception of Antonia's and Constandinos' accounts, teachers' constructions of racism on a societal level were rarely explicit and condemning of the phenomenon. Instead, they often minimized, justified, or substituted racism with xenophobia and explained it as a natural human aversion towards or fear of the 'foreign'.

5.3 DENIAL OF RACISM IN CHILDREN'S LIVES

Most participants denied that racism operates in children's lives on a school level, usually arguing that children's relations are colourblind. When referring to racialized incidents, participants constructed them as a normalized part of children's relations or employed various strategies of racism minimization and deracialization. Denying the presence of racism in children's lives, some teachers attributed responsibility for the exclusion or racialized harassment incidents to minoritized children themselves.

5.3.1 CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILREN'S RELATIONS AS COLOURBLIND

The participants who constructed children's relation as colourblind referred to issues of age, skin colour, appearance, ethnicity and national origin. Offering the most typical argument in support of children's relations as colourblind, Yiorgos in 2007 referred to their age as a cause:

> But look I think at this age the notion of racism doesn't exist in children. I see it as normal to have this friction but not that they understand what racism is or anything.

Referring to 'frictions' because of racialized name calling incidents, Yiorgos constructs children as mere imitators of adults' racist discourses, unable to

'understand' racism because they are too young. Adults in Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001, p. 173) study also maintained that 'young children either have no consciousness of racial distinctions or hold naive and shallow conceptions easily amenable to change' and refused to believe that young children could use racist epithets in a meaningful way.

Another example of teachers' colourblind approach regarding their constructions of children's relations was related to the segregated friendship groups observed in the classrooms and more so in the playground. Segregation was a prominent theme in my fieldnotes, acknowledged by almost every participant, though most of them did not recognize the phenomenon as racialized. As Yiorgos characteristically said, 'the Pontians are with the Pontians, the Arabs with the Arabs'. I also observed the Greek-Cypriots playing mostly with the Greek-Cypriots. Iraqi-Palestinian children were very clearly segregated from the rest in the playground, but also in the classroom, usually sitting next to each other at the back of the room. I never observed Iraqi-Palestinian children mingling with any of the Greek-Cypriot or Eastern European children. On the contrary, they were always playing with each other, in one or two large groups, including boys and girls of all ages. In our talk, Headteacher Andreas at first denied there is any segregation:

> You should see them. They are all friends between them, you cannot distinguish if one is Russian or, I don't know, Georgian. They are the *same* children; they are children of the same God.

When I challenged him, however, by asking whether he had noticed any distinction of groups in the playground, he described segregation as 'reasonable' because of the 'special' friendships that some Greek-Cypriot children have due to their parents' connections, and concluded that 'this is how the society of Cyprus works'. Thus, Andreas justifies the homogeneous and exclusive groups of Greek-Cypriot children as a normal part of the Cypriot society. Other teachers also considered segregation as normal, both for Greek-Cypriots and minoritized children. Sixth-grade teacher Caterina explained it as a result of children's need 'to feel safer together' especially during breaks when they get together with

their friends from other classes. Pontians being neighbours or relatives was the explanation that Vasiliki gave for the segregation observed among her pupils. Such perceptions of segregation as a 'natural tendency of in-groups to discriminate against out-groups solely on the basis of different group membership' echo psychological theories of prejudice that assume that aversion to difference is natural (Archer & Francis, 2005a, p. 399). Furthermore, naturalization of segregation is one of the frames of colourblind racism, allowing majoritized individuals to minimize or ignore racialized phenomena by constructing them as natural occurrences (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Such understandings provide little space for challenging racism as they reinforce the status quo and do not account for the structural or power unequal relations operating within such contexts (Archer & Francis, 2005a).

Several teachers suggested that children's relations are colourblind by arguing that no comments are heard about minoritized children's appearance, particularly skin colour. Headteacher Anna in 2007 referred to Ahmed, an Iraqi boy in first grade; Arun, an Indian boy who attended third grade the year before; and Kanita, a Thai girl in third grade. She said that although Ahmed 'is somewhat a little bit blackish (μαυρούδι)'[54], Arun has 'a different skin colour', and Kanita has 'eyes are like *that*', name calling or harassment incidents have never been reported to her and she never heard children making comments related to appearance. Soula, Kanita's third-grade teacher in 2007 and Ahmed's second-grade teacher in 2008, similarly constructed children's relations as colourblind, arguing that skin colour is 'never brought up'. She attributed the lack of comments about Ahmed's skin colour to the fact that 'most of us' (Greek-Cypriots) also have dark skin colour and therefore Ahmed does not appear to be different. I would suggest that the fact that both teachers have to repudiate the fact that Ahmed is black indicates that blackness is constructed as problematic.

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[54] It is worth noting the descriptor 'blackish' that Anna uses to refer to Ahmed, also employed by other teachers. In order to contextualize this discursive category, it should be noted that the word 'black' is rarely used in a positive way in popular discourses in Cyprus. Instead, it is often used as a swearword or a derogatory characterization (Trimikliniotis, 2003, p. 28). I would argue that Anna attempts to minimize the negative connotations attached to the term 'black' by describing Ahmed as 'somewhat a little bit blackish' (έτσι λίγο μαυρούδι).

Also, as other teachers and children report, racialized name practices are frequently observed among children, particularly related to darker skin colour.

Furthermore, teachers argued that they view conflicts between pupils as irrelevant to their origin or ethnicity. For example, Despina said that 'in the classroom I don't see that there is any animosity or any situation that *results* from race (φυλή) or origin'[55]. Zoe argued that she avoids considering issues of ethnicity when dealing with fights between her pupils, saying that 'all the times the foreign pupils came into conflict with the Cypriots, not *once* did I view it as having to do with their ethnic origins' and thus she never had to intervene 'to remove stigmata of racism'. Instead, Zoe said, she sees it 'as a clash between two children of this age'. However, as she argued, she had never encountered such instances and did not elaborate on any interventions. As Zoe views children's relations and conflicts as colourblind, she views conflict resolution among students with a colourblind approach herself. According to Essed (1997, p. 144), when majoritized group members, like the aforementioned teachers acknowledge that there is conflict but ignore that racist elements may be involved, they are 'deracializing' possibly racist situations. Deracialization is a distinct form of racism (Essed, 1997), which in this case becomes intertwined with colourblindness. When such events are 'deracialized' by teachers and treated as ordinary conflicts, both parties are held responsible and the victims' reactions, instead of the acts of the offenders, are problematized. Similarly, some Muslim teenage boys in Archer's (2003, p. 119) study in England argued that when teachers do not consider racism as a possible cause of pupil violence and maintain a position of 'neutrality', this contributes to the creation of an institutional form of racism, leaving those responsible unpunished.

In conclusion, it appears that teachers construct children's relations as colourblind as a consequence of their own avowed colourblindness. Statements such as 'I view children as children' and 'I treat everyone the same' were typical

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[55] See 3.9.1 for the specificities of translating the term 'race'.

amongst accounts. Consequently, racialized incidents remain unchallenged and racist discourses are reproduced.

5.3.2 NORMALIZATION OF CHILDREN'S RACIALIZED RELATIONS

This section focuses on teachers' constructions of racialized name calling and segregation as natural elements of children's relations. Most of the teachers who described harassment incidents, especially name calling based on skin colour or origin, did not define them as racist and sometimes explicitly argued against such potential characterizations. They also argued that such incidents are a 'normal' part of children's everyday lives.

In a typical example, Yiorgos referred to incidents of name calling related to skin colour that Arun, one of the dark-skinned children at the school[56], was subjected to while in PE. His account included repeated statements of denial that these incidents are manifestations of racism, which I highlighted in bold:

> Y: The other issue about racism let's say, is it also in (your research)?
> E: Yes, of course.
> Y: **I don't see let's say that there is a problem of racism**, I see that there is (.) there is a child from India, Arun, who is black. I see that there were children who made fun of him that 'you are like toast', 'you are black' things like that.
> E: In PE?
> Y: Yes, in PE as well. **But I don't consider it to be racism.** They have it, just like you will make fun of the other that he is fat, the other is like that.
> E: Do you have these things in third grade?
> Y: Yes, you will see them, because they release their energy in PE. Because when they are playing a game like football they release their energy, they will say stuff. **But I don't see it that it is racism this thing**. I see it being (.) the way you are going to make fun of another who is fat, you make fun of the other because he is black.
> E: What would you say that is racism?
> Y: Racism I would say that it is not being friends with him, isolating him, while **this thing doesn't happen**. I see him that he has friends

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[56] The other was Ahmed, an Iraqi boy in second grade (5.3.1, 5.3.4 and 5.4.1)

and plays during break (2007).

In the above interchange, Yiorgos repeatedly denies the presence of racism in children's lives, and specifically in Arun's everyday school experience. Paradoxically, in order to support his argument that there is no problem of racism at the school, Yiorgos provides examples of name calling that Arun is subjected to because of his darker skin colour. Yiorgos uses these examples in order to construct an argument of what racism is *not*, perhaps as a way of addressing any racist inferences in advance. This could be read as an example of 'prolepsis' (Billig, 1991) (3.8.2) on an institutional level, where Yiorgos, as a teacher, denies the existence of racism in the school context before providing what could be interpreted as evidence of its manifestation. In addition to racism denial, the second function achieved through Yiorgos' discourse is the normalization of racialized name calling in children's everyday relations. Yiorgos constructs name calling as normal and naturally occurring, when children release their energy during PE, whether based on skin colour ('toast', 'black') or other aspects of appearance ('fat')[57]. After the third direct denial of racism and my question to Yiorgos about what racism *is*, he defines it as exclusion from peers and isolation. Based on Yiorgos' observations, Arun has friends to play with during break and, therefore, racism 'doesn't happen'. Thus, the presence of racism in Arun's life is denied by Yiorgos in the above extract four times. In an almost identical manner, referring to similar incidents, Yiorgos in 2008 argued that the exclusion of an Iraqi-Palestinian boy from the football team by a Pontian boy is not racism (6.4.2).

Ultimately, Yiorgos 'deracializes' the racialized name calling practices he observes. The information included in his account does not provide sufficient information in order to identify the motivations or ideologies behind the racialized name calling and teasing to which Arun is subjected. However, I would argue that assumptions of racialized name calling as 'normal' do not allow any

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[57] Greek-Cypriot teachers in another diverse primary school also offered accounts normalizing similar racialized name calling practices among their pupils (Theodorou, 2010).

space for interrogating such incidents. Consequently, the intentions behind them are not identified and appropriate interventions cannot be implemented.

Analysis in this section identified the ways in which teachers may normalize racialized name calling discourses in children's lives, and thus fail to acknowledge, and therefore to challenge, such practices and their effects[58]. In effect, they construct racism as non-existent in children's lives.

5.3.3 MINIMIZATION OF RACISM IN CHILDREN'S LIVES

Various discursive strategies for the minimization and denial of racism were employed by teachers when talking about children's relations, particularly when referring to racialized incidents. For example, Headteacher Andreas mentioned Arun when asked about issues related to children minoritized because of skin colour:

> E: What about children of a different colour?
> A: We only have one (laughs)! We don't have another one who differs!
> E: Arun, yes.
> A: If I see racist behaviours from other children?
> E: Or any other...not necessarily racist. You could talk to me about that as well if you want but generally how...
> A: Look, he's a lovable child, that boy, Arun. OK, sometimes, someone, when they are fighting — and fighting is normal between the children — sometimes one might say something like 'yo, you black', I don't know. But it is rare, we don't have such phenomena (2007).

Following my prompt to speak to me about the experiences of children with different skin colour at the school, Andreas asks whether my question is about 'racist behaviours'. My response, characterized by hesitations and ambivalence, illustrates the uneasiness I felt when direct references to racism were made by participants themselves, without me bringing it up (3.7). In order to respond to whether there are racist behaviours towards Arun by other children, Andreas begins by characterizing Arun as 'lovable' and then reports examples of name

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[58] The effects on Arun's school experience will be discussed further in 8.3.3, after further layers of his racialization are analysed in 6.2.

calling that he is subjected to because of his skin colour. Andreas employs indefinite words and phrases such as 'sometimes', 'someone', 'might', 'something' and 'I don't know', constructing a vague account of these incidents and making the acknowledgement of racism and the attribution of responsibility difficult. Andreas also characterizes such incidents as 'rare', right before arguing that 'we don't have such phenomena'. Hence, Andreas gradually builds a racism denial argument, starting from vagueness about those responsible, moving to minimization of the frequency of these incidents, and leading to a direct denial of the manifestation of 'such phenomena' in the school context, and, ultimately, in Arun's life.

In the following typical extract about a teasing incident of a Romanian girl reported by Rebecca in 2008, such strategies again become apparent:

> E: Umm, talk to me a bit about children's relations...
> R: Look, uumm, sort of indistinctly, *something in the air* (sic) let's say, I do from time to time catch some children uummm, how do I say this? Some tiny sort of raci- not racism — in quotation marks? Belittlement a little bit? For *some* children.

When asked to provide an example of what she refers to as 'belittlement', Rebecca refers to the teasing of Paula, a high achieving 'exceptional' and 'talented' Romanian girl, who was teased by some of her classmates because of her national origin. Following media reports about a supermarket burglary by a Romanian man, Rebecca described how some children in her class addressed Paula by making funny sounds with the word 'Romania' and her name the next day. When I asked Rebecca how she dealt with the specific and other similar incidents, she replied:

> No, I never commented at any point anything specific, I just generally try to avoid the creation of that climate which is...On the *contrary*, they admire and love Paula because she is such a good character and such a good child that...umm, alright nothing striking happened in order to attend to it, do you understand? If something striking had happened, yes, yes, I would try to...

Rebecca's discourse in the above excerpts is characterized by a variety of direct and implicit racism denials, especially at the beginning and the end of the

extract. There are hesitations ('uumm', 'how do I say this?'), repairs ('raci- not racism'), minimizations of racism ('indistinctly', 'tiny', 'in quotation marks', 'a little bit', 'nothing striking'), attempts to avoid constructing harassment instances as the norm ('from time to time'), and substitution of racism with the milder term 'belittlement'. By referring to the admiration and love that her classmates feel for Paula, Rebecca constructs the teasing incident as an exception to Paula's everyday school experience and minimizes it even further. Furthermore, by failing to recognize as racism the implicit, 'up in the air' instances of 'belittlement', Rebecca constructs an understanding of racism as only consisting of 'striking' incidents, implying overt, crude acts of hatred. As Augoustinos and Every (2007) argue, participants may re-define racism in order to minimize it or deny its existence. In this way, Rebecca rids herself of the responsibility to act and challenge the observed incident.

The unfinished sentences in the last quote of the extract illustrate the difficulty with which Rebecca manages the contradiction in her account: on the one hand she recognizes harassment as something negative, while on the other she acknowledges her inactivity to challenge it. Rebecca faces the ideological dilemma of her role as a professional, whose responsibility is to challenge racialized discourses and practices, and her wish to deny racism for herself and on behalf of her pupils.

While Rebeca minimized minoritized children's racialized teasing from their peers, Antonia and Constandinos[59] referred to teachers' racialized discourses and minimized their frequency and extent. Antonia said:

> Another racism... (.) Alright from the colleagues there might be a sort of discomfort sometimes, but I believe it is all a matter of policy. Um, I understand them to some extent and I justify them to some extent because you have some children arriving in the middle of the year in their class, five or six foreign children, no one tells them what to do and they have those children over there getting bored and consequently creating noise etc in the class as well. So,

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[59] The same teachers who showed subtle awareness of institutional racism (5.2).

alright, to some extent because there are practical problems I justify them. I would never justify them saying that this child is not good because he is Arab. I wouldn't justify this. Alright, even this happens sometimes (laughs). It is a personal matter of each individual.

Racism for Antonia also comes in the form of teachers' expressions of 'discomfort' which may include judging minoritized children based on their origin. While Antonia was the only teacher among participants who attributed racism to her colleagues, her initial condemning statements of such discourses are followed by her laughter. This acts as a minimizing strategy of teachers' racist talk, which she next constructs as an individual matter. By recognizing her colleagues' racist talk, Antonia locates herself among the non-racists, but at the same time, by presenting racism as an individual pathological attribute (as in 5.2), she rids her colleagues and the school as an institution of the responsibility. The other teacher who referred to teacher racism albeit indirectly, was Constandinos. He said that stress, the increased workload because of the arrival of minoritized children, and the evaluation pressure are the reasons leading some colleagues to 'express themselves wrongly sometimes' in the staffroom. However, he argued, this 'does not emanate from the fact that teachers are racists, we are now using heavy characterizations...' Thus, Constandinos minimizes teachers' racist talk by attributing it to the above reasons and also rids them of the responsibility to intervene.

Both teachers, by minimizing teachers' racialized discourses deny the possibility that these affect minoritized children's lives. As a result, racism in children's experiences is denied and left unchallenged.

5.3.4 ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY TO MINORITIZED CHILDREN

Another version of participants' denial of racism in children's lives emerged from accounts which attributed responsibility for racialized harassment and exclusion to the minoritized children who were its objects, blaming their choices, personality and behaviour.

Some participants argued that the responsibility for segregation in the

playground lies with the minoritized children. In Constandinos' words, 'because many others of the same nation came, they have formed groups with them and they don't try as much as they should, the children themselves'. When asked whether they play with the newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian children, the vast majority of Greek-Cypriot children gave negative answers and offered similar explanations with teachers about the segregated groups in the playground, constructing segregation as normal, without appearing troubled by it. Greek-Cypriot children in Zembylas' (2010a) study similarly blamed Turkish-speaking children for the segregation observed between the two groups.

Other examples that clearly attribute responsibility for racialized relations to minoritized children refer to the two most visibly minoritized children at the school: Ahmed, the Iraqi boy at Infants, in Rebecca's first grade in 2007 and in Soula's second grade in 2008 (5.3.1) and Arun, the Indian boy at Juniors, in Stella's fourth grade in 2007 and in Minas' fifth grade in 2008 (5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3).

As seen in 5.3.1, Headteacher Anna and Soula constructed Ahmed's relations to his peers as colourblind and stated that there are no teasing incidents related to his skin colour. Rebecca, his first grade teacher in 2007, however, provided examples of harassment that Ahmed was subjected to in both interviews. In 2008, when Ahmed was in Soula's second grade, Rebecca described Ahmed as 'the blackest of the school' and argued that his skin colour is the reason that she observes 'racism in quotation marks on behalf of the children towards Ahmed'. When I asked her for explanations, Rebecca said:

> R: Let's say that Liz, the little English girl last year, even though they had arrived at almost exactly the same period and neither one nor the other spoke Greek, they accepted Liz much more easily.
> E: Yes. How do you see this thing manifested since you are saying that you see them treating him...
> R: They used to make fun of him yes. They made fun of Ahmed very much and they still do I think. Of course it also contributes a little that he himself is a little irritable. He is a little vindictive. I mean if you do a tiny bit to him he will return it to you three times more. While Liz was much more quiet (2008).

Here Rebecca attributes partial responsibility for Ahmed's subjection to teasing to his 'irritability' and 'vindictiveness'. She uses the example of Liz's 'quiet' character to support her argument that minoritized children's behaviour contributes more to racialized harassment than skin colour. Thus, Rebecca minimizes the name callers' responsibility as well as her own in terms of intervening to challenge them.

Stella, similarly to Ahmed's teacher Rebecca, blames Arun for his exclusion by his classmates:

> E: You also have a child with a different colour...
> S: We had quite a few problems at first. I *believe* though that the basic reason that he differs is not just that his colour or his culture are different. It is that he is *not* a good pupil. Children are racists with the bad pupils. I mean if he was a good pupil, if he was the best pupil Arun would receive a different treatment. Because he is lazy, because he teases, that's why. Two years ago I had a Thai boy and a Filipino girl who, because of the fact that they were good pupils, became assimilated; everyone wanted them as their friends. Well because he stands out with his naughtiness, that's why I believe they set him apart (2007).

Stella attributes partial responsibility for Arun's exclusion to his low achievement and character. She denies that Arun's skin colour or culture are the 'basic' reasons for the differential 'treatment' he is subjected to. Similarly to the comparison between Ahmed and Liz by Rebecca, Arun is compared to Stella's previous Thai and Filipino pupils who were 'assimilated' because they were 'good pupils'. While Arun is not described as aggressive and vindictive as Ahmed, his low achievement, 'laziness' and 'naughtiness' are constructed as the cause of his exclusion. In this way, Stella constructs a 'good pupil' as a high achiever who works hard, does not tease or cause trouble, and fits into the majoritized group. Assimilation, thus, is constructed as the aim for the education of minoritized children. Stella echoes the white teachers in Sleeter's (1993) study in the US, who also suggested that cultural adaptation between the school and minority

communities would ease the transition of the children into the dominant group[60].

The following year, Arun's fifth-grade teacher Minas, did not appear as concerned with Arun's relations with the rest, as he had learned Greek quite well and appeared more integrated within the majoritized group. Describing Arun as 'one of the lazy pupils', Minas talked about his relations with the rest:

> No, they are very good, he is also very friendly. Umm (.) if at some point he creates problems in the class it is not because of the fact that he is from another country or another religion, but because of his character. He is a little bit naughty in quotation marks.

To support his argument, Minas then stated that 'no child has ever expressed any negativity about sitting next to him or being in his group'. Arun's acquisition of Greek may have enabled him to become more included in the majoritized group. Nevertheless, Minas still attributes the cause of any 'problems' to Arun's 'character'. As Minas only participated in the research as an interviewee, I was not able to make observations in Arun's class in 2008.

The analysis in this section demonstrated how Ahmed and Arun are pathologized though teachers' discourses and considered responsible for the harassment or discrimination they are subjected to because of their 'personality' and low achievement.

5.4 CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACISM IN CHILDREN'S LIVES

5.4.1 AWARENESS OF CHILDREN'S RACIALIZED RELATIONS

Among the aforementioned reports of exclusion and discrimination practices towards minoritized children which were minimized, denied, or attributed to minoritized children themselves in teachers' accounts, there is an example of unique resistance to the prevalent colourblindness arguments about children's relations. This emerged in an interview with Nadia, first grade teacher in 2007. She was talking to me about the influence of skin colour in constructions of

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[60] Assimilation as the ideal solution to the increasing diversity is also promoted within the repertoire of interest (4.6).

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Ahmed by his peers, when Headteacher Anna entered the room at some point and participated in the conversation:

> E: What about skin colour?
> N: (There is a child) in another class and yes they comment on it. He is isolated, the specific child, Ahmed (Iraqi boy).
> A: (interrupts) You should go and find Arun (Indian boy). That child was integrated and he was with us since last year. The children accept someone when he has another colour...But Ahmed, Nadia darling, is very selfish and...
> N: Yes, but they *comment* on him that he is the black.
> A: Oh so they comment on him huh?
> N: Yes, they call him 'that black who came'...I usually see that the light-coloured children are more accepted than the darkish...Basically from phrases that they use. They *never* said about Ivan who is all-blond and white, they never commented at any time and Ivan relatively became immediately accepted as soon as he came, even though he only came at Christmas. But they *do* call Ahmed like that (...) And during break no one plays with him.

This interaction illustrates how Nadia's critical awareness of skin colour name calling counteracts the prevalent discourses of colourblindness expressed by most teachers (5.3.1). When Nadia mentions that Ahmed's skin colour is commented upon and that he is isolated, Anna interrupts and asks me to find Arun, now at Juniors, who, she argues, was integrated in the majoritized group when he was at Infants. She then draws a generalization from Arun's case and suggests that children accept everyone regardless of skin colour. Finally, Anna constructs the case of Ahmed as an exception to the norm of acceptance of minoritized children, blaming his 'selfish' character, similarly to Rebecca (5.3.4). Anna thus reinforces the colourblindness discourse (5.3.1) by constructing Ahmed as the exception and attributing the cause of teasing to his own behaviour (5.3.4). However, Nadia interrupts Anna and clarifies that the comments she hears are specifically about his skin colour, which Anna seems to be unaware of. Anna leaves the room shortly after this and does not participate further in our conversation.

Drawing on her observations of the reception of a newly-arrived Russian boy in her class, Nadia then compares the lack of comments about Ivan's 'white' skin-colour to references to Ahmed as 'the black one'. A comparison between the

boys' time of arrival strengthens Nadia's argument that skin colour *is* the cause of their differential treatment, as Ahmed's longer stay in Cyprus does not improve his relations with the majoritized, but he is isolated and a victim of both harassment and exclusion.

Nadia's account and her interaction with Headteacher Anna, was a rare instance where a teacher was openly critical of the normalization of whiteness and the negative racialization of 'black' skin colour. While Nadia did not describe children's comments about skin colour as racism or discrimination, she criticized them heavily. Nadia reports these incidents and contradicts her Headteacher's arguments in front of a researcher, which adds further significance to her discourse, which can be read as explicit resistance to the prevalent discourses of colourblindness and racism denial. As opposed to most participants, Nadia argues that children's relations are not colourblind. She does not normalize skin colour racialized name calling, and does not attribute responsibility for it to minoritized children. Nevertheless, like other teachers who counteracted racism denial in their accounts, she later attributed responsibility to majoritized parents' racist discourses instead (5.4.2).

Arun's teacher Stella was the only teacher who explicitly stated that racism is present in children's relations and named it as such. When asked what she thinks about intercultural education, Stella argued that it should be 'about challenging racism' because 'there is racism intensely at our school'. The conversation continued:

> E: What do you mean there is racism?
> S: *Ouuu*, loads! With Arun mainly. With the Pontians it begun at first 'ask me to sit with whoever you want except a Pontian!'. They wouldn't sit with them. Basically it has to do with who they sit with and who they hang out with and even who they invite at their birthdays.
> E: Do you see them not inviting everyone?
> S: Basically many times these children don't go to the birthdays of the others because they don't have any themselves. And because it costs to go to birthdays, but in the end they don't invite them. With Arun we had another problem. While at first it started with...*some* children − we talked a lot about racism. We talked that we are the

same, we watched a tape, a movie about some Cypriot children who went to England and couldn't speak the language and then they even associated with children of the Turks. And with Indians and others and they played football. Or even for boys and girls (...) We did a lot of things. Some children, quite a few children, have accepted him. But we also had results — many spoiled children — spoiled, while they started with 'you won't use my scissors, you'll make them black' or very extreme things, now they started saying something else extreme like 'anyways, I'm giving them to you because you are black'. Again extreme.

Following her statement regarding the presence of racism at the school, when asked to provide me with further explanations, Stella emphatically repeats that there is 'loads' of racism and provides examples which indicate her awareness of differential racisms. Starting with the Pontian children, she provides a description of practices she has observed and which she constructs as racist. These involve the majoritized children refusing to sit next to Pontians in the classroom, and excluding them from their groups and their birthday parties. Stella refers to social class as a factor affecting these exclusionary practices. She attributes part of the explanation for Pontian children not attending the birthday parties of the Greek-Cypriot to the low economic means of the migrant families, which inhibits them from buying presents or having their own parties[61]. However, Stella insists that the reason behind the exclusions of the Pontian children she observes is that 'they don't invite them' and thus attributes responsibility to the majoritized children. As seen earlier (5.3.4) however, she does not do the same regarding Arun's exclusion by majoritized children, but, instead, blames Arun himself. This could be another indicator of the significance that she may be attributing to skin colour, regardless of her intentions.

Stella gives a further example of what she means by 'racism', referring to Arun. She avoids generalizing by emphasizing that only 'some' children are involved in the exclusionary practices and describes an intervention she implemented. This involved a discussion of a video about Greek-Cypriot migrant children associating

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[61] Theodorou (2011 in press) identified the location and activities of birthday parties as one of the most significant indicators of social class and a major differentiating factor between Pontian and Greek-Cypriot children in the diverse school she researched.

with children from different backgrounds in England, including 'children of the Turks'. As for the outcomes of this intervention, Stella argues that 'quite a few' children have 'accepted' Arun, without clarifying what this acceptance entails. The children she describes as 'spoiled', however, have not accepted him. Social class is again implicated here, as the term 'spoiled' refers to Greek-Cypriot children of higher socio-economic status. According to Stella, before the intervention, these children would exclude Arun because of his skin colour, while after the intervention, they would use discourses and practices expressing pity for him, *also* because of his skin colour. The meaning of 'black' skin colour shifted in these children's discourses from a stereotypical assumption of dirtiness ('you'll make them black') to a stereotypical assumption of poverty ('I'm giving them to you because you're black'). Stella constructs both instances as 'extreme' racist statements, and seems to be surprised by the result of her intervention, without, however, questioning the practice method. As Connolly's (1994) analysis shows, antiracist interventions which do not take into consideration the context-specific complexities of racist practices may reinforce the manifestation of racist incidents and processes in everyday school life. Stella's intervention was designed with the aim of targeting racism as an individual prejudice, which, as seen in 2.2.1, can result in failure because it does not address racism in all social and interactional levels. In this case, it failed to address the multilayered differential racialization processes occurring at the intersections of skin colour, origin, social class and gender[62].

I would argue that associating poverty with black children is related to, and perhaps shaped by, representations of diversity in the hidden and official curricula in the school and classroom context (for example, the board in Arun's classroom in 3.5.1 and Appendix 10.2). Such representations, especially if accompanied by similar teacher discourses, contribute to the reproduction of stereotypes about visibly minoritized children as poor and in need of charity from the majoritized.

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[62] These will be analysed further in Chapter 6.

5.4.2 ATTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN'S RACIALIZED DISCOURSES TO FAMILY INFLUENCE

Another conceptualization of racism which emerged from teachers' interview data constructed it as the manifestations of prejudice by a few majoritized children, who 'learned' it from their 'racist' parents and employed it in the form of racializing discourses and practices at school. Such constructions of racism implied that children are too young to comprehend the meanings embedded in racializing discourses and that they were unconsciously reproducing them by imitating their parents. This understanding is associated with a perception of children as mere reproducers of adult discourses, lacking discursive agency. It also implies that racism is a passively and unconsciously 'learned' attitude which is consciously manifested or hidden only once individuals reach adulthood.

Returning to the conversation with Stella about Arun's relations to his classmates (5.4.1), when I asked her how she reacts to such incidents, she replied:

> At that point I ignore them to avoid making this a big deal in front of *all* the children. But this also begins from the family. I mean, the children who did this thing, in their family they *are* racists. I know them.

Without stating whether she intervenes at a later stage, Stella attributes responsibility for children's racist discourses and practices to their families. She draws on knowledge she has about the 'spoiled' children's parents, describing them as 'racists'. These statements serve three functions. First, Stella indirectly avoids taking the responsibility for challenging the negative outcomes of the intervention she implemented by shifting the focus of attention to the parents. As other teachers, Stella constructs the family's influence as stronger than classroom discourses. Teachers and parents in Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001) study, similarly denied responsibility regularly, arguing that none of them had taught three- and four-year-olds the racist discourses they employed about black children. Secondly, Stella constructs racism as a personal, individualized attribute of certain people, a common perception among participants, as seen earlier (5.4.2) – in this case, of the 'racists' and their 'spoiled' children. Finally, with these statements, she constructs herself as a non-racist.

Taking discrimination out of the quotation marks and directly speaking of racism, Constandinos also attributes responsibility to majoritized parents and introduces social class at the intersection where exclusion is manifested:

> There was discrimination in quotation marks – not only in, but also out of quotation marks. There was racism. There was racism from parents as well, and the parents would transfer it to the children and it would go on and on, but it was mainly also a matter of economic class. That is, the children of the rich, with one way or another, would push aside the children from lower economic backgrounds and of migrant origin (2007).

Constandinos does not hesitate to state that he observed exclusion, scapegoating, stigmatization, discrimination, and racist practices by majoritized parents and their children. He argues that the 'children of the rich' contribute to the minoritization and exclusion of children from low socio-economic backgrounds or migrant families. Constandinos also constructs racism as a transferable individual pathological attribute, which children can pick up from the parents upon contact and implement in their peer relations, overtly or indirectly ('in and out of question marks'). Such an understanding constructs children as imitators of their parents, lacking agency and unquestioningly reproducing discourses that they copy from their environment.

This conceptualization of racism also rids teachers of responsibility. In another instance in 2007, Nadia reported incidents of avoidance, exclusion and discrimination of minoritized pupils in her first grade, such as majoritized children refusing to lend coloured pencils to Pontians. She constructed this behaviour as 'prejudice' and argued that her efforts in the classroom aimed to promote acceptance, but were opposed by the cultivation of prejudice by parents. As first grade teacher Dina similarly argued, 'from the moment that the children are affected by their parents, whether they are positive on this matter or negative, you can't do anything!' Therefore, these teachers construct themelves as powerless in front of the familial influence and, ultimately, justify the failure or lack of their interventions.

This section analysed examples from interviews with participants exhibiting an understanding of racism as individual learned prejudice in their accounts of racism in children's lives. Participants' reports also included examples of the intersections between race, age and social class in the production of exclusion and inequalities. Though the excerpts analysed included acknowledgment of racism in children's lives, its attribution to family influence disables teachers from intervening.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to answer research question 3 regarding teachers' constructions of racism (1.6). Participants' constructions of racism on the wider level of Greek-Cypriot society (5.2) included evidence of subtle awareness of institutional and everyday forms of racism operating in the social sphere and constructions of racism as a universal human attribute. Participants often substituted racism with the term xenophobia and justified it based on the argument that people are generally afraid of things they do not know. Thus, the repertoire of fear (4.4) is reflected in participants' constructions of xenophobia, which functions as a minimization of the significance of racism.

The majority of teachers denied racism exists in children's lives (5.3), despite the few instances of recognition. A common perception was that children's relations are colourblind, because of their young age. Teachers who expressed such arguments appeared to be colourblind themselves and engaged in deracialization of racialized incidents among children and the observed segregation among them (5.3.1). In other accounts, despite frequent reports of racialized discourses and practices, particularly related to skin colour, teachers minimized their significance (5.3.3) or constructed them as a normalized part of children's lives (5.3.2). Many teachers attributed discrimination and harassment to minoritized children's personality or behaviour, who they constructed as pathologized individuals. They thus rid themselves and the school of the responsibility to intervene (5.3.4).

Such constructions of racism contradict the findings of several studies internationally. Whether it is an expression of racist beliefs or not, racialized name calling is a form of hurtful discrimination that reinforces the legitimacy of a racist frame of reference within children's cultures (Hatcher & Troyna, 1993). Hatcher and Troyna (1993) distinguish two forms of strategic racist name calling: hot and cold. The 'cold' type is considered legitimate in any social situation by some children who use racist abuse for aggressive purposes, while 'hot' name calling is viewed as a legitimate tactic for defensive purposes in difficult situations, including children who express anti-racist discourse. Hatcher (1995) later developed these into six types of racist name calling, representing a specific combination of ideological and interactional orientations. Some students use degrading jokes and slurs with an intent to humiliate specific students or groups, while others do so without an awareness of their hurtful impact; instead, they may employ such discourses because they think they are funny or as a way of securing peer approval (Wessler & De Andrade, 2006). As Aboud (2009, pp. 204-205) states, 'the name-caller may not be more prejudiced than others in the schoolyard, but recognizes that singling out someone for abuse will have the desired effect of dominating and controlling'. Though the analytical framework within which I explore racism does not consider individuals' beliefs as open to identification and analysis on a binary of either being racist or prejudiced or not (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), I agree with Aboud (2009) that name calling *is* a form of racial discrimination.

According to Phoenix (2005, p. 118), since racialized name-calling may either signal or be devoid of racist intent, it can be viewed as 'a liminal event in relation to awareness of colour and awareness of racism', positioning young people with regard to racism, as well as race and colour. Essed (1997) argues that incidents of racist slander on a microlevel are directly linked to the structural context of racial inequalities on a macrolevel, since racism operates on all social levels. In Essed's (1997, p. 134) words, 'the statements aim to hurt not only in a personal sense but also in a structural sense'. Racialized name calling practices contribute to the reproduction of racist discourses and their effects are, therefore, considered

racist (2.5). However, as seen in this chapter, the majority of teachers are unaware or in denial of such processes.

No mention was made of institutional racism in the data as affecting individuals on a social or educational level. Similarly, Canadian headteachers in Ryan's (2003) study also exhibited no understandings of institutional racism as affecting school life. A main difference is that most Canadian administrators did acknowledge name calling as a form of racism, while my participants denied, deracialized, or normalized it. Also, in a study by Archer and Francis (2005b) on British Chinese students' school experiences in London, teachers seemed to barely recognize that institutional and other forms of racism might affect minoritized children's and their families' everyday lives and school experiences. Similar understandings of racism were found in a study with teenage girls in Canada, as they denied and downplayed racism though they reported racialized discourses and incidents; constructed racism as individualized attribute and overtly violent behaviour and showed no awareness of institutional and systematic racism, though these seemed to affect their own lives (Raby, 2004). Greek-Cypriot teachers' ignorance or denial of institutional racism was also identified by previous qualitative research (1.3).

Rhetorical devices of racism denial and minimization were met throughout the data analysed in this chapter, as was the case in Chapter 4. These were implicit and subtle, such as avoiding the word racism or labelling incidents as racist; silencing references to institutional racism; or, minimizing the importance of racialized practices.

The few teachers who recognized racism in children's lives attempted to intervene, albeit unsuccessfully (5.4). They attributed racialized discourses to the family influence of Greek-Cypriot children, thus pathologizing the specific majoritized children and their parents as 'racists' (5.4.2). Attribution of racism to parental influence constructs racism as an individualistic learned prejudice which may be passed on from parents to children, who are lacking the agency to resist or negotiate racist discourses, which the school or teachers are unable to

challenge. Similarly, Muslim teenage boys in Archer's (2003, p. 112) study explained the reproduction of racism as a result of the fact that 'children learn racist attitudes from their parents'. Such assumptions are contrary to research which has shown that children are able to use their agency to negotiate, rework and reproduce or challenge racist discourses (Connolly, 1998b; Rizvi, 1993; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001)[63].

Blaming minoritized children for the racialized harassment they are subjected to does not necessarily contradict but, I would argue, complements the attribution of responsibility for the harassment to the 'spoiled' children's 'racist' parents. Both assumptions free teachers and the school of any obligation to challenge exclusionary practices for two reasons: the family influence is considered too strong to be challenged; and, the knowledge that some minoritized children are assimilated and are not subjected to exclusion reinforces the argument that minoritized children's exclusion is owed to their own personality and behaviour – for example Ahmed's and Arun's (5.3.4). Once the blame is shared between the few 'spoiled' children who 'learn' racism from their parents and the few minoritized 'naughty' and 'aggressive' children, racism is constructed as justifiable discourses and practices that minoritized children bring upon themselves with their own behaviour or as the effects of powerful familial influences.

At the same time, the analysis identified some instances of resistance. Constandinos' and Antonia's unique recognitions of racism on various aspects of social life against migrants and asylum-seekers (5.2), Nadia's explicit contradiction to colourblindness discourses, Stella's (failed) intervention to challenge racism in children's relations (5.4.1) are examples where racism is recognized and efforts are made to challenge it. Although these teachers also attributed racism to family influence (5.4.2) and/or to minoritized children (5.3.4), these instances are, I would argue, the ambivalent spaces in which further resistance may be cultivated (see 8.3.5).

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[63] See 8.3.2 for a discussion on the implications of such assumptions.

Minoritized children's differential racialization processes also become evident through the data in this chapter. Constructions of minoritized children reveal the intersectionality of their various racialized identities and the processes through which positionalities occur. Skin colour, national origin and social class appear to be significant factors in the racialized incidents and discourses reported by teachers. The fact that they use racialized skin colour name calling examples to deny that racism exists (5.3.1, 5.3.2) indicates an indirect acknowledgement of the significance of skin colour and the possibility of such incidents to be identified as racist.

In sum, teachers' understandings of racism, when acknowledged as present, are pathologizing and individualistic. Most teachers directly or indirectly deny the existence of racism within children's relations and of institutional racism on a school or social level, except for a few instances of awareness, without naming it as such. Constructions of racism as a universal human attribute, attribution of responsibility to family influence or to minoritized children's personality, and denials of racism in children's lives because of their age, all rid teachers of their responsibility to intervene and challenge racialized incidents and discourses. As a consequence, regardless of their intentions, teachers contribute to children's racialization processes and the reproduction of institutional racism and inequalities.

6 PROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIAL RACIALIZATION OF MINORITIZED CHILDREN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

> 'If he's not a good pupil, neither a good football player, and he's black on top of that, then it's his tough luck!'

Being a 'good' pupil, success in sports, and skin colour, as mentioned in this quote by Constandinos, a fifth grade teacher in 2007, are merely three of the intersecting factors which contribute to the complex racialization processes of minoritized and majoritized children at the school. Following teachers' constructions of diversity and racism in Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter draws on teachers' and children's interviews and observational data to explore the processes through which minoritized children become racialized in the school context. The chapter addresses research questions 4 and 5 (1.6):

- Which factors contribute to the racialization of minoritized children and groups? How are they differentially racialized?
- How do individuals negotiate or resist processes of racialization?

The analysis is structured around the minoritized individuals and groups that emerge repeatedly in the data: Arun, the only Indian boy at the school (5.3, 5.4), and the groups of Eastern European and Iraqi-Palestinian children (3.5). The chapter begins with Arun's case (6.2), and moves to the racialization processes of Eastern Europeans (6.3) and Iraqi-Palestinians (6.4). Throughout the analysis, aiming to avoid essentialism, I provide space for complexities to emerge and for the identification of the intersections of the multiple differentiating factors that shape minoritized children's racialized constructions. Finally, the chapter discusses resistance strategies that some children employ to negotiate their racialized ascriptions (6.5).

6.2 RACIALIZATION OF THE ONLY INDIAN BOY AT THE SCHOOL

This section draws on data involving Arun, an Indian nine-year-old boy of migrant workers. As seen earlier, Arun and Ahmed were the most visibly minoritized

children at the school (5.3.1). When I met Arun he had already been at the school for almost a year and was attending Stella's fourth grade. He told me he spoke 'Indian'[64], English and a bit of Greek. As there are no other Indian children, Arun does not speak his language at all at school. When we talked, I asked him questions in English and Greek but it was still difficult to communicate. He told me he was happy at school, saying 'I didn't have many friends on my first day at school but now I have many'. I never observed that he was alone during break as he was always playing with other children, majoritized or minoritized, a fact reported as 'proof' of the lack of racism in children's relations by some teachers (5.3.1 and 5.3.2). When I asked about his religious background, none of the staff had an accurate answer, but most assumed he is Muslim. The language barrier did not allow me to ask Arun such questions, but considering his name and his country of origin, it is likely that he is Hindu.

Teachers described Arun as a 'sociable', 'adorable' (Angela), 'sweet' (Anna), and 'loveable' (Andreas) boy. These positive constructions were overshadowed by the frequent reports of racialized incidents related to him. The analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrated teachers' inability to acknowledge and intervene to challenge racialized name calling and teasing related to his skin colour to which he was subjected in the playground (Anna in 5.3.1, Yiorgos in 5.3.2, and Andreas in 5.3.3); their inability to design and implement successful educational interventions to challenge racializing discourses among his classmates (Stella in 5.4.1); and, a tendency to blame Arun's personality as a 'trouble-maker', 'lazy', and 'naughty' for his subjection to exclusion and harassment by his classmates (Stella and Minas in 5.3.4). These examples already identified Arun's skin colour as a racializing factor, most commonly referred to in teachers' accounts. Furthermore, as evident from Stella's classroom board described in 3.5.1 (also Appendix 10.2), Arun attends school in an environment where his religion, skin colour and national origin are stereotypically represented or excluded.

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[64] Arun told me he speaks 'Indian' perhaps because this is the term his classmates and teachers used to refer to his first language and this is what he expected me to understand. This reflects the misconception that the majoritized group has for languages spoken in India.

This section offers another lens to the identification of the racialization processes of Arun, by analyzing a fieldnotes extract from observations in Stella's class. During a Geography lesson titled *The industry of Cyprus*, where the discussion evolved around the imports and exports of the island, I observed a series of incidents which directly involved Arun, before I met him or knew his name:

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01 Kids are sitting in 5 groups of 4. I've heard from
02 staffroom talk earlier that Stella has an Indian pupil,
03 the most visibly minoritized child at the school. He's
04 sitting in front of me next to a Greek-Cypriot girl in
05 a group with two other Greek-Cypriot boys. He has no
06 books in front of him and sits quietly.
07 (10 minutes later) Indian boy is still sitting quietly.
08 Now he has his pencil case out and is drawing with a
09 pencil on his desk.
10 Stella: Yo, Arun, do we bring anything from India to
11 Cyprus? (loudly)
12 He stops drawing on desk, doesn't seem to understand
13 what Stella is asking. Immediately kids start laughing.
14 Stella: 'We imported Arun from India! Arun, do we bring
15 anything?' (louder)
16 Arun: 'I don't know'. (in broken Greek)
17 Stella: 'You don't know?'
18 Kids laugh.
19 Greek-Cypriot boy: 'Miss, one day I went to his house
20 and he was eating a kind of pasta with a green sauce
21 that looked like shit'.
22 Kids around him laugh. Teacher ignores them.
23 (After a few seconds) Stella: 'Tatyana, do we bring
24 anything from Bulgaria?' (high-achieving Bulgarian girl
25 who speaks Greek)
26 Tatyana: 'I don't know'.
27 Stella: You don't know. (looking disappointed)
28 (5 minutes later) Arun continues to play with his
29 pencils. He occasionally chats with boy opposite him
30 but can't tell in what language and what they're
31 saying. He's also been looking at me writing. I think
32 he's scared that I might scold him, so whenever he
33 tries to talk to the boy opposite him and I look his
34 way, he stops.
35 (2 minutes later) Arun keeps drawing with a pencil on
36 his desk.
37 Stella: 'Yo, Arun, Indian tourist…' (incomprehensible)
38 Stella asks them to do group work. The three kids in
39 Arun's group start discussing the activity. He stares
40 around.
41 (5 minutes before the bell rings) Stella starts writing
42 Homework assignments on the board. Arun very willingly
43 takes his notebook out and starts copying the homework
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44  from the board.
45  Stella: Are you going to write down your homework Arun?
46  Are you also going to do it? (loudly and ironically)
47  She turns to me, and while looking at me she says
48  loudly: 'Indian tourist!'
49  (a couple minutes later) A girl from Arun's group shows
50  Stella the drawings he did on the desk and reports him.
51  The girl adds 'he didn't clean the other desks he was
52  supposed to clean today'. Arun figures out what they
53  are talking about and starts clearing up his drawing
54  with his eraser. Stella looks at him, shakes her head
55  and says 'Miss Elena came here, now she will arrest
56  you!' He looks at me smiling, looking embarrassed. The
57  boy sitting opposite him shouts at me while gesturing
58  with his arms as a way of getting rid of something 'Get
59  him out of here Miss, take him with you, wherever you
60  go!' I smile uncomfortably.
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During this lesson, Arun's culture and national origin are ethnicized and racialized through his teacher's and classmates' discursive practices, in a context where he is institutionally discriminated because of lack of teaching material, language of communication, and (mis)representation of his cultural, ethnic and religious background.

The use of the label 'Indian tourist' – in English, not Greek – by his teacher, constructs an ethnicized and racialized portrait of Arun based on his national origin, ascribing to him a tendency to seek pleasure rather than work. Though included only twice in this extract (L37,48), the phrase was used frequently. Stella used 'Indian tourist' every time she referred to the boy when talking with me or other teachers about him, as well as in class when she addressed him. In this way, regardless of intentionality, Stella appears to be aligning with her Greek-Cypriots pupils, rather than the minoritized. She said to me repeatedly that Arun 'came last year, but he came completely illiterate, completely tourist (sic) and continues to be'. 'As he never brings his books or does his homework', Stella explained, 'I call him Indian tourist'. Considering, however, that Arun had only been in Cyprus for a few months, it is questionable how much homework he could do at home where no one speaks Greek. The fact that children immediately start laughing loudly whenever the teacher addresses Arun (L13,18,22) is an indicator of the high frequency of his subjection to ridicule.

Stella appears to expect Arun to participate in the lesson while he does not have the language knowledge to do so (L10-17). He is also unable to participate in the group activities for the same reason (L38-40). Geography is a lesson taught twice a week and children are expected to bring the necessary books based on their weekly timetable; Arun most probably cannot read this and therefore does not know when to bring his Geography books, if he was given any. His willingness to participate in the lesson in the only way he could, by copying the homework from the board, was met by the ironic remarks of his teacher (L45-48).

On the level of participation, Stella's question to Arun and Tatyana, about whether Cyprus imports any products from their countries (L10-11,23-26) appears to be a strategy for including all children's backgrounds in the teaching of Geography. It could, based on the Ministry's guidelines (1.4.2), be one way of doing intercultural education. On the other hand, it puts them under the spotlight as representatives of their country in a tokenistic and unsuccessful way. Stella's attempt to incorporate these children's backgrounds in the lesson, I would argue, leads to their embarrassment and facilitates Arun's subsequent harassment.

Arun is not only excluded in these ways from participating, but is also repeatedly harassed because of his ethnic and cultural background. During a single teaching period, Arun was subjected to repeated teasing by his teacher (L37,48,55-56), humiliating remarks by a boy (L19-22), ridicule by his classmates (L13,18,22), and rejection by the children in his group (L38-40,49-52,56-60). The verbal harassment reaches its peak when a Greek-Cypriot boy describes his visit to Arun's house and uses humiliating and degrading comments for the food Arun and his family were eating. I was surprised that Stella did not only ignore the boy's remarks about Arun, but also allowed the word 'shit' (L21) to go by unnoticed. Intentionally or not, Stella appears to be contributing to the minoritization and harassment of Arun, in an institutionally discriminatory educational environment. The children's request that I take him with me and Stella's threat that I will 'arrest' him (L56-60) add to an environment of ridicule, exclusion, rejection and discrimination.

The incident above illustrates the effects of Stella's constructions of racism on Arun's everyday school experience in the institutionally monoculturalist context of the institutional monoculturalism of Greek-Cypriot education. As seen in 5.4.1, Stella's recognition of the presence of racism in children's lives is not a sufficient prerequisite for its successful minimization. Conceptualizing racism as an individualistic attribute learned from the parents (5.4.2), and attributing responsibility to Arun for the harassment he is subjected to (5.3.4), work against recognizing that her own behaviour in the classroom may be contributing to discrimination against him.

As for Arun, who was unable to respond verbally (L12-13,16,56), it was apparent to me that he felt uncomfortable and was aware of the fact that he was the object of the children's laughter. Reactions to racial slurs depend on the personality of the person subjected to them, the available resources, and the interests at stake (Essed, 1997). In Arun's case, his poor knowledge of Greek makes it difficult to resist or negotiate his positioning by his teacher's and classmates' discourses. However, this does not mean that Arun completely lacks agency in dealing with the racialization processes and harassment he experiences. All the Caribbean women, for example, interviewed by Phoenix (2009) about their experiences of schooling in Britain, reported agency in resisting their constructions by teachers as innately incapable. However, their resistance and agency may not have always been apparent to their teachers. In Arun's case, his reported 'naughtiness' and 'trouble-making' by his teachers Stella and Minas (5.3.4), the fact that he does not bring his books every day, and reports that he is sometimes violent towards other children are ways that Arun potentially uses to express his agency and resist the harassment he experiences.

The significance of the incidents described in the above extract increases, considering they happened in the presence of a doctoral student interested in intercultural education. Overall, combined with the analysis of data related to Arun in 5.3 and 5.4, it can be argued that the boy is subjected to racialized harassment by his peers' and teachers' discourses and practices in relation to his skin colour, national origin and cultural background in ways that exclude,

humiliate, harass and embarrass him in his everyday school life. Observing this lesson was one of the most difficult experiences during my fieldwork, where my position as a researcher and my decision not to interfere contradicted the feelings of anger that I felt while witnessing the humiliations to which Arun was subjected (3.7).

6.3 RACIALIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN CHILDREN

Chapter 4 identified some prominent racialized constructions of Eastern European migrants in Greek-Cypriot society (1.2) reflected in teachers' discourses. These were highly gendered, including constructions of Eastern European men in relation to crime, drugs and antisocial behaviour (4.3, 4.4, 4.6), and sexualized constructions of Eastern European women in relation to their low moral values (4.4). This section focuses on the racialized constructions of Eastern European children, the largest minoritized group in terms of national origin at the school (3.5 and Appendix 10.1). The analysis in this section discusses typical examples of accounts offering representations of Eastern European children, constructed through gendered racialization processes based on their national origin, social class, language and appearance. I also highlight instances of less frequently met constructions.

Examples analysed in Chapter 5 highlighted the negative constructions of Pontian children in particular, who are reportedly excluded and segregated from the majoritized group (5.3.1 and 5.4.1). The most common form of harassment to which these children were subjected to was teasing with the use of the ethnicized derogatory term 'Pontian' or 'Russian-Pontian'. As seen in 1.2, such terms are used widely in Cypriot society with negative implications for Pontians as a group and individuals. The following extract is one such example. When I asked Gabriela, a Russian girl in second grade in 2007, what she would like to change in her school to make it better, she replied:

> I would like to change the Russian-Pontians to be Russians because I don't like the Russian-Pontians. I don't like it because they don't speak Russian very well, they make a lot of jokes and because they sit as if they are more – the grownups, the smart ones.

This quote reveals the complexities in the racialization of Eastern European children. It raises a number of questions regarding the roles that gender, national origin, language and behaviour play in the construction of identities by children themselves or their identity ascriptions by others – what Lewis (2003) refers to as racial identification and racial ascription (2.4). The absence of the majoritized group of Greek-Cypriots from this quote should not be misleading as Gabriela's discourse about her classmates reflects the hegemonic constructions of Pontians in Cypriot society. The ethnicized label 'Pontian' is a typical form of racialization, ascribed not only to children of Pontian origin but also to other Eastern Euroepan children. Interestingly, here it is deployed by an Eastern European girl herself, who makes a clear distinction between 'Russians' and 'Russian-Pontians'. While national origin, one of the major factors of minoritized children's racialization, was employed for references to both girls and boys, Eastern European children's constructions were overall highly gendered. I next present characteristic examples of the racialization of boys and girls.

6.3.1 CONSTRUCTIONS OF PONTIAN BOYS

Referring to racial markers of Pontian identity in Greek-Cypriot media discourses, Gregoriou (2008, p. 36) notes that they are 'almost always male gendered', portrayed through various masculine frames of delinquency (1.2.1), which have contributed 'to the eclipse of a Pontian female subjectivity'. Constructions of boys were often distinguished from those of girls, in teachers' and children's accounts. The most commonly discussed minoritized children in 2007 were a group of half a dozen fifth- and sixth- grade Pontian boys, usually described as vandals, wild, aggressive, violent, hostile, terrorizing, strong, bullies, antisocial, untrustworthy, criminals, and mobsters. The Pontian boys' group were mostly known as the 'clique' or the 'manges'[65], most of whom were in Despina's sixth

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[65] The term 'manges' (μάγκες) in plural or 'mangas' (μάγκας) in singular does not have a synonym in English. As it was such a central term in the racialization of Pontian boys, I have decided to keep it as it is. It refers to a certain type of tough male, a dude, who acts cool, is admired by the rest and is not afraid of doing anything dangerous or of anyone. The Georgian term 'shvilli' corresponds precisely to the meaning of 'mangas', as someone with the qualities of a tormentor or bully (http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=shvili). Interestingly, most Pontian

grade. They graduated in 2008, before the arrival of Iraqi-Palestinians. Despina gave a vivid description of the Pontian boys' 'clique':

> D: In relation to behaviour we have some bullies (ntaides/νταήδες) who act like they are – I don't know, they were probably born and taught to be mafiosos (mafiozi/μαφιόζοι) and they come and act like they are *manges* (μάγκες) – speaking for the Russian-Pontians, we have this sort of *clique* (klika/κλίκα) where they act like manges (μάγκες) a lot!
>
> E: In your class?
>
> D: Mostly sixth-graders, but from my class I do have some of these sort of studs (leventes/λεβέντες).
>
> E: What do you mean?
>
> D: To beat them all up!

Despina uses a variety of descriptors for the Pontian boys in this extract, who she refers to as 'Russian-Pontian': bullies (νταήδες), mafiozos (μαφιόζοι), 'manges' (μάγκες), clique (κλίκα), studs (λεβέντες), and, elsewhere, machos (αρσενιτζιοί/arsenitzi), gang (συνάφι/sinafi)[66]. She also gives a summary of their activities, including terrifying or beating other children, getting into fights and hanging out in a segregated group. Despina later added that 'one of them wears an earring'[67] and that 'these machos (arsenitzi/αρσενιτζιοί) hang out on their own (...) with their gang (sinafi/συνάφι) during break' and attributed responsibility for the segregation exclusively to minoritized children [68]. Headteacher Andreas provided similar descriptions for the specific group of boys,

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migrants arrived from Georgia (1.2.1). The English terms 'spiv', 'wide-boy' and 'hep-cat' and the American slang term 'badass' are equivalents.

[66] This extract was the most difficult to translate because of the specific terms used, which are not directly translated into English. I acknowledge this as a limitation for readers who do not speak the Cypriot dialect. I have provided translations representing the closest possible meanings.

[67] Earrings (and long hair) on men in Cyprus are generally viewed in a negative way: as a sign of immaturity or as deviation from social norms. If the boy the teacher refers to wears the earring at school, then he is transgressing school rules as well as social norms.

[68] Teachers often justified segregation among ethnicized groups of children as the choice of the minoritized group (5.3.4).

referring to them as 'bullies' who 'do not put up with anything' and 'will go wild at even at a sideways look' by 'one of our own' (a Greek-Cypriot child).

Similar constructions of boys are found in studies in Britain, referred to as 'gangsta' masculinities (Archer, 2003; Archer & Francis, 2005b) and phallocentric masculinities (Archer & Yamashita, 2003). In the US context, Majors and Billson (1992, cited in Phoenix, 2002, p. 509) refer to such aggressive assertions of masculinity by African American men as the 'cool pose', combining many characteristics of popular masculinity and promoting the boys' or men's control, inner strength, stability and confidence despite their positioning in a context of multiple inequalities.

Children's accounts about the 'clique' included reports of vandalisms of school property, bullying, threatening and beating children, violent fights at football games, and involvement in thefts. Greek-Cypriot sixth-graders Mikaela, Loizos, Koullis and Rea in 2008 gave a lengthy account of the continuing vandalisms and damages that the 'foreigners' and the 'Russian-Pontians' have been doing at their school for years, such as 'breaking into the school', 'ruining our school, smashing windows and breaking doors', 'putting fires' and 'ruining the books'. As the Pontian boys' group is segregated from the rest during breaks, football games were one of the few instances when the Pontian boys played with the rest. A discussion group with Greek-Cypriot sixth-grade boys Costas, Lakis, Doros and Makis in 2007 extensively referred to such encounters painting a picture where the Pontian boys terrorize Greek-Cypriots:

> L: Miss sometimes they are hostile! For example at football if we score and we are not on their side they shout at us etc. And they *always* have their own way.
> M: They might hit us for no reason. Without doing anything to them.

Games in the playground and particularly sports can become central contexts for racialized incidents, as they are highly competitive and are situated in an extremely public arena (Connolly, 1994). Such constructions were often generalized to include all Eastern European boys, sometimes also girls. After

reporting several instances of vandalism and antisocial behaviour by his Pontian classmates, sixth-grade boy Charis reached a statistical generalization:

> Most of them, almost all of them, 95% who are from other countries, especially from Georgia, from these countries that are...who start fights all the time, they might hit others, you might see them every once in a while to be outside and not come to school.

Also, first-grade teacher Rebecca argued that 'Russian-Pontian'[69] children at Infants are 'very naughty' and 'the most aggressive of the school', adding that:

> I think in general they have a disturbance element in them. Without wanting to sound racist (2007).

Rebecca generalizes the 'disturbance element' to all Pontians and constructs them as naturally aggressive. While she is aware that her statement may be qualified as racist, she seeks to legitimize her observation and thus indirectly deny racism. The racism denial discursive strategy functions to avoid any possible accusations that could follow Rebecca's negative generalizations. While many teachers offered similar generalized assumptions, some gave alternative explanations without essentializing aggressiveness as a 'natural' characteristic of all Eastern European children. Lack of family support in 'problematic' single-parent families, divorced parents (Despina), low socio-economic and educational levels of families, parents' long hours at work (Yiorgos), and, frustration because of the children's inability to communicate during their adjustment period at the school (Antigoni) were provided as justifications for these aggressive behaviours. These explanations also assume some kind of deficiency, in addition to minoritized children's national background.

In rare cases, children's accounts included positive constructions of Eastern European boys – albeit never of Pontian origin – which functioned as a way of enhancing the dominant negative constructions. Greek-Cypriot sixth-grade boys Christos, Marinos, Dinos and Michalis in 2007, described Vlad, a Ukrainian

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[69] See 1.2.1 on the popularity of the use of the derogatory label 'Russian-Pontian' by Greek-Cypriots, even by teachers.

classmate of theirs, as 'different from the rest' because of his 'good character' and because 'he is not hostile like the rest'. For these reasons, they boys argued, he is the only 'foreigner' that they hang out and play with. Headteacher Andreas also constructed a Russian boy as 'exceptional' in terms of achievement:

> We have Dimitri who came last year at fourth grade, he didn't know Greek and today he is one of the top pupils in his class at Maths and he is very good at Language as well. It is also a matter of the abilities of each child.

Andreas' description of Dimitri as the exception functions as proof of the 'rule' of the negative constructions of all other minoritized children. Andreas attributes responsibility for children's achievement to their 'abilities', thus pathologizing the majority who do not reach the top of their class and asserting the negative constructions of Eastern European boys.

6.3.2   CONSTRUCTIONS OF EASTERN EUROPEAN GIRLS

Eastern European girls were also constructed in negative ways in teachers' and children's discourses, though differentially racialized from the boys. Rather than constructed as a group, like the Pontian 'clique', references were made to individual Eastern European girls which were often generalized to include all Eastern European children. Usually referred to as 'the foreigners' (οι ξένες – female plural), the major factors that shaped their racialization processes were their behaviour, appearance, and social class.

Many participants referred to Natalia, a Ukrainian sixth-grader in Cyprus for almost a year; Ramona, a Moldovan sixth-grader in Cyprus for a few weeks; and Katarina, a Bulgarian sixth-grader in Cyprus for a few months, all in Caterina's class in 2008. Their Greek-Cypriot classmates typically described them as 'irritable', 'swearing', 'rude', 'violent', 'snobbish', 'antisocial' or 'lazy'. For example, Greek-Cypriot girls Ioanna and Theodosia, emphasized that 'when we tell her something and she gets upset, it is chaos (γίνεται χαμός)!' referring to Natalia's irritability, a characteristic often generalized to all Eastern European girls. They said that Ramona and Katarina often 'swear at us in their language'; a highly common complaint in discussions with Greek-Cypriot children. Sometimes,

Greek-Cypriot and Eastern European girls got into fights, verbal or physical, because they considered each other to be provoking them by using language they do not understand[70]. Ramona and Natalia were also constructed in negative ways in relation to their achievement. Fani, a Greek-Cypriot girl, said that Katarina would not take her books out 'because she was bored and was drawing instead' and Evi described them all as 'a little bit distant', 'in their own world', where 'they don't care about the lessons'.

The only Greek-Cypriot girl who was friends with Natalia since she arrived in third grade was Vera. Their teacher Caterina in 2008 explained to me that Vera was 'rejected' by the rest because of her low achievement and her low socio-economic status, which was lower than her Greek-Cypriot classmates'. As a result, Vera, according to Caterina, does not 'go to the cinema, communicate through msn and texts with her mobile phone' as other Greek-Cypriot girls do. According to Vera's classmates Ioanna and Theodosia, 'Vera is from Cyprus, but she hangs out with the foreigners because she doesn't have other friends'. Thus, their exclusion from the majoritized group, though for different reasons, brings Vera and Natalia closer together. I observed similar friendship groups among Greek-Cypriot girls minoritized because of class and Eastern European girls minoritized because of their origin in fifth grade as well. Ultimately, class becomes both a differentiating and uniting axis among different groups of girls.

In addition, Greek-Cypriot girls Fani and Evi reported that Ramona's phone number and humiliating remarks about her are often written with graffiti on the school walls during vandalisms by the Pontian boys. Though they appeared too embarrassed to provide me with details, their comments hinted that Ramona was not only racialized because of her language and behaviour but also sexualized. The fact that the Eastern European girls attending sixth grade are a year older than their classmates[71] and that the specific girls were physically more

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[70] Such practices were also observed by Theodorou (in press), who found that Eastern European children often spoke Russian in order to subvert the power of their Greek-Cypriot classmates, who were equally disturbed at hearing languages they did not understand.

[71] As seen in 1.4, the Ministry's policy is to place newly-arrived children at a class a year lower than their age.

mature than their peers is a possible factor contributing to such constructions. Eastern European women in Greek-Cypriot discourses are generally overly sexualized (1.2.1). Evidence of such constructions being transferred to the school is provided in Skapoulli's (2009) ethnographic study of girls' gender identities in a Cypriot high school. She found that Romanian, Bulgarian, Moldovan, and Russian girls were 'overwhelmingly sexualized and often addressed or referred to as "whores"', while Pontian-Greek girls were associated with the 'nonsexual category of virgins' (Skapoulli, 2009, p. 90). Also, Spyrou (unpublished paper) found that the Greek-Cypriot 10-12-year-olds who participated in his study constructed the bodies of Russian and Romanian women migrants in Cyprus as representing a particular notion of morality, entailing dirt, trouble and impurity.

Another factor affecting the minoritization of Eastern European girls related to their 'cleanliness'. Greek-Cypriot girls reported to me that they did not want to be sitting next to Katarina, the Bulgarian girl, because 'she has lice' and that they would ask their teacher to move them elsewhere, which she did. In another case, Nini, a newly-arrived Hungarian girl was excluded because of her reported 'dirtiness'. Home Economics teacher Angela referred in both our interviews to an example of Nini's exclusion. Nini's classmates had spread a rumour that the cakes she helped make for the school's charity market were dirty because 'while making them she wiped her nose with her hand and then continued making cakes' or that 'she supposedly didn't wash her hands, or supposedly licked her hand before making them, things like that'. As a result children did not want to buy any cakes from that class. Angela insisted that this was 'lies' and that 'such thing did not happen with the child', but that, despite her interventions, which consisted of telling the children that all the cakes were made with clean hands, children 'kept making up stuff for this little girl, they didn't consider her very clean let's say in quotation marks'.

High achievement was a factor contributing to Eastern European girls' positive racialization, similarly to boys. Mentioning some 'exceptional' Eastern European children, sixth grade teacher Vasiliki in 2007 referred to high achievement as a differentiator between 'our own children' and 'them': 'I have two children

specifically from Serbia – they are much more intelligent than our own children. And my Anastasia is excellent, she's Russian. What a mind, she is fantastic!' Vasiliki continued with a generalization of Eastern European children as superior to Greek-Cypriot:

> It was unbelievable, the way they learned. Most of them were something else in Maths, especially the Russian-speaking peoples, the Yugoslavs, the Bulgarians. Much more intelligent than us (laughs)! But also the way they learned our own language, in cases were our own children were having difficulties, was something that made me fear of them double as much (laughs)!

Vasiliki views cultures and ethnicities as rigid, fixed and as positioned on a hierarchical ladder. This understanding of cultures makes Vasiliki afraid of Eastern European children's high achievement, as it might threaten to undermine the status and top positionality of Greek-Cypriots. Her expression of fear echoes the popular repertoire of fear (4.4), viewing high-achieving children as a potential threat.

Overall, essentialist negative and sometimes positive racialized, ethnicized and gendered constructions of Eastern European boys and girls emerge from the data. As the complexities revealed by the analysis indicate, the intersecting factors of social class, national origin, language, age, and gender do not allow for homogenizing categorizations of the subjectivities produced through the racialization processes. Following a review of studies on the racialization of minoritized – usually black – boys in Britain, Phoenix (2002) points to the complexities and difficulties inherent in the processes of racialization intersecting with gender, sexuality, nation and class. She explains that racialization and gender are resources in the construction of masculinities, 'produced in boys' everyday practices of contestation or conformity' and 'marked by anxieties and contradictions' (Phoenix, 2002, p. 510). In other words, though highly gendered, racialization processes construct children differentially both across and within gender categories, making it impossible to draw broad generalizations about either boys or girls.

6.4 RACIALIZATION OF IRAQI-PALESTINIAN CHILDREN

> Angela presented some advice about handling children's anger after she attended a 3-day seminar last term. At some point, she mentioned that many times, anger is the result of lack of communication and Head Andreas said 'Do you think that this is why Jihad gets so angry at me? Because I don't understand her?' (laughing) Other teachers laughed and commented that she gets angry at everyone. She's in Zoe's class. Constandinos said 'This one might even throw a Molotov at you!' Zoe added 'Especially this one!'

Taken from my fieldnotes taken during a staff meeting in Juniors in 2008, the above conversation is located in the post 9/11 global context and discourses about fundamentalist Muslim terrorists. It is indicative of how such discourses are transferred to and appropriated in a Greek-Cypriot primary school setting, focusing on a ten-year-old newly-arrived asylum-seeking girl.

Racialized discourses about Islam already became evident in teachers' accounts, particularly when drawing on the interpretative repertoires of intolerance and fear (4.3 and 4.4). This section draws on data collected mostly in 2008, when Iraqi-Palestinian children started arriving, to identify their constructions in teachers' and children's discourses. The major factor shaping their racialization is religion, while national origin, behaviour, appearance, 'dirtiness', language, and time of arrival also contributed to their negative constructions. As opposed to Eastern European children, Iraqi-Palestinian children's constructions were not differentiated based on gender. This section is structured around religion, national origin, and ascribed dirtiness, which were the major factors affecting their representations. It also discusses the few instances of positive racialization.

6.4.1 RELIGION AND RACIALIZATION

Most commonly referred to as 'Arapies' (Αράπηες)[72] and 'mullahs' (μουλλάες)[73], Iraqi-Palestinian children were the topic of everyday conversations, jokes and

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[72] *Arapies* (Αράπηες) means Arabs in Cypriot dialect. Participants' use of this term rather than *Araves* (Ἀραβες), the Modern Greek word, usually carries derogatory meanings, as *Arapies* is often combined with swear words to refer to Arabs in a derogatory way.

[73] Referring to local Islamic clerics or mosque leaders in countries such as Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, 'mullah' is understood as a term of respect for a religious educated man. In popular

sometimes debates during most breaks I spent in Juniors' staffroom and less so at Infants[74]. One such conversation was the following:

> Nicoleta was talking to some teachers about Despina's 'mullahs' who were disturbing during Music class so she put them to sit separately. Despina then enters the staffroom and Nicoleta, laughing, tells her 'We're accusing your mullahs!' Despina laughed and replied 'Say whatever you want!'

As the term 'mullah' signifies, a key differentiating factor in the processes of racialization of Iraqi-Palestinian children was religion. As some teachers reported and as I observed, use of the term 'Muslim' also had negative connotations. Sixth grade teacher Caterina for example, reported that after the arrival of Racha, an Iraqi-Palestinian girl in her class, she overheard some Greek-Cypriot girls asking the girl sitting next to her 'why did she (Caterina) put you next to this *Muslim*?' Also, Caterina reported that a boy in her class 'once told me 'the Turk' (η Τουρκού) for Racha. Meaning Muslim let's say. And I tell him we don't speak like this. I explained to him but – he didn't make any other comments...' The discursive link between Iraqi-Palestinians and Turks was not constrained to the common attachment of the label 'mullahs', but was also evident in accounts emphasizing minoritized children's appearance. In one instance, sixth grade teacher Vasiliki referred to Abdullah, a newly-arrived pupil, as a 'Turk':

> I mean, like the new one who came recently, although his face reminded of a Turk, still, because he was smiley at first, kind of accepting, 'sit over there' he sat, he was trying to become friends with the other children, he became accepted more easily. Although seemingly he had something wild on him. Basically it's their behaviour we are concerned with.

Abdullah's racialized appearance as a 'Turk' forms an initially negative impression, which his behaviour as a smiley and behaving child then transforms

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discourses in Cyprus, however, 'mullah' is used to refer to Turks in a derogatory way because they are Muslim. In my data, it is appropriated to refer to the Arab children who are also Muslim.

[74] A possible explanation is that teachers at Infants spent less time chatting and socializing in the staffroom as they had to watch over the younger children in the playground.

into a positive one[75]. His slightly darker skin colour compared to the majoritized children and his religion become factors that contribute to his essentialist and stereotypical construction as 'wild' and a 'Turk'.

In the case of Arun, however, despite his ascribed identity as Muslim (6.2), he was not racialized in similar ways as the Iraqi-Palestinian children. He was not called or referred to as a 'mullah' or as 'Muslim' in the way that Iraqi-Palestinian children were. This demonstrates the complex, differential ways in which the intersections of identities of each child or group are racialized. In the case of Arun, his positionality as the only Indian child at the school and one of the only two dark-skinned children appear to predominate over religion in his representations in participants' talk and their interactions.

Compulsory morning prayer was mentioned by many participants when talking about Iraqi-Palestinian children. Some teachers, like Rebecca, did not ask the Iraqi-Palestinian pupils to stand up 'because I don't consider it right to pressure them'. Other teachers, like Georgia, 'demand that they stand up during prayer. They might not say it, but they should stand up. It is respect towards the country that accepted them (laughing)'. Georgia, having studied and worked in US schools for a few years felt that she had the right to ask the children to at least stand up, the same way she used to 'put my hand on my chest and gaze at the American flag every morning'. Vasiliki, referring to the behaviour of Iraqi-Palestinian children in her sixth grade during prayer, emphasized:

> It bothers me when they don't respect the space that welcomes them. For example, when we say prayer and they sit, they laugh or they make gestures to each other. I don't like this thing. I believe that no matter what you feel, at least you respect.

Because of some Iraqi-Palestinians' denial to stand up during prayer, Vasiliki reached a generalized conclusion for all Muslims, reflecting the repertoire of intolerance (4.3): 'especially the Muslims, they have such a stubbornness that shows disrespect. And I do *not* like this!'

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[75] Obedience as a positive racializing factor was also identified in Greek-Cypriot children's constructions of Asian domestic workers (Spyrou, 2009).

Children also condemned Iraqi-Palestinian children's behaviour during RE lessons and everyday practices, such as not doing the cross symbol and laughing or chatting during prayer. Sixth-grade boys Petros (Serbian), Nicolas and Christos (Greek-Cypriots), all Christian-Orthodox, were particularly critical of Racha's decision not to accept an RE book offered to her by Headteacher Andreas, who provided her with the choice to take it or not. In our chat, Nicolas argued that 'you *must* be a Christian', a statement the other boys left unchallenged. Nicolas' assertion indicates the predominance of the monoculturalism and Christian orientation of Greek-Cypriot education and society. The issue was clearly emotional for children and teachers who discussed it, reflecting the major influence of religion in the everyday lives of most Greek-Cypriots.

Indicative of the significance that Iraqi-Palestinian children's religious identity acquires in majoritized discourses are accounts which compare them to Eastern European children, who, until their arrival in 2008, were the main minoritized group. Talking about the recent changes in the school demographics, Headteacher Anna based her argument to a comparison between the two groups:

> They come from Georgia, we accept from Georgia as well, but compared, if you want, if this thing can be said, with children with *completely* different cultures and religion, the children of Georgia and the other Euro – Europeans, it is *very* different! Do you understand darling? We now ended up to feel the children from Georgia more familiar with us, since we have the same language pretty much with their parents, since most of them come from Greece as well (...) Well, welcoming these children is not as difficult as those who come now from Palestine. With the headscarf and with the – with everything that they carry with them in terms of culture and civilization.

Religion and culture are once again treated as absolutely rigid and fixed entities by Anna. Such constructions were particularly widespread within the repertoires of intolerance and fear, which Anna employed in her account (4.3 and 4.4). The headscarf becomes a symbol for the Palestinians' cultural background and a sign of the difficulties in their integration. Anna's account demonstrates the shift of

otherness following the arrival of the Iraqi-Palestinians who now occupy the position of the Other, previously held by the Eastern Europeans. As noted in a study related to Pontians in Greece, nationalist discourses emphasize the Greek identity, Greek habits, national consciousness and Christian Orthodox religion of Pontians despite the fact that many of them did not speak Greek upon their arrival (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002) (1.2). Similarly, Anna emphasizes these elements as she constructs Iraqi-Palestinians as more 'different' than Eastern Europeans. Though not explicitly, Anna here also alludes to the opposition between 'us' as Europeans and 'them' as Orientals.

6.4.2 ETHNICIZED RACIALIZATION

Iraqi-Palestinian children were also minoritized because of their national origin, as the extract at the beginning of this section (6.4) indicates. Additionally, Ahmed, the Iraqi boy in second grade (5.3.1, 5.3.4 and 5.4.1) who had come to school the previous year as an asylum-seeker and one of the most visibly minoritized children[76], was reportedly excluding the Iraqi-Palestinians and denying interpreting from Arabic to Greek when teachers asked for his help. When I talked to Ahmed and mentioned 'the children from Iraq' he immediately corrected me saying 'they are from Palestine, *not* from Iraq'. He said that they never play together because 'they don't play with me'. PE teacher Yiorgos presented another version of the situation, saying that Ahmed, an 'original Iraqi' rejects the Iraqi-Palestinian children and 'has an antipathy towards them', which he attributed to his family and the history of relations between Iraqis and Palestinian refugees in Iraq.

Similarly, teachers reported that Roberto, a highly assimilated sixth-grade boy with an Egyptian father and a Greek-Cypriot mother, also avoids identifying or hanging out with the Iraqi-Palestinians. As he speaks both Arabic and Greek, teachers often depend on him to interpret for them, a service he is hesitant to provide. I witnessed such an incident, when a teacher asked Roberto's help to solve a playground misunderstanding. Roberto appeared hesitant and

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[76] The other one was Arun (5.3, 5.4, 6.2).

uncomfortable and had no further contact with the Iraqi-Palestinian boy than that required for the interpretation. As teacher Nicoleta explained, when she told Roberto 'You should talk to them so you don't forget your Arabic language', he replied 'But I'm *Egyptian* Miss, I'm not an *Arab* like them!'

Iraqi-Palestinian children were also reportedly excluded by Eastern European children who employed the racialized derogatory label 'Arab' (Αράπης) similarly to the ways in which 'Pontian' was employed towards them. PE teacher Yiorgos described to me one such incident with a Pontian boy refusing to play in the same team with an Iraqi-Palestinian, telling Yiorgos 'oooo, we don't want the Arab with us!'[77]

It appears then, that Iraqi-Palestinian children are excluded by majoritized children as well as minoritized, including the two children who speak both Arabic and Greek, who could have helped them adjust and learn Greek faster. Becoming agents of othering in order to avoid being racialized similarly to Iraqi-Palestinians, Roberto and Ahmed exhibit resistance to their potential negative categorization as Arabs by the majoritized. Both are trying to assimilate into the majoritized group, with whom they share the Greek language, a powerful tool of negotiation. Iraqi-Palestinian children are also othered by the differentially othered Eastern Europeans, who also differentiate themselves from the newly-arrived Iraqi Palestinians[78].

6.4.3 ASCRIBED DIRTINESS

Ascribed dirtiness was a major pathologizing factor commonly met in the data shaping Iraqi-Palestinian children's representations. First grade teacher Dina talked about the complaints she receives from some Greek-Cypriot parents about their children sitting next to children 'who are from Palestine' or 'because, I don't know (.) they eat garlic and they smell'. The effects of such exclusionary

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[77] Yiorgos insisted that such discourses are normal and not related to racism, as he did in 5.3.2 when referring to Arun's name calling.

[78] See Theodorou (in press) for similar examples of Pontian children othering their non-white Asian classmates, drawing on the strong currency of their whiteness and Europeanness in order to appear as powerful as the Greek-Cypriots.

practices become vividly apparent in the account of a newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian girl in Vasiliki's sixth grade, Zorah. She spoke about her experience at the school, using intense gestures and tone of voice. Through Nane's interpretation, Zorah told me that 'wherever I sit, the others leave me', which makes her wonder 'Why? I love all of them and one of them looks like a friend I had in Iraq and I love her. But they don't love me and they distance themselves from me'. Zorah added that many of her classmates call her 'pelli' (πελλή), meaning crazy, making this one of the first Greek words she learned. Her teacher Vasiliki also observed this exclusion, but attributed it to Zorah's choice of Arabic-speaking children as her friends: 'it's not my children who rejected her. It's on her own, in order to find a way to communicate'[79]. Talking about Iraqi-Palestinian children in general, Vasiliki also said 'by the way they smell bad, very much so' and argued that 'it is something that it is not easy for the other children to accept'. Thus, Vasiliki provides justifications for the exclusion of Iraqi-Palestinian children and deracializes these incidents, failing to notice their traumatic effects and to intervene.

Home Economics teacher Angela, repeatedly talked to me about the incidents she observes in cooking lessons, when Greek-Cypriot children constantly ask her whether the Iraqi-Palestinian children have washed their hands: 'Miss, did this one wash his hands well? Miss, did he definitely wash his hands?' Angela added that 'the dirtiest nails are Pavlos' (Greek-Cypriot boy) and they don't mind him, but they mind the Palestinians!' While having this conversation with Angela in Juniors staffroom, Headteacher Andreas entered and participated as well:

> **Angela**: I've explained to them so many times and told them so many things. That, either way, in the bakeries and the supermarkets it's these ones that bake the bread that we eat and that it doesn't matter where they're from and would you like to be treated like this if you went to another country?
> **Andreas**: But it's not that simple, it's not black and white, these things are hard to get over. It's

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[79] Explanations of segregation as a result of minoritized children's choices were offered by several participants (5.3.4).

difficult. Because they *do* smell. Whenever I go into
Nane's class when they're all together, you faint! I
don't know what it is. Is it the food they're eating?
(asking me) What is it? (I remain silent)

Headteacher Andreas responds to the concerns Angela raises about the majoritized children discriminating against the Iraqi-Palestinian because of their supposed dirtiness. Andreas acknowledges the complexity of this phenomenon and the difficulties embedded in any intervention. He then refers to his own experience of 'fainting' whenever he enters the room where Iraqi-Palestinian children are taught Greek support lessons. I am then asked to provide an explanation for the children's reported smell by confirming whether it is owed to their eating habits. As in other instances, I did not respond worried about the consequences of overtly challenging Andreas' statements, aware of the risk that my silence could have been interpreted as agreement (3.7). Ultimately, Andreas justifies Iraqi-Palestinian children's exclusion based on their 'smell'.

It should be noted, however, that I never observed any Iraqi-Palestinian child dressed in dirty or smelly clothes. Identical ascribed dirtiness attributions and similar exclusion practices as those of Iraqi-Palestinian children were identified in the relations of Greek-Cypriot with Turkish-speaking children in a school researched by Zembylas (in press). In other studies of Greek-Cypriot children's views of migrants constructions of Roma, Turkish-Cypriots and Turks as dirty and stinky also prevailed (Demetriou & Trimikliniotis, 2006; Zembylas, 2010f, in press; Zembylas & Lesta, 2010). Juxtaposing the racialization processes of Turkish-speaking children in these studies with the Iraqi-Palestinian children in this study strengthens the evidence in support of the use of ascribed dirtiness as a common factor in the essentialist stereotypical constructions of the two groups as Other in Greek-Cypriot discourses. This also seemed to be the case, though at a much lesser extent, with some Eastern European girls (6.3.2).

6.4.4 POSITIVE RACIALIZATION

The Iraqi-Palestinian children as a group were rarely positively constructed, based on their behaviour. The few teachers who made positive comments referred to their smiles, politeness and obedience. When majoritized children

made positive remarks, they referred to their friendliness and efforts to learn, despite the language barrier. Even positive attributes of Iraqi-Palestinian children were racialized, however. Yiorgos described Iraqi-Palestinian children as 'quieter' and linked their behaviour to certain assumptions about their cultural background:

> Well, they seem, like...I don't know, is it because they just came here as illegal migrants and their parents are strict with them – they don't create particular problems. Of course lately there are some cases that have created problems, the older ones over here. But I generally see that they came (.) let's say obedient children. Is it the way they have been taught? Because it was very strict at their schools and I heard they beat them up and I don't know what and they are like scared? Is it because they came to another country? (2008)

Yiorgos considers Iraqi-Palestinians' citizenship status as a possible cause of fear of the law and therefore as an explanation for their obedience. He uses 'illegal migrants' to refer to families that are officially asylum-seekers within EU grounds. Yiorgos also considers a rumour that children used to experience physical violence at their school in Iraq, which may be responsible for their obedience. Wright (1992) in Britain found that such assumptions were also prevalent in teachers' discourses about black children in nursery school. Yiorgos finally acknowledges the possibility that the low profile they keep at the moment is owed to moving to a new country and may change with time.

Overall, Iraqi-Palestinian children are constructed in mainly negative ways, based mainly on their religion, but also on their national origin, appearance and perceived state of 'cleanliness'. The few positive constructions of Iraqi-Palestinian children as obedient and quiet echo the stereotypical assumptions about Islam as linked to domestic violence and discipline met in the repertoires of intolerance (4.3) and fear (4.4).

6.5   CHILDREN'S RESISTANCE TO RACIALIZATION PROCESSES

Some minoritized children, and in rare cases majoritized, exercised their agency in order to resist or negotiate racialized ascriptions imposed by the dominant

discourses and practices identified in this chapter. The three emerging resistance strategies included minoritized children's assimilation strategies, such as jokes, lying about their national origin, denying their first language, and participating in majoritized religious practices; violent reactions; and, in one case, challenging of racialized name calling practices by Greek-Cypriot children in support of their minoritized classmates.

6.5.1 ASSIMILATION STRATEGIES

> 'Why do Pontian soldiers put their weapons in the freezer before going to war?'

I was asked to answer one of these popular jokes about Pontians by Hermes, a sixth-grade boy, on a chilly February day in 2008, during the final break in the playground. Interestingly, Hermes is himself Pontian. He comes from a family of Georgian economic migrants who came to Cyprus through Greece to work. They arrived when he was five years old, so he has been at the school since first grade. He speaks fluent Greek as a second language, Georgian at home, and Russian with Russian-speaking children at school. Also, at one of the discussion groups that he participated in, when asked where he is from, Hermes identified as a 'Greek-Pontian' – thus, distinguishing himself from the derogatory label 'Russian-Pontian' (1.2.1). Hermes was a member of the Pontian boys' 'clique' in 2007 (6.3.1), most of whom had graduated in 2008, when the increasing arrivals of Iraqi-Palestinians began. Being a year younger than most members of the 'clique', Hermes remained for another year at the school, without many friends, and, therefore, in need to belong somewhere else.

When I said I did not know the answer to his enigma, Hermes was happy to inform me:

> 'To kill in cold blood!'

Jokes about Pontians – similar to 'lightbulb' jokes about minorities all over the world[80] – are extremely popular in Cyprus, dating years before the arrival of Pontian migrants in the 1990s. Expressions such as 'are you a total Pontian?',

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[80] For example, the Irish in Britain.

where 'Pontian' signifies 'idiot', are also popular. Here, Hermes appropriates the discourses of the majoritized group about Pontians in order to negotiate his own position as racialized Other and thus, brings himself closer to the Greek-Cypriots and further from the Pontians or 'Russian-Pontians'.

Teachers also reported that Eastern European children attempted to 'fit in' by denying their national origin and arguing that they are Greek or Greek-Cypriot. In 2007, Angela mentioned a Georgian girl in fifth grade stating that her family are 'refugees from Famagusta'[81] and a Pontian boy in sixth-grade, leader of the Pontian boys 'clique' in 2007, who would state that he is 'kalamaras'[82] from Thessaloniki'[83]. Furthermore, Lydia, second-grade teacher in 2007, reported that Eastern European children and their parents often deny their origin by avoiding using their first language at school or by using the Greek versions of their Russian names. Lydia referred to Sofia, a girl in her second grade, whose first language is Russian, a fact denied by her parents in order to 'appear Greek'. As a result, Sofia ends up losing the support lessons of Greek language that 'other-language' pupils are entitled to (1.4.2). In addition, Lydia found out that Sofia is the 'hellenized' version of her real name 'Sofa', which the girls' parents forbid her from using at school.

Another assimilation strategy, employed by some Muslim children, involved their participation in religious practices of the majoritized. One such example, separately narrated to me by four teachers in an emotionally charged manner, involved Othman, an Iranian asylum-seeker boy in fourth grade, in Cyprus for three years. Othman, apparently in his attempt to 'fit in', had repeatedly asked and received holy communion during the school's church visits. Antonia described the exchange between Othman and his fourth grade teacher Maria inside the church in 2008:

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[81] An occupied town in the north of Cyprus.

[82] 'Καλαμαράς' (kalamaras) is a term used by Greek-Cypriots to refer to Greeks, sometimes with negative connotations but not in this case.

[83] The second largest Greek city.

Maria tells him 'Darling did your mom tell you to take communion? Did you ask your mom?' 'Yes, I want to take communion'. 'Did your mom say it's ok?' 'Yes, she said it's ok'. She tells him 'But aren't you Muslim?' 'We are both Christian and Muslim'.

Antonia found Othman's statement 'unacceptable', and so did the other four teachers who described these incidents. While his second-grade teacher Lydia allowed him to take communion, his third-grade teacher Yiota thought it was 'wrong' and pulled him out of the queue. Maria, his fourth-grade teacher also let him take communion in order to avoid 'making a scene', but expressed her personal frustration and disagreement about it. These incidents disturb teachers' perception of Cyprus as a place of religious homogeneity and problematize the monoculturalism of the hidden and official curricula. Holy communion was not imposed on Othman by his teachers and he was given the opportunity to avoid taking it, as many Orthodox children do for different reasons. However, Othman chose to follow the norm and do what most children did. With the support of his family, he is able to negotiate his position as Other and the racial ascriptions imposed to him by adjusting his practices.

It is crucial to note, however, that Othman had arrived a few years earlier than Iraqi-Palestinians. Similarly, as seen in 6.4.2, Ahmed and Roberto resist becoming classified as 'Palestinian' or 'Arab' by avoiding to play with or speak in Arabic to Iraqi-Palestinian children. These boys' time of arrival, their acquisition of Greek, and their lack of identification with the larger Muslim group was not present in 2007, have perhaps contributed to the enhancement of their ability to negotiate their racialized, ethnicized and religioned positionality.

6.5.2 VIOLENT REACTIONS

The data also includes frequent reports of minoritized children's violent reactions to name calling or teasing, mainly Eastern European. They reacted by shouting, swearing, throwing tantrums, and with physical violence towards children that harassed them.

In 2007, I observed an incident with a sixth-grade Pontian boy, Vasilis, who physically attacked a Bulgarian girl because she called him 'Pontian'.

Headteacher Andreas ran to the middle of the playground to break up the fight. In our chat after the incident, Andreas said that this was not the first incident of this kind, caused by the fact that 'when people call him (Vasilis) Pontian he goes mad!' Importantly, Vasilis was the leader of the Pontian boys' 'clique' at the time. Contextualizing his violent reaction during this incident within his and his friends' behaviour as the 'manges' (6.3.1), it can be interpreted as a general strategy of resistance to racism through performing hegemonic masculinities, like the behaviours of some British Chinese pupils that Archer and Francis (2005a) investigated in England. As they point out, however, such practices may challenge as well as create racialized identities, as the Pontian boys who did not belong to the 'clique' may have trouble establishing themselves as masculine, when compared to the 'manges'.

Several other teachers also reported that fights break out among children following use of the term 'Pontian'. The fact that it was employed by a Bulgarian girl demonstrates the complexity of self-identifications and identity ascriptions of Eastern European children. The Bulgarian girl could be using the term 'Pontian' to infuriate or hurt Vasilis, probably aware of the negative connotations and of Vasilis' history of violent reactions to this sort of teasing. In addition, the Bulgarian girl is distinguishing herself from the label 'Pontian', which, as seen earlier (6.3), is often used to refer to all Eastern European children in majoritized discourses. It appears then, that the term 'Pontian' is rejected, resisted, appropriated and negotiated differently by the two Eastern European children in this incident.

Overall, the aformentioned children's and parents' refusal to acknowledge their national origin and first language, directly or indirectly, violently or not, suggests that they are aware of the derogatory connotations of the racialized and ethnicized identifications that are ascribed to them. Similarly, Caribbean migrant women in a study by Phoenix (2009) reflecting upon their school experience in Britain as children, referred to practices of exercising their agency to resist their subjection into representations of themselves as innately incapable. Minoritized individuals are thus resisting these racial ascriptions by the majoritized group and

negotiate their identities by attempting to assimilate linguistically and culturally or by reacting violently. Disassociating themselves from their minoritized ethnic and religious identities, however, continues to privilege the dominant group's values and pathologizes minoritized communities by protecting the status quo and placing responsibility for adjustment and assimilation upon minoritized individuals (Archer & Francis, 2005a; Phoenix, 2002).

I did not observe or hear about similar violent reactions by Iraqi-Palestinian children. This does not mean they passively accept the racialized ascriptions by the majoritized or other minoritized children. The lack of reactions on their behalf could be owed to the language barrier that did not enable them to report such incidents or to verbally challenge their name callers. However, reports by teachers and majoritized children that Iraqi-Palestinian children refuse to stand up during religious practices point to more indirect strategies of resistance against the monocultural and Christian-Orthodox-oriented school environment.

6.5.3 RESISTANCE BY MAJORITIZED CHILDREN

Greek-Cypriot boys Fanis, Manolis and Vasilis, in Constandinos' fourth grade in 2008, talked about the name-calling that their Iraqi-Palestinian classmates are subjected to and about actions they take against it. Newly-arrived Noor and Abdul were subjected to name-calling because of their 'garlic-smell' by their Greek-Cypriot classmate Andreas, who called them 'skorto' (σκόρτο), meaning garlic, and closed his nose with his fingers every time they were nearby or entered the class. Fanis said that 'Andreas makes fun of Noor because (.) supposedly she doesn't take a bath, he makes fun of her because supposedly she stinks of garlic' and 'he calls her 'skorto' often'. Vasilis was empathetic of Noor and Abdul, saying that 'Well we feel sorry, we feel sorry for them because if we went to *their* schools and we talked like that, they could be the ones making fun of us'. Manolis added 'Andreas makes fun of the whole class' including 'those who understand (Greek) *and* those who don't'. He emphasized, though, that 'Andreas makes fun of Noor and Abdul who are from other countries more often, loudly and awfully, because they don't understand'. Fanis said that this is also

because 'they can't do anything about it, that's why. They can't even talk to the teacher, to tell him, he is making fun of me...'

Noor and Abdul appear completely powerless to resist the name calling by Andreas, both because they might not realize that he makes fun of them and because they cannot report him to the teacher – as they do not speak Greek. So, Fanis said, they often do it on their behalf, seeking Andreas' punishment. This is their way of resisting what they find to be unfair, partly because they also suffer from it.

Similar findings were identified by Zembylas (2010a), who studied Turkish-speaking children's racism and nationalism negotiation strategies. He found that majoritized children would sometimes stand up for minoritized when the latter were being teased or harassed, while minoritized children would deal with the racism they experienced in various ways: by making attempts to fit in and make friendships with majoritized children; by remaining apathetic and ignoring their name-callers; by reacting violently to harassment; and, by establishing segregation in their friendships and in the playground on purpose. Archer and Francis (2005a) also identified similar strategies, including working extra hard and moving elsewhere, as some of the responses to racism that the British Chinese pupils and their parents who participated in their study.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the ways in which minoritized children at the school are racialized, the factors which contribute to the differential racialization between and within groups and individuals, and has identified the ways in which minoritized children resist or negotiate these processes. Despite the similarities in the construction of racialized identities of children belonging to the same group, these are not fixed or uniform; they include positive and negative attributes and are constantly shifting through resistance and negotiations between the racialized and racializing discursive subjects.

In addition to their national origin, minoritized children are differentially racialized based on a number of factors, intersecting at various levels and

extents: skin colour, culture and achievement being the most influential for Arun (6.2); gender, achievement and social class for Eastern Europeans (6.3); religion and ascribed dirtiness for Iraqi-Palestinians (6.4). All of them, as groups and individuals, become differentially racialized and minoritized through the discourses and practices of their teachers and peers in non-uniform but essentialist ways. Racialization processes are manifested in everyday interactions in the classroom and playground. In these ways, everyday racism as conceptualized by Essed (1991; 2002) manifests itself (2.3). The combination of institutional monoculturalism and discrimination in the classroom with the usually unquestioned reproduction of stereotypical representations of minoritized groups and unchallenged racialized harassment incidents produces and normalizes everyday racism operations.

Eastern European and Iraqi-Palestinian children as groups are differentially racialized. Their constructions as groups are not necessarily homogeneous, and the analysis has attempted to highlight the contradictions and exceptions within them. As was shown, the multiple positionings of each child in the context of social inequalities – affected by gender, religion, national origin, appearance, time of arrival, achievement, socioeconomic background, skin colour, language and culture – create similar spaces of racialization for children of the same national origin. However, there are differences in the ways that individuals are racialized within the group, depending on the intersections of the aforementioned factors, but also on those who act as racializing agents.

The analysis has made clear that teachers and children are agents whose racialized and gendered constructions emerge from and affect everyday classroom and school realities (A. E. Lewis, 2003). The data demonstrates that it is not always and not only the majoritized Greek-Cypriot teachers and children that engage with the racialization processes of minoritized children, but minoritized children as well (for example, Ahmed and Roberto in 6.4.2 and the Bulgarian girl in 6.5.2). Archer and Francis (2005a, p. 391) also found that 'racist discourses and practices often assumed more complex and subtle forms and are not necessarily solely perpetrated by white pupils'. The hierarchies of power

among minoritized and majoritized racializing agents lead to different constructions in each case.

The findings regarding the racialization of Iraqi-Palestinian agree with those of Zembylas (2010f; in press; Zembylas & Lesta, 2010) and Demetriou and Trimikliniotis (2006) about Turkish-speaking and Roma pupils' constructions in Greek-Cypriot children's and teachers' discourses. Though a small number of studies, the fact that different ethnographic projects have identified such highly similar racialization processes and segregation and exclusion practices enhances the validity of such findings.

The few positive racialized constructions of minoritized children, usually referring to certain individuals, function as the 'exceptions' that confirm and reinforce the predominant biased generalizations (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Drawing on Billig's work, Potter and Wetherell (1987) explain that for racist and stereotyped categorizations to appear convincing, rigidity and flexibility needs to be involved, as one needs to manipulate their discourse in order to deal with information that threatens the generalizations they argue for. This may be done by generating subcategories of the racialized group in question in order to include potentially problematic examples of minoritized individuals who do not fit the stereotype. Analysing the positive and negative racialization of Jews in Europe, Kushner (2005) argues that rarely were all Jews racialized negatively. Instead, the bifurcated image of 'the Jew' has gone alongside positive racialization (Kushner, 2005, p. 211). However, minoritized children may experience even positive stereotypes in negative ways (Archer & Francis, 2005a). The positive constructions of high-achieving Eastern European (6.3) and obedient Iraqi-Palestinian (6.4.4) children work to 'homogenise and straight-jacket the diverse experiences of those drawn within its boundaries, masking issues of inequality' (Archer & Francis, 2005b, p. 166). It is through such examples that, according to CRT, model minority arguments may be built, using the high achievement of certain groups as evidence in attempts to deny institutional and other forms of racism (Gillborn, 2008).

As racialization processes construct some children in ways inconsistent with their self-identities, there are reactions through resistance, acceptance or re-negotiation of their ascribed identities in order to distance themselves from those they consider to be false (McDonnell & de Lourenco, 2009). Sofa changing her name into Sofia, the Pontian girl stating she is from Famagusta, Vasilis reacting violently at the sound of 'Pontian' while the Bulgarian girl distances herself from it, Hermes telling jokes about Pontians, Ahmed and Roberto denying contact and identification with the Iraqi-Palestinians, and, finally, Othman participating in Christian practices, are all examples of positionality negotiations by these children, aiming to bring them closer to the majoritized group and disassociate them from identities which are negatively constructed as 'Other'. The small space of ambivalence that needs to be highlighted and explored further concerns the resistance to racialized name calling that some Greek-Cypriot children exhibit as a defense strategy on behalf of their minoritized classmates.

The next chapter focuses on the classroom experience of one newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian boy, Hashim, in order to explore how his teachers' constructions of diversity and racism, and intercultural education practices shape his everyday school realities.

7 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN EVERYDAY PRACTICES: THE EXPERIENCES OF HASHIM

7.1 INTRODUCTION

> Hashim is sitting motionless. He pulled his chair a bit away from the desk and is just sitting there staring around the classroom. He just turned to me and smiled shyly again. He is still doing nothing, sometimes turning back and smiling at me. I get bored and feel awful just by looking at him. He keeps turning back and looks at the wall, I wonder why...Oh my God! I've just realized! The reason he keeps looking back at the wall every few minutes is because he's actually *counting* the minutes! There is a clock right above me on the wall behind me and he's obviously figured out exactly when the bell is going to ring for break. 40 minutes x 7 teaching periods, sitting in a room full of people, interacting in a productive way, while you do and understand absolutely nothing, every single day, must feel VERY LONG, endless, and painful. (Greek language lesson with Maria, January 2008)

Above is a typical extract from my fieldnotes about how Hashim, a ten-year-old Iraqi-Palestinian boy who arrived at the school a week before my fieldwork, spent most of his time in class. He was the only Iraqi-Palestinian and the only child who did not speak Greek in his class. The above extract is highly representative of the school experience of newly-arrived 'other-language' children, as my fieldnotes are rich with similar observations. I noticed their boredom, frustration, and, sometimes despair as they often had to just sit in a classroom doing nothing.

According to the Ministry's policy (1.4.2), all 'other-language' pupils are entitled to two teaching periods of Greek language support lessons per week. Hashim, as all Iraqi-Palestinian children at Juniors, benefited greatly from an initiative of Headteacher Andreas, who, despite the bureaucratic barriers, arranged that Nane, an Arabic and Greek speaker comes to the school twice a week to help them learn Greek (3.5.2).

Hashim's two brothers also attended the school, in second and sixth grades. All three boys, based on my observations, were shy, and smiled a lot. As seen in 6.4, in teachers' and children's discursive practices, Iraqi-Palestinian children were differentially racialized from other minoritized groups at the school, sometimes constructed as antithetical to Greek-Cypriots. They were also clearly segregated from the rest and played together in a big group (see 5.3.1 and 5.3.4). As the bell rang, Hashim's brothers or other Iraqi-Palestinian boys would be waiting for him at the door to play. I also observed Hashim being excluded in PE as children would avoid choosing him to be part of their team, as was the case with most Iraqi-Palestinian children (6.4.2).

This chapter draws on interview and observation data collected in 2008 during a week of January in Hashim's fourth grade (Appendix 10.22). The analysis focuses on the boy's everyday experiences of intercultural education as it is implemented by his teachers Maria, his main teacher, and Antonia, who taught four lessons in Hashim's class, as well as Greek support lessons to half the Iraqi-Palestinian children of the school. Nane, the Arabic translator and support teacher for Iraqi-Palestinian children (3.5.2), and Headteacher Andreas also feature in this chapter. The chapter addresses research questions 6 and 7 (1.6):

- How do teachers construct minoritized children and diversity in their everyday classroom practices?
- How do minoritized children experience intercultural education in their everyday school life?

While exploring these questions, I draw links between Hashim's classroom experience and that of other Iraqi-Palestinian children at the school. I juxtapose Maria's and Antonia's talk about intercultural education and their role as teachers of newly-arrived minoritized children with their classroom practices.

Choosing Hashim's experience as the focus of this chapter was a decision dictated by the data. In Hashim's class, like in all others, were children from

various backgrounds, mainly Greek-Cypriot and Eastern European. As he had just arrived, I was able to observe him and his teachers during his very first days. My focus on a boy, rather than a girl, is owed to the fact that most Iraqi-Palestinian children at the school were boys. By analysing the interactions between Hashim, Maria and Antonia, I am able to explore how two teachers implement intercultural education for the same newly-arrived child, and his reactions to their differential treatment.

According to the intersectional approach that informs the analysis (2.6 and 3.3), case studies enable researchers to uncover the differences and complexities of experience of particular groups or individuals at the intersection of multiple categories on a day to day basis (McCall, 2005). By working outward from a single individual, event or context, it is possible to unravel the ways in which categories are lived and experienced. Such analysis focuses on 'the multiple, shifting, and sometimes simultaneous ways that self and other are represented, the way that individuals identify and disidentify with other groups, how one category is used to differentiate another in specific contexts, and how particular identities become salient or foregrounded at particular moments' (Valentine, 2007, p. 15).

Hashim's experiences of intercultural education are suitable for exploration, not to exoticize the particular boy or to portray him as representative of all Iraqi-Palestinian or minoritized children, but to enable the investigation of the aforementioned research questions. As with most ethnographic accounts, it is not argued that the situations represented in the data are generalizable. The incidents analysed in this chapter are useful in teasing out the various factors which affect and shape the everyday realities that minoritized children experience at the school.

The chapter is structured around Hashim's experiences in Maria's and Antonia's class and ends with a discussion of the contradictions between the discourses, practices and experiences of teachers and children revealed through the analysis.

7.2 HASHIM IN THE CLASSROOM WITH MARIA

Maria, responsible for Hashim's fourth grade and teaching most of the lessons, accepted me wholeheartedly in her class. Maria has no training related to intercultural education, racism or diversity. Hashim was the first newly-arrived child without a common language of communication that she encountered in her class in her seventeen years of service. When teaching, she was calm, patient, respectful, and polite. In class, she was very organized and children were calm and disciplined. She employed some of the most creative teaching strategies I observed and had excellent story-telling skills. Therefore, I felt surprised when, in our first casual conversation she told me was that she feels 'absolutely drained' from teaching and 'full of guilt' for not wanting to come to school every day. I did not once feel that she transferred this fatigue into the classroom.

As seen earlier, Maria employed the interpretative repertoire of intolerance, expressing her dislike of Greek-Cypriots having to speak English in their everyday activities in order to communicate with the migrant workers (4.3). She also raised her concerns about her son potentially marrying an Eastern European woman. As a parent, Maria said that she would feel uncomfortable if her children invited a 'foreign child' at home to play in the afternoon, as she would not be able to communicate with them. Neither does she allow her children to visit 'foreign' families because she 'does not trust' people that she cannot communicate with.

As for her role as a teacher, she told me that she 'almost had a stroke' when she read the pupils' register at the beginning of the year, which was mostly made of 'foreign names'. She expressed her critique of the Ministry, as it provides Greek language support lessons to minoritized children but does not provide any support for other groups, such as children requiring psychological help or 'gifted children' who 'are left behind because of the rest'. Her comments convey a rigid distinction she makes between 'foreigners' and 'locals', arguing that the former enjoy privileges at the expense of the latter.

Maria talked to me about how she prepared her class prior to Hashim's arrival in early January 2008:

> I explained to the children that a Palestinian child will come, who will speak no Greek at all. Uumm, all I want from you is to – he is a normal child like everyone else. You will not be able to communicate with him at first, errmm (.) you should accept him. He has a different religion from us, we respect that, we said this as well. What else did we say? Oh, we said that wherever he must sit we will accept him, we will not protest. I understand that it bothers you to sit all the time with a child with whom you cannot communicate so we found a solution to change seats often.

Linguistic differences and communication issues predominate in Maria's talk. While Maria prepared the children with the best of intentions so that Hashim feels welcome, telling children that they 'should accept him' and asking them to 'not protest' imply that their expected reaction to a newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian child would be to *not* accept him and to protest if asked to sit next to him. Maria is trying to prevent the exclusion of Hashim considering that this might only happen because of the lack of a common language. To avoid such a possibility, Maria and the children agree to make frequent changes in the seating arrangement. This solves the problem of the potential spatial exclusion of Hashim and avoids complaints from the children that they do not want to be sitting next to a child with whom they cannot communicate. Nonetheless, this strategy does not prevent his exclusion based on grounds other than language. Neither does it necessarily contribute to the acceptance, integration, or feeling of belonging of Hashim in the classroom. I would argue that, on the contrary, if Hashim constantly changes seats in the classroom and is seen as only a temporary 'desk-partner' by his classmates, this could convey the message to the children that he is a passer-by, someone that they all need to 'put up with' for a while, at least until he learns Greek. Maria made no suggestions, and I observed no such efforts, for children to help Hashim to learn Greek in any way or for him to share his language with them[84]. The strategy of changing seats problematizes

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[84] No languages other than Greek and English, which are included in the curriculum, are represented in any way at the school.

Hashim further as the change is only happening because of his presence. He thus becomes the 'problem' that needs to be solved. By emphasizing the Greek language as the only means of communication, Maria indirectly and unintentionally contributes to the majoritized children's inability to 'communicate' with Hashim. As we will see, his efforts to communicate through body language end in failure, while majoritized children make no efforts to communicate with him.

My observations of Hashim, sharing the last desk of the middle row with Alexis (a Greek boy), show that while Maria was in the classroom, for at least four out of the seven teaching periods per day, he spent most his time as *invisible*, sometimes despite his intense efforts to be noticed. In rare occasions he became *visible*, as Maria went close to him, often because of his own initiatives to attract her attention – which, I will argue, were a form of resistance. Only on one occasion during my fieldwork, did Hashim become *hyper-visible*; this was because of an incident that brought to the surface Maria's presumptions about his religious identity. I next analyse extracts from my fieldnotes representing each of these situations.

7.2.1 HASHIM'S INVISIBILITY IN THE CLASSROOM

In most instances I observed, Hashim's efforts to draw Maria's attention in order to get her approval about his work or participate in the lesson (usually in Maths and English where he felt more confident), utterly failed, despite their intensity. During a Maths lesson in which Hashim apparently knew the answers to the equations Maria wrote on the board, he remained invisible to her almost until the end of the teaching period. The following is a compilation of my fieldnotes from that lesson:

```
01 Hashim is sitting and watching. He has no Maths book. Maria
02 Writes (320+180)-80= on the board. Hashim looks at it,
03 understands what he needs to do, and slowly and hesitantly
04 raises his hand while turning back to me, as if for
05 approval. I nod and he raises his hand higher. It's the
06 first time I see him trying to participate by raising his
07 hand. I try to make eye contact with Maria to point him to
08 her. But she doesn't see me. She asks Marinos for the
09 answer. Hashim puts his hand down now with great
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10 disappointment. Maria writes a similar equation. Hashim
11 raises his hand again. Same thing happens. Hashim doesn't
12 raise his hand at the next one. After a few minutes, Maria
13 writes (20+60)-20= and Hashim raises his hand higher than
14 any other time, still turning back to look at me. I still
15 try to nod to Maria but she doesn't see me. She doesn't
16 even look this way. Hashim puts down his arm soooo
17 disappointed. *I'm* disappointed. He just lost the only
18 opportunity he's had in a week - maybe since he arrived
19 - where he was confident enough to raise his hand and
20 participate and show that he wants to learn, that he cares
21 and that he is *able*. This is so upsetting. I don't know if
22 I should tell her. Would it have been right to point to
23 him if she made eye contact with me? Then again, would
24 I have observed all 4 failed efforts of Hashim if I had
25 interfered? Oh, now he's raising his hand again. How
26 can she not see him yet??? How?? He's trying SO hard to
27 be noticed. And there's fewer than twenty-five kids in
28 this class. And still, he doesn't shout or get up.
29 He's trying to do it the same way everyone else is doing
30 it and it's like he's invisible. Everytime he puts his
31 arm down so disappointed! Now Elina is solving the
32 equation and he still has his hand up in case Maria
33 notices, now that everyone else's hands are off her
34 visual field. Now she asks the kids to solve the next
35 one in their notebooks. Hashim doesn't have a notebook.
36 She FINALLY sees him.
37 **Maria:** 'You know? Come. Do you have a pencil? Write here.
38 Where is your pencil?'
39 She gives him a notebook. Perhaps now she'll ask him to
40 solve one. Hashim now is writing and doesn't raise his hand
41 anymore. Kids are again doing equations on the board with
42 the teacher. Hashim is still writing, copying from the
43 board. Lesson is over.
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In this Maths lesson, for the first time during my fieldwork, and, it seems, since he arrived at the school, Hashim hesitantly (L03-04) raises his hand to participate. Perhaps he was planning to write the numbers on the board as he did not know them in Greek. The four attempts of Hashim to be noticed (L03-04,05,11,25) all but the last one (L36), fail. This results in his emotional reactions of hitting his hand on his desk and making frustrated facial expressions (L09-10,11,16-17,30-31). After Maria notices him and asks him to copy the equations in the notebook she gives him, Hashim quits his efforts to participate (L40-41). He is perhaps satisfied with the attention he finally received, or too disappointed to continue.

My initial decision to nod to Hashim who was seeking my approval (L05,14), was guided by my inability to predict that once he had raised his hand, especially for the first time, he would not be 'seen'. I had my doubts as to whether Maria could see him at first, perhaps because he was sitting at the back of the classroom. I therefore attempted to catch her attention (L07-08). However, I gradually realize that she could see him, but ignored the fact that he was asking for permission to participate (L25-28). As for the ethical dilemma I was putting down in words (L21-25) while observing Hashim make his repeated efforts and experience the repeated failures in getting noticed, I have no answer. I still wonder whether my intervention was beneficial (3.7).

Assuming that Hashim is unable to participate because he does not speak Greek, or aiming to avoid an incident in which he would be embarrassed if he gave the wrong answers, are possible reasons for which Maria avoided giving him the opportunity to participate. Even when Maria notices Hashim, by asking him to write down the equations, she provides him an opportunity to do something constructive, yet she denies him the right to participate as other members of the class, even when he appears confident to do so.

Juxtaposing the above typical incident of Hashim's experience in Maria's class with her account on her role as the teacher of minoritized children, reveals a vivid ambivalence:

> M: What I now came to is that the most important thing that I can do is for them to *feel* good. To feel *happy*! To not be unhappy at school.
> E: How do you — how do you achieve that?
> M: For me it's very simple. That child comes in, you smile at him, he feels that you go next to him and you try to show him even one thing. Even if he doesn't understand anything, he feels that the teacher came next to me. Like with Hashim now, he does *not* understand. But he *feels* that I go to him two or three times and I say something to him.

Maria constructs her role as the teacher of minoritized newly-arrived children as emotionally important, as the aim is for them 'to feel happy'. The teacher's

smile, attention, and the attempt to teach them 'even one thing', Maria argues, make all the difference. Her insistence that Hashim 'does not understand' perhaps keeps her from realizing that despite the language barrier, Hashim is able to participate. It was common for teachers to express uncertainty, doubts and confusion over what is the right thing to do about 'these children', which they attributed to the lack of 'a clear policy' by the Ministry.

7.2.2 HASHIM AS VISIBLE

Hashim exhibited resistance, as he sometimes disregarded classroom rules and approached the teacher's desk without permission in order to break out of his invisibility. At those times, he managed to get Maria's attention and feedback. However, he did not always challenge the status quo. In the Maths lesson described above (7.2.1), he remained faithful to classroom rules by raising his hand quietly when seeking permission to speak, yet failing to be noticed.

During my time in her class, Maria approached Hashim a couple of times while teaching. One of those instances was during an English language lesson. Maria came up to Hashim, who was sharing a book with Alexis sitting next to him at the time, and asked him to read something from the book, to test whether he speaks English. When Hashim read a sentence, Maria, surprised, praised him:

> **Maria**: 'Bravo, you *know*!'
> She then points to Alexis' books and explains to Hashim.
> **Maria**: 'This, pupils' book. This, workbook. Where is it? I gave you a workbook. Where is it? Take it out.'
> Hashim doesn't take it out and doesn't respond.
> **Maria, almost to herself says**: 'Oh, but I *didn't* give him a book!'
> Then, turning to me, she says: 'It's *another* problem. We don't have books! Especially with the publications from Greece! They sent only about ten extra ones, but with this influx that arrived, we have none left!'
> I asked if there's a storage room where they can go get some.
> **Maria**: 'Well, and who will go now and bring five books from the storage?'
> Hashim is still doing nothing. The bell rings.

Alexis would sometimes 'let' Hashim look into his books, as Hashim did not have any for most lessons. The Ministry, which centrally distributes the teaching material to all schools in Cyprus (1.3), only sends the number of books that responds to the pupil population registered in September. Thus, there are usually no extra books for newly-arrived children. Maria, in this rare instance of approaching Hashim appears confused as to whether she had given Hashim the English workbook. When she realizes that she had not, she turns to me to explain the situation and blames the Ministry for not including the new arrivals of migrant and asylum-seeker children in the book supplies. Taking the time to go to the storage and get more books appears to be too much effort for teachers working constantly under time pressure. Time pressure seems to be more important to teachers than the pressure they may feel (or not feel) from minoritized parents, who are unlikely to inquire or complain about the lack of books for their children.

A couple hours later, Headteacher Andreas stopped by Maria's class to give some new books to the children. Checking if there are enough for everyone, Andreas asked Maria 'Do you have any Palestinians?' Maria replied 'No, I don't count them for books'. Regardless of whether the books would be appropriate for newly-arrived children who do not speak Greek yet, Maria's statement clearly excludes Hashim from receiving the material that he is entitled to. Most probably, Maria avoids giving certain books to non-Greek-speaking children because she finds them of no use. As seen in the extract above, however, she wanted to give Hashim an English book, after seeing that he could read English. Therefore, in the first case, Hashim is excluded from normative classroom practices because the Ministry sends no extra books for newly-arrived children and, in the latter, he is excluded because his teacher thinks it will be of no use as he does not speak Greek. In both instances, Hashim is discriminated due to the problematic institutional provisions for newly-arrived pupils and the unintentional exclusionary practices of his teacher.

While most books are not appropriate for newly-arrived children, they would probably give them the sense that they are equally treated. This issue came up in

the group discussion I had with the Iraqi-Palestinian children at Juniors with the help of Nane. They all reported feeling excluded, sad, even upset, by not receiving the same material as others in their class. Some children said that teachers avoid giving them a working sheet even when they use gestures or their poor English to ask for it. As Salma told me through Nane's translation, 'Even if I don't understand, I would like to have one. To do whatever I know and leave behind whatever I cannot do'. Thus, due to lack of communication, teachers unintentionally exclude minoritized children through their dysconsciouly racist practices (2.3).

Maria's description of her experience as a teacher of minoritized pupils reveals a great deal of doubt and uncertainty:

> M: For me personally, it's the fact that you are in a constant doubt, that (.) not doubt – you constantly have an ugly feeling that – me personally – that could I have done more for this child? Am I not doing enough? What should I do?
> E: Yes.
> M: And then comes the dilemma and you say, but am I going to *leave* the other 23 and sit with this child to teach him two words? Then, many of them (Greek-Cypriot pupils) rightfully claim their own teacher.

The sense of doubt Maria talks about emerged repeatedly in our conversations. She mentioned that she feels divided between wanting to help all children and wishing to offer as much as she can to the 'locals'. A sense of guilt becomes evident as Maria is split between 'not doing enough' for Hashim and abandoning 'the other 23' to spend some personalized time 'to teach him two words'. Maria views any efforts and time spent on teaching newly-arrived children 'a bit of Greek' to be minimal, even pointless. She also points to the 'rightfulness' with which the majoritized children will 'claim' their teacher's time, constructing majoritized children as having more rights in educational opportunities and resources than the minoritized. It is not uncommon for the dominant group to legitimize its greater claims to resources 'by naturalising its own difference, hailing the "others"' (Anthias, 2002a, p. 278). The dilemma of who to spend her time with was used to support Maria's argument in favour of segregated

reception classes for newly-arrived children, 'so they can at least learn the basics of communication' before entering the mainstream classroom, a popular argument among teachers and majoritized children. The data analysed in this sub-section demonstrate how Hashim, even when he becomes visible to his teacher, may still be excluded due to the lack or exclusion from receiving the teaching material used by his classmates, in spite of it being inappropriate for newly-arrived children.

7.2.3   HASHIM BECOMES HYPER-VISIBLE

During a Greek lesson on my last day of fieldwork in Maria's class, children had to see a government doctor who visited the school for a routine health check up of ten-year-olds. First, the boys in Maria's class were asked by the nurse to go to a room next door in groups of three so the doctor could see them. While some boys were already there and the rest of the children were doing written activities, Maria suddenly looks at Hashim, turns to me and says loudly:

> 'Oh my God, I just realized, now that they're all going to the doctor – we have to tell Mr Andreas!' At that point, Headteacher Andreas was passing outside the classroom so Maria runs outside and chats with him making vivid gestures. I suspected what she was worried about because I earlier saw a boy, Apostolos, blushing and whispering something to her ear after he came from the doctor. Maria comes back from outside and whispers to me 'When Apostolos came, he told me that the doctor also examined their genitalia. I immediately clicked! Well what about Hashim? – who knows now with *these* ones? They're *Muslims* and you never know – you don't know what...'

After Headteacher Andreas told her not to worry, Hashim went to the doctor as the rest and his examination went smoothly. Maria referred to this incident in our interview later that day:

> I don't know what their religion – if there are certain prohibitions or anything. Well these are experiences that for the first time – even *we* don't know how to deal with them. I mean there *has* to be – I think things are more serious than they appear. That it's not just – the Ministry needs to take positions and go into deep waters and

give us some guidelines, because we just can't!

In this incident, on the one hand, Hashim is treated equally and provided the same healthcare as all children, offered by the Republic of Cyprus. Yet, Maria's assumptions about Islam render him hyper-visible and contribute to his racialization. Interestingly, the word circumcision was never brought up by Maria, indicating perhaps a taboo. This is probably what she had in mind as the major difference between Hashim and the other boys, making Hashim's gendered and religioned identity hyper-visible. However, as there were no Iraqi-Palestinian or Muslim girls in Maria's class, it is not certain whether she would react in a similar way, had Hashim been a girl about to be examined by the doctor.

Hashim had not been as visible to Maria at any other point before or after this incident during my observations. It seems that Maria's reaction was related to her lack of knowledge and preparation to deal with religious diversity. It was also related to her concern and interest for Hashim's welfare, aiming to avoid any negative consequences resulting from her lack of knowledge about Islam. Confusion of teachers over matters of religious Muslim culture is not uncommon, as shown by other research in Norway and the US (Rhedding-Jones, 2010). The absence of teacher training and policy guidelines on how to work in multicultural classrooms, in combination with the widespread stereotypical assumptions about Islam and the generally negative discourses about asylum-seekers (1.2.2) multiply the burden of responsibility that Maria already feels as a teacher, adding to her doubts and insecurities about her abilities and her role, and causing unnecessary stress and complications in her everyday practice. Similarly, Wright (1992) in Britain found that white teachers of Black pupils felt inadequately prepared for working in ethnically and linguistically diverse classrooms, so they ended up adopting racial stereotypes, authoritarian strategies of control, and tended to treat bilingualism as an obstacle to learning. Also, Jones (1999) followed white beginning teachers in Britain and identified the difficulties they faced in recognizing and challenging racism and implementing multicultural education.

At the same time, Hashim is gendered and racialized because of his religion, through a process revealing the intersections between gender, religion and racialization. Maria's assumptions about gendered constructions of Muslims and, consequently of Hashim, become apparent. Her perceptions of Islam correspond to the dominant constructions of Muslims and Islam as the ultimate Other, as seen in the repertoire of intolerance (4.3) and the racialization processes of Iraqi-Palestinian children (6.4). Though Hashim is not explicitly constructed negatively by Maria in this incident, he is categorized as one of 'these ones' and Islam is represented as a religion of 'prohibitions'. Maria is vague about what these prohibitions may involve and admits she does not 'know' for certain.

Maria's constructions of Islam become more apparent in her comparison of Hashim's integration to Tatiana's, a Lithuanian girl who arrived in her class at the beginning of the year and who is now, 'part of the group'. Through such a comparison, Maria differentiates Hashim further. She constructs Hashim's 'culture' as the differentiating factor which contributes negatively to his integration:

> (.) Now with Hashim things are different because you see them that during breaks the Palestinians themselves gather together on their own. They gather together on their own I mean (.) I think, I think, I don't know. It is also a very different culture. I wonder about these completely opposite cultures, how they adjust (προσαρμόζονται) (.) how they go together (συμπορεύονται) anyway. Not adjust.

Maria's argument is that Hashim and the other Iraqi-Palestinians are responsible for the segregation observed in the playground. The phrases 'they gather together', 'themselves', and 'on their own' work to dissolve any doubts as to whether they may be 'forced' to become segregated by an outside factor, such as rejection by the majoritized children. Popular among teachers and children (5.3.4 and 6.4), this assumption places responsibility on the Other and thus liberates them from the responsibility to recognize their role in exclusion, and, consequently, to intervene.

The segregation in the playground is used as an example on which Maria builds her argument about the difficulty or impossibility of co-existence of 'different'

cultures. The essentialist construction of 'cultures' as 'different' and 'completely opposite' is a prevalent theme in the repertoire of intolerance (4.3), reflected in the above extract. Reference to the cultures of Palestinians and Greek-Cypriots implies assumptions about the differences and incompatibility between Islam and Christianity. Besides, as Maria told me in a casual chat in the corridor, 'Palestinians, because they are Muslim, refuse to learn and integrate' and 'we don't want to assimilate them, but they are very strict in maintaining their identities'.

Overall, Maria's talk is characterized by doubts about whether she is doing the 'right thing', and dilemmas about how to balance her time and energy while teaching minoritized children and the 'locals'. Her dissatisfaction with the Ministry's support of 'other-language' children and neglect of 'gifted children' forms part of a contradiction when juxtaposed with her empathy towards children like Hashim and her intentions to make all children happy by offering them her attention. As for the effects of her practices, though unintentionally, Maria contributes to the reproduction of institutional racism by failing to recognize and challenge it in the form of lack of the appropriate material for Hashim. This happens despite her genuine intentions, evident in her immediate reaction during the doctor's visit, when she felt that Hashim's feelings or well-being might be at stake due to her ignorance and the lack of institutional guidelines.

7.3   HASHIM IN THE CLASSROOM WITH ANTONIA

Antonia teaches Geography, Science, Religious Education, and Art in Hashim's class. A recent university graduate, with an MA in educational leadership, Antonia had only started her teaching career four months before I met her. She was happy for me to observe her in mainstream and Greek support lessons with Iraqi-Palestinian children. As other teachers, she had no training in intercultural education or relevant issues. At all times she was organized, enthusiastic, sweet, and respectful to all children. Antonia often said in staffroom conversations that diversity in Cyprus has become 'a social problem'. Also, as seen in 4.3, she drew on the repertoire of intolerance and argued against intercultural exchanges,

particularly interreligious. At the same time, Antonia was one of the few teachers who employed the repertoire of empathy (4.5), making her account an example of the simultaneity of repertoires' use. Furthermore, Antonia was one of the two teachers who showed awareness of institutional racism in society (5.2) and teacher racism in children's lives (5.3.3). Antonia's talk as a teacher also reveals an awareness of the unfair effects of structural inequalities on minoritized children's experiences and a sense of empathy towards them. She was the only teacher who stated that 'as a teacher I do my duty because I have to admit that I feel that we are not offering as much as we should have to these children' and 'I do not yet feel that we are being fair with them'.

Antonia's definition of intercultural education also reflected her awareness of global material inequalities:

> Intercultural education for me is to take into consideration the diversity of each pupil that comes from a foreign country, to respect him, and to give to him, the way we give to other children, as *many* resources as possible so he can advance in his life. Because sometimes we speak of equality. Equality sometimes is the greatest inequality. When we say to all the children 'do this exercise' it is the most unfair thing we can do. We see that this child doesn't know Greek; we will first try to teach them Greek and to teach them some things, I insist with an *organized* manner.

Here, Antonia criticizes liberalist discourses of equality for failing to acknowledge and challenge structural inequalities. She uses as an example the practice of teachers who treat all children the same by giving them the same activities and thus ignoring the intersections of inequalities that children are positioned at. Newly-arrived children who do not speak Greek become especially disadvantaged in a context where they are treated the same as the rest. Treating them as equals, is for Antonia, teaching them something that corresponds to their level of Greek, and, as she mentioned later, 'if necessary, scolding them just like the rest'. Her understanding of intercultural education relates to her construction of racism which, as seen in 5.2, was the closest to an understanding of institutional racism through evidence of awareness of global material and social inequalities. She also was the only teacher who spoke of racist discourses

employed by her colleagues at the school. Still, she partially attributed racist discourses and practices observed in children's relations to parental influence, reproducing the perception of racism as individualized learned behaviour (5.4.2).

Antonia spent part of every lesson focusing on Hashim, providing him with personalized activities related to the mainstream lesson. She sometimes adjusted the official curriculum to incorporate into the discussions the experiences of minoritized children who knew enough Greek to participate. As opposed to how Hashim spent most of his time with Maria, while Antonia was teaching, he was mostly engaged in productive activities. To present the various ways in which Antonia included Hashim in her teaching, I analyse an extract from my fieldnotes taken during a Geography lesson in January 2008:

```
01 Lesson is continued from previous week and it's about
02 Greece. Kids are asked to write the most important
03 facts about the position of Greece on the map. Antonia
04 comes to Hashim and asks him to get his notebook. He
05 has a Geography book as well - it's the first time
06 this week that I've seen him with a book.
07 Antonia: 'Greece, Cyprus (pointing on the map). Where
08 are you from? Where are you from? Iraq?'
09 Hashim: 'Yes.'
10 Antonia: 'Pencil. Give me pencil.'
11 She writes in his notebook the word Iraq (in Greek)
12 and reads for him 'I-raq, I-raq'. Then she does the
13 same for 'Greece' and 'Cyprus'.
14 Antonia: 'Lovely. Now write Iraq, Greece, Cyprus.
15 Iraq, Greece, Cyprus.'
16 Hashim starts writing each word ten times. Antonia
17 checks it.
18 Antonia: 'Bravo Hashim. Remember to stress the words.
19 Iraq!'
20 (a bit later) Antonia: 'Bravo Hashim, nice
21 handwriting.'
22 Alexis (boy next to Hashim): 'It's nice Miss.'
23 Antonia: 'Yes, very nice.'
24 After Hashim is done, he takes his notebook to
25 Antonia. She says 'bravo', comes to his desk and shows
26 him a picture in his book with a sun and clouds. She
27 writes in his notebook 'sun' and 'clouds' and repeats
28 the words to him, pointing at the picture. She asks
29 him to copy it a few times. I've never seen him
30 happier than today. He's actually done more work the
31 past couple of hours than in the whole week! Even
32 Maria today asked him to copy some words and now
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33 Antonia is so sweet and kind to him. Tatiana,Georgia
34 and Alexis become interested in what Hashim is
35 writing and they come to see him. So does Adonis.
36 Hashim is writing very happily, smiling all the time.
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From the very beginning, Hashim is differentially positioned in Antonia's class, as he shares the same teaching material as the rest. As seen with Arun (6.2) and Hashim earlier (7.2.2), this was not usually the case. It is unclear whether Antonia had to make any efforts to secure a Geography book for Hashim or whether the school had extra copies. As the class is given a written assignment, Antonia comes to Hashim's desk and spends some time with him. She adjusts the official curriculum in order to include Hashim and his background, by teaching him how to write 'Greece', 'Cyprus', but also 'Iraq'. In a rather controversial way, the nationalistic and intercultural aspects of Greek-Cypriot education are brought together. Yet, as the reality of multiculturalism enters the monoculturalism of Greek-Cypriot education, such ambivalences are expected to appear and are not necessarily problematic, but may provide the necessary possibilities for change.

The simple tasks of asking Hashim to answer where he is from (L07-09) and to write down the names of the three countries (L14-15) are related to the Geography lesson and correspond to Hashim's level of Greek. Antonia engages with him orally so he can practice his Greek (L07-10), and follows up with feedback and praise (L14,18,20,23). Hashim's body language dramatically changes when the teacher pays attention to him and asks him to do some activities compared to when he sits doing nothing, as we saw at the introduction of this chapter (7.1). He smiles and his body movements reveal his excitement, that he cannot express with words (L29-30,36). Hashim's classmates, to whom he usually remains invisible, take notice of his existence, admire his abilities and praise his efforts (L22,33-35), all following Antonia's example.

In the second half of the lesson, after Hashim finished with the written assignment, Antonia approached him again and started showing him the colours. She wrote 'green', 'red', 'yellow' with matching coloured pencils and asked him to copy each word a few times. When finished, Hashim went up to Antonia's

desk, read them out to her and they returned together to his desk. Hashim's excitement is obvious in what followed:

```
01 She makes more colours for him to learn now in the
02 same way. Kids are gathering around her, waiting for
03 her to correct their work, but she doesn't mind that
04 they wait for a bit and they don't either. They're
05 observing her with great interest, writing and
06 colouring in Hashim's notebook. Now he's writing
07 'pink', 'black', 'orange', 'brown'. He looks at me
08 often, smiling or sticking his tongue out. He does
09 this often it seems. It's like a way for him to
10 express how he's feeling since he can't say it with
11 words. It usually means he's tired, or uncomfortable,
12 or excited and overwhelmed with work, like now. It's
13 interesting of course, that other kids complained to
14 Maria that he's sticking his tongue at them. When the
15 bell rang and Antonia left, Hashim showed me his
16 notebook with the colours he learned. I asked him to
17 read them to me and he did so, loudly. The rest of the
18 kids also watched him read and a couple girls started
19 clapping. He was so happy!
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Hashim's expressions of happiness through body language become more evident in the last twenty minutes of the lesson (L07-11,19). Apart from smiling, he sticks his tongue out again, which seems to be the only way to show his enthusiasm about the attention and rewards he receives because of his achievements. The rare attention Hashim received from his classmates earlier is repeated in the rest of the lesson (02,04-05,17-19). Though he does not seek their attention, seeing Antonia spending time with Hashim and praising him for completing the assignments she gives him, the children are also willing to give up some of their time without complaining, as they have to queue for longer for Antonia to correct their work. Hashim seeks my attention (L07-08) and approval of his work (L15-17) in this rare opportunity to show his abilities and achievements. The spontaneous applause of some girls at the end of the lesson makes him look happier than ever (L19).

Like Maria, Antonia constructs teachers as victims of the lack of support by the Ministry and constructs their 'empathy' and 'judgement' as the most significant factors affecting their practices with minoritized children. Speaking both as a

mainstream classroom teacher and as a teacher of Greek support lessons, she described the policy as 'nonexistent' and the current circulars as 'general' and 'unhelpful'. Similarly, she argued that the material provided is not appropriate and that she has to create her own.

> I try as much as I can to do some activities with these children so that I don't see them sitting without doing anything. But then again it is up to *my* judgement and up to the empathy of each teacher. Alright, I become too sad to watch a child sitting in the classroom without doing anything. I deal with it as a low-achieving (αδύνατο) child of our own who can't watch the lesson of the class and I try to give him more – activities of lower level. As *much* as he can watch.

Across the interviews, teachers complained about the lack of support they received from the educational authorities in relation to teaching in diverse classrooms. Their criticisms focused on the lack of appropriate teaching material, time, and clear short- and long-term policy goals. Antonia added that while she used to be against segregated classes for minoritized children, based on her teaching experience of few months, with the current support from the educational authorities, she has changed her mind: 'If reception classes were created, and *then* they came to the classroom, I believe it would have been much easier for the teacher to deal with'. Many teachers argued the same, including Maria, and some even suggested segregated schooling as the solution to the practical everyday difficulties they faced. Within huge institutional constraints, Antonia's sense of empathy motivates her to create the time she needs for personalized activities with minoritized children. Her reference to such feelings can be linked back to her expressions of empathy about migrants in Cyprus when drawing on the repertoire of empathy (4.5).

Antonia also seems to be motivated by the response she receives from the children through expressions of 'enormous love'. As she added at the end of our interview:

> The last thing I want to tell you is that these children show *enormous* love towards the people who they are *not* racists, to the people who they see they want to help them, and to the people

who they see that in the classroom, when they are not doing anything, you ask them to do something.

Antonia here defines racism as the opposite of paying attention and providing opportunities to minoritized children. This understanding implicitly reflects her awareness of the way institutional, unintentional racism operates (5.2) through neglecting minoritized children's presence in the classroom. At the same time, considering she spends considerable time on personalized teaching with minoritized children, she indirectly constructs herself as one of the people 'who are *not* racists'.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the implementation of intercultural education policies in everyday practice through the case study of Hashim, a newly-arrived Iraqi-Palestinian asylum-seeker in fourth grade. It also dealt with how two teachers, Maria and Antonia, construct intercultural education and respond to the presence of a newly-arrived minoritized child in their class discursively and in practice. My observations of their interactions with Hashim were juxtaposed with their discourses about minoritized children and their repertoires about diversity in Greek-Cypriot society, analysed in Chapter 4. Hashim's reactions to the differential treatment he receives from his teachers were identified and so was the shifting behaviour of his classmates depending on which teacher was present. The findings suggest that Hashim is experiencing school in an institutionally discriminatory environment, to which teachers may unintentionally contribute or resist, without necessarily recognizing the effects of their practices as racist or not.

Newly-arrived children are systematically being discriminated against by a generally problematic system of book distribution and the lack of appropriate teaching material. Additional exclusionary operations are clear in Hashim's case through the monocultural environment, the exclusion of his language and religious background, and his indirect exclusion from the mainstream classroom through his withdrawal for Greek support lessons. I would argue that Hashim's experiences indicate that, though not a generalizable statement, institutional

racism operates in the school context, regardless of teachers' intentions. Exclusion of non-Greek-Cypriot, non-Greek-speaking, non-Christian-Orthodox, non-White children from the official and hidden monocultural and nationalistic curricula and neglect of their educational needs by the educational authorities lead to the discriminatory treatment of minoritized children, particularly the ones who do not speak Greek.

In Maria's class, while Hashim was never a victim of overt racialized harassment (like Arun in 6.2), he was often indirectly excluded because of the lack of a common language and Maria's and his classmates' inability to recognize his body language as a way of communication. He was also segregated from the rest in the playground, as all Iraqi-Palestinian children (5.3.1, 5.3.4 and 6.4). Maria's lack of awareness about how institutional racism operates inhibits her from intervening in order for Hashim to receive the same opportunities as the rest. At the same time, juxtaposing Maria's statements about her determination to do her best so that children like Hashim feel that the teacher cares for them with Hashim's invisibility for most of the time is highly contradictory. Though Maria's work is motivated by good intentions, and though her responses to incidents involving Hashim reveal her feelings of empathy, she seems unable, or unwilling, to challenge structural constraints, such as the lack of extra books, in order to respond to Hashim's educational needs.

Furthermore, Maria's construction of Hashim as problematic, unable to communicate, deficient in terms of knowledge, racialized in terms of religion, culture, and gender, her treatment of him as invisible during the lesson, and her inability to recognize and challenge intstitutional and everyday practices of racialization, discriminate against Hashim and, combined with the institutional monoculturalism and racism, prohibit him from enjoying one of his human rights, that of education. Her practices are, thus, dysconsciously racist (2.3).

Hashim is differentially viewed by his classmates depending on the treatment he receives from his teachers. With Maria in the classroom, he was almost invisible to them. Seeing Antonia's attention to him, the same children become interested

in him, acknowledge his presence and praise his efforts. At the same time, Hashim's invisibility in Maria's eyes switches to hyper-visibility when his gendered religious identity comes to the fore. Therefore, it seems that Hashim's presence may change from invisible to visible or hyper-visible depending on the teacher's approach, the teacher's assumptions about his abilities or his background, but also his own agency and initiatives.

Several instances of resistance, intentional or not, to racializing discourses and practices become evident in the data. Headteacher Andreas' arrangement for Nane to come to the school (3.5.2), Antonia's adjustment of the curriculum despite structural constraints (7.3), and Hashim's exercise of agency in his attempts to become visible (7.2.1 and 7.2.2), are examples of how the predominant institutional racism effects and everyday racializing discourses and practices may be negotiated and challenged. Hashim's school experience was not limited to being hidden under an invisibility cloak. Because of some teachers' resistance to the exclusionary effects of institutional racism, he also enjoys his teacher's attention; has the advantage to speak his language, albeit not often, with an Arabic speaker; and, to work with some material responding to his level in support lessons.

There is obvious ambivalence between the effects of Maria's and Antonia's interactions with Hashim on his representation and classroom experiences. In terms of similarities in their discourses, Maria and Antonia both state that they aim to make children happy and help them spend their time productively. They both construct teachers, including themselves, as victims of the Ministry's lack of support and criticize it for similar reasons. None of them has had training for intercultural education, diversity issues or racism. However, their practices are different, often contradictory, and have different consequences for Hashim's experience. Maria draws on her critique of the Ministry's lack of support through the insufficient provisions of books, to build her argument that teachers are unable to help minoritized children despite their intentions to do so. Thus, structural constraints become the justification for inactivity. Also critical of the institutional support, the curriculum and the material provisions, Antonia shares

Maria's frustration about teachers having to count only on their own judgement and willingness. Nevertheless, it does not prohibit her from resisting the constraints and finding the time in each lesson to provide Hashim with the personalized teaching she thinks is appropriate.

A factor that could partially explain the different teaching approaches of Maria and Antonia are their years of service. Antonia is at the beginning of her career. Maria, on the other hand, stated that she feels tired after seventeen years of service. Maria's view that personalized teaching with newly-arrived children is not worthwhile is also another possible reason that her classroom practices with minoritized children differ from Antonia's. As opposed to Maria, who argues that the personalized activities that she sometimes does with Hashim are pointless, Antonia considers these to be the least she can do as part of her duty as a teacher. She also argues that personalized teaching is hugely beneficial for minoritized children, who express their gratitude through their love towards the teachers who help them. Perhaps Antonia's experience as a Greek language support teacher as well as a teacher in mainstream classes has provided her with opportunities to develop stronger relationships with the minoritized children and experience their willingness to learn and happiness when they achieve, in a way that Maria cannot.

Overall, it appears that juxtaposing participants' talk about their practices with their teaching practices and their discourses about diversity often creates a complex picture, in which drawing causal links is impossible, and perhaps unhelpful. The analysis revealed different aspects of participants' opinions and understandings; the variability of repertoires that affect their talk about diversity; and, the complex relations between discourse and practice in the context of official institutional monocultural discourses and practical constraints. Nevertheless, the effects of discourses and practices on minoritized children's school experience are clearly evident, and, I would argue, in Hashim's case, racist.

Hashim's differentially racialized, religioned and gendered identity variously shifts his positionality between invisibility and visibility for his classmates and teachers. He remains invisible for the most part, his cultural and ethnic background excluded, yet he is recognized as hyper-visible and rendered non-normative for the same reasons. At the same time, Hashim enjoys educational opportunities, support and encouragement through the teaching practices of Antonia, who, without any specialized training, deals with structural and linguistic barriers and manages to implement a version of intercultural education which, at the end of the day, regardless of which approach it belongs to (2.2), leaves Hashim smiling with content.

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

'As educational researchers, we continue to struggle disgracefully to understand our uncertain world in new ways and persistently demand to be heard when we share our, often disruptive, insights' (A. Edwards, 2002, p. 158).

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis was intended as an ethnographic investigation of intercultural education discourses and everyday practices in a Greek-Cypriot primary school, with a focus on teachers' discursive constructions of diversity and racism and minoritized children's everyday school experiences. The previous chapters identified teachers' repertoires of diversity in Greek-Cypriot society (Chapter 4); their constructions of racism on a social and school level (Chapter 5); the differential racialization processes of minoritized children (Chapter 6); and, a minoritized boy's everyday experiences of intercultural education influenced by the differential practices of two of his teachers (Chapter 7).

This chapter attempts to outline and synthesize the thesis findings and expand on their theoretical and practical implications. Specifically, 8.2 summarizes the preceding chapters according to the research questions they sought to answer. Next, 8.3 brings together and elaborates on the main findings of the thesis, namely essentialist constructions of identity (8.3.1); teachers' constructions of racism through denials, minimizations and justifications (8.3.2); differential racialization processes (8.3.3); operations of racism and the creation of an environment of harassment (8.3.4); and, resistance, ambivalence, contradictions and complexities (8.3.5). The chapter continues with a discussion of the implications of the thesis findings (8.4), and, suggestions for further research (8.5). It ends with some concluding thoughts about the Cypriot context (8.6).

8.2 SUMMARY OF THESIS

Following the Preface, which opened the thesis with a biographical note of the research questions, **Chapter 1** set the context within which the study is located. It described the socio-political and educational levels of Greek-Cypriot society and the international and national fields of multicultural education. A review of relevant research in the areas of diversity and racism in Cypriot education

identified the research gaps which the stated research aim and questions aimed to address.

Chapter 2 provided a historical overview of the developing approaches of multicultural, antiracist and intercultural education along with the main criticisms they received from antiracists, critical theorists the postmodernists. Using the principles of CRT and critical multiculturalism as the point of departure, the chapter then presented the theoretical and conceptual framework for the exploration of the thesis research questions. The chapter explained how the conceptualizations of institutional, colourblind, everyday and dysconscious racisms are particularly suitable for this study. The conceptual tools of differential racialization and intersectionality as a heuristic device are combined in a framework that views identities and racisms as discursively constructed, multiple, shifting, contextually and historically specific, operating through practices and discourses of individuals and institutions. Central is also the conceptualization of racism as the effects of racist discourse, drawn from the field of discursive psychology.

The methodological and analytical frameworks were presented in **Chapter 3,** which located the study within the epistemological framework of social constructionism. It also justified the choice of ethnographic and discursive approaches for the exploration of the thesis questions and the data analysis. The remaining chapter described the school setting, focusing on diversity representation, the implementation of intercultural education at the school, as well as issues of school access, data collection and analysis procedures. My 'identities' as a researcher and the ethical considerations raised throughout the various stages of the research were discussed in detail. The chapter also set out the key analytical concepts, drawn from the field of discursive psychology, namely interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and racism denials.

As the first analytical chapter, **Chapter 4** identified the five interpretative repertoires that emerged from teachers' accounts regarding diversity in Greek-Cypriot society. The chapter discussed how diversity in participants' accounts

was most regularly constructed as inevitable, intolerable, dangerous, while –
only rarely – it was linked to feelings of empathy and described as potentially
beneficial. The chapter argued that the variably and sometimes simultaneously
employed teachers' repertoires included negative stereotypical constructions of
the Other, whether migrant or asylum-seeker.

Chapter 5 analysed teachers' constructions of racism at the levels of Greek-
Cypriot society and children's lives at the school. On a societal level, two
teachers recognized the effects of institutional racism without naming them as
such. Though racism was indirectly acknowledged by other teachers, it was
usually naturalized, minimized, or justified as xenophobia. Denials of racism in
children's lives predominated in teachers' understandings, through colourblind
approaches, normalization and minimization of racializing discourses or
practices, and attribution of responsibility to minoritized children for their
subjection to harassment. The few teachers who recognized racism as present in
children's lives exhibited resistance to discourses of colourblindness, but at the
same time, seemed unable or ill-prepared to intervene successfully to challenge
them. Widespread was also the conceptualization of racism as individual learned
prejudice, shaped by parental and family discourses. None of the participants
appeared to be aware of or take responsibility for the effects of institutional
racism within the school.

Chapter 6 mapped the differential racialization processes of minoritized children
as individuals and groups. It added further layers of analysis to Arun's
racialization in his everyday classroom experience. The analysis also
demonstrated how Eastern European and Iraqi-Palestinian children are
differentially racialized across and in between categories as groups and
individuals. Skin colour, gender, religion, achievement and behaviour act as
contributing factors to the mostly negative, but also positive, racialization
processes through teachers' and children's discourses and practices. Racialized
and ethnicized self-identifications and ascriptions were negotiated, managed and
sometimes challenged through children's exercise of agency. Strategies of

assimilation, violence and resistance were employed variously by some minoritized and majoritized children.

The last analytical chapter, **Chapter 7** focused on data related to Hashim, an Iraqi-Palestinian fourth-grader, in order to to explore his everyday classroom experiences with two of his teachers. The analysis demonstrated the effects that the two teachers' differential treatment of Hashim had on his attainment, his feelings of belonging, and his relations with his classmates. The chapter juxtaposed teachers' discourses about intercultural education and their repertoires of diversity and constructions of the Other with their classroom practices within institutional constraints. The analysis revealed that in some cases, regardless of intentions, teachers' discourses and practices may contribute to the creation of discriminatory environments for minoritized children. At the same time, as Antonia's classroom practices and Hashim's exercise of agency demonstrate, teachers and children may manage and negotiate their positions in order to create the necessary spaces of ambivalence within the curriculum and the classroom, which may allow the inclusion of diversity.

8.3 SYNTHESIS OF THESIS FINDINGS

Having summarized the thesis findings, this section attempts a synthetic look that identifies common themes across different chapters and discusses the findings holistically. It also discusses and interprets the findings in light of the conceptual and theoretical issues introduced in Chapter 2. The discussion draws links with the socio-political (1.2) and educational (1.3) contexts of Greek-Cypriot society and the policy of intercultural education in Greek-Cypriot primary schools (1.4). This section also links the findings with international and Greek-Cypriot literature.

The synthesis of findings across the thesis chapters builds five main arguments. First, that institutional discourses, including intercultural education policy, as well as the discourses of teachers and children are characterized by essentialist constructions of identities (8.3.1). Secondly, that teachers' constructions of racism mainly include denials, minimizations and justifications of racializing discourses and practices (8.3.2). Thirdly, the thesis argues that minoritized

children are differentially racialized due to a variety of factors, through the discourses and practices of the institution, teachers and children (8.3.3). Fourthly, the findings demonstrate how various types of racisms operate within the school setting: institutional, colourblind, everyday and dysconscious. These racisms, along with the racist effects of teachers' and children's discourses, regardless of intentions, contribute to the creation and reproduction of an environment of harassment for minoritized children (8.3.4). Finally, the resistance of some teachers to discourses of colourblindness and racism denial and the negotiation and management of racialized identities by some minoritized and majoritized children indicates that, despite the structural constraints, individuals may still exercise their agency and create spaces of ambivalence that are necessary for change (8.3.5).

8.3.1 ESSENTIALIST CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITIES: 'US' AND 'THEM'

Looking back at the thesis analytical chapters, one can notice that essentialist constructions of 'us' and 'them' are prevalent throughout, particularly in teachers' repertoires of diversity (Chapter 4). Identities and cultures are constructed as fixed, rigid, unchanging and essentialized entities in participants' accounts. Teachers often refer to 'our own' when talking about Greek-Cypriot pupils as opposed to 'the foreign ones', for minoritized pupils. These references were not made with any intention to discriminate, but were considered to be the natural way of distinguishing between 'us/ours' and 'them/theirs' for purposes of communication. According to Theodorou (2010, p. 7), who met identical discourses amongst the Greek-Cypriot teachers she interviewed, regardless of intentionality, such symbolic divisions of group membership 'reveal and perpetuate an emotional and cultural distance in which 'our children' become affiliated with the teachers, and 'the foreign children' by implication signify the people who are unlike 'us''. These divisions, ultimately, determine the insiders and outsiders of Greek-Cypriot society. Additionally, whenever the term 'Cypriots' is used by participants, this is meant as a synonym to Greek-Cypriots, exclusive of Turkish-Cypriots or other minoritized Cypriot citizens. As a result, the myth of ethnic homogeneity is strengthened through the reproduction of a discourse about 'us' as those entitled to exclude the 'others'.

I would suggest that these divisions are strengthened by the institutional discourses, even of intercultural education policy, which constructs newly-arrived children as 'other-language', essentializing language as a major difference between 'us' and 'them' (1.4.2 and 1.4.4). Therefore, it can be argued that institutional discourses about the Other are often reflected in teachers' constructions, which influence their classroom practices and, consequently, the experiences of minoritized children. Though such influences are not linear nor are they necessarily linked through causal relations, they indicate a degree of relation that needs to be examined further. In the case of Hashim, for example, it is clearly demonstrated that Maria's assumptions about diversity and Muslims in particular shape her treatment of the boy within the classroom (7.2.3).

Participants' representations of the Other that were identified in this study include gendered, racialized and religioned constructions of Muslims; gendered, sexualized and ethnicized constructions of Eastern Europeans; and, racialized constructions of black people. Positive constructions of Eastern Europeans were offered only for children, not migrants in general, and referred to their intelligence and linguistic abilities, which were often also racialized and viewed as a potential threat for the maintenance of the Greek-Cypriots' power privileges (6.3). Media representations of the Other, be it Eastern European migrants, Iraqi-Palestinian asylum-seekers, or the Turks, appear to be shaping participants' assumptions. This became particularly evident in teachers' repertoire of fear (4.4) but also teachers' reports of minoritized children's harassment because of their national origin, triggered by media reports of their co-nationals' criminal activities (as in 5.3.3). The findings regarding Greek-Cypriot children's perceptions of migrants and asylum-seekers by Zembylas and Lesta (2010) also point to the negative impact of the media in representations of diversity in Greek-Cypriot society.

In particular, my findings regarding teachers' discourses about diversity and their accompanying essentialist constructions of identities confirm the prevalence of eight out of the nine popular public and media discourses in relation to migrants

and asylum-seekers in Cyprus identified by Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2006, pp. 9-10). These include:

1. Attribution of responsibility for the social problems in Cyprus to the presence of migrant workers. One such example is blaming (Eastern European) female migrants for the breakup of marriages of Cypriot men (4.3).

2. Reflection of metaphorical connections made in the media between migrants and disease, crisis and dirt in teachers' and children's accounts (4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 5.3.4, 6.3.2, 6.4.3).

3. The popular argument relating to the size of semi-occupied Cyprus as too small to absorb the numbers of migrant workers and, more intensely recently, asylum-seekers, used in teachers' accounts to build arguments that justify the observed xenophobia (5.2) and the negative constructions of diversity as an inevitable problem (4.2).

4. Frequent connections of migration to the unresolved Cyprus national problem, which construct Greek-Cypriots' national survival as threatened by the Turkish occupation. From this position emanate arguments against the settlement of foreigners in order to maintain the assumed homogeneous national and religious demographic character (as those expressed in the repertoire of intolerance in 4.3). Whereas the identified repertoire of interest (4.6) in my analysis incorporates the argument that the increasing diversity in the south enhances the dangers of cultural minoritization of Greek-Cypriots already existing due to the presence of Turkis settlers in the north, it proposes that the arrival of migrants and asylum-seekers may prove to be beneficial for Greek-Cypriots. As Angela explained, complete cultural assimilation of migrants and asylum-seekers and their welfare can benefit the demographics of Greek-Cypriots, who have low birth rates.

5. The essentialist construction of 'foreign' or 'alien' cultures and religions as contradictory, essentially different and threatening influences to the Greek-Cypriots' national heritage, culture and values. The repertoire of

fear of losing 'our' identity (4.4) reflects such perceptions. Such discourse fails to contextualize diversity in Cyprus within globalized and multicultural contemporary realities and to historicize the island's population as a mix of the various groups that resided there throughout history.

6. The widespread and unquestioned connection of migrants to criminality, one of the media's popular themes. It is also one of the most popular discourses of right-wing, populist and nationalist politicians and the police. Teachers' repertoire of fear (4.4) gives rise to a variety of such statements. Fear and negative constructions about migrants and asylum-seekers as criminals also predominate Greek-Cypriot children's discourses about migration in the findings of Zembylas and Lesta (2010) and Spyrou (2006c).

7. Asylum-seekers' and 'illegal immigrants'' xenophobic constructions as particularly threatening as a whole in combination with sympathetic constructions when the media portray stories of disadvantaged individuals and families. This ambivalence is most characteristically expressed in the simultaneous use of repertoires with contradictory implications, such as Nicoleta's and Antonia's deployment of both the repertoire of intolerance (4.3) and empathy (4.5).

8. Reflection of the rare reports by the media, mostly following Cyprus' accession to the EU, regarding migrants' and asylum-seekers' ill-treatment by their employers and the police. Only two teachers showed awareness of such facts (5.2), indicating the penetration of institutional racism in all levels of society.

A discourse identified by Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2006) that did not manifest extensively in my findings is the connection of migration with unemployment, referred to as 'welfare-chauvinism' or 'jobstealing frame'. A possible explanation is that teachers' jobs are very far from being threatened by minoritized groups, as only Greek-Cypriot and Greek qualified citizens are entitled to work as teachers in Greek-Cypriot schools. It is expected that this

discourse would have been predominant in teachers' accounts had the data been collected after the global economic crisis and the increase of asylum-seekers' arrivals in Cyprus, as these have made such discourses increasingly popular.

8.3.2 TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACISM: DENIALS, MINIMIZATIONS AND JUSTIFICATIONS

The racism denials and minimizations so frequently identified in teachers' discourses signify the participants' awareness of the public condemnation of racism declarations in public discourses, particularly from professionals such as teachers. Such rhetorical devices for racism denial have been identified across different national contexts such as the Netherlands (van Dijk, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2002), Britain (Billig, 1997a, 1997b; Billig et al., 1988; Frosh et al., 2000; Reeves, 1983), the US (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2006; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Picower, 2009; Vaught & Castagno, 2008), Canada (Raby, 2004; Ringrose, 2007; Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005), New Zealand (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), Australia (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Augoustinos et al., 2005; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, 1999; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Sale, 1999; M. Rapley, 2001), South Africa (Barnes et al., 2001), and, across countries (Condor et al., 2006). Though context-specific and flexibly articulated, similarity of such rhetorical devices, including those identified in this study, points to the 'power and robustness of these discursive practices in their function of justifying and legitimating majority oppression of minority groups' (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001, p. 228).

In addition to the predominance of racism denials, some teachers' accounts included declarations and justifications of racism which were often constructed as 'xenophobia' rather than 'racism'. Justifications of racism and xenophobia (5.2) reflect the repertoires of intolerance (4.3) and fear (4.4), as they include similar negative representations of the Other. Zembylas (in press) explains similar justifications and contributions to racialized actions that Greek-Cypriot teachers in his research offered with the adaptation of racism to new ideologies and contexts, such as the ethnic conflict in Cyprus. This context frames discourses with assumptions about racial and ethnic superiority for security and

national survival, leading teachers to acceptance of the status quo and failure to recognize the way everyday and institutional racism operates, or their own dysconscious racism and colourblindness (2.3).

The thesis findings, particularly of Chapter 5, demonstrate that the majority of teachers' understandings of racism in children's lives include racism denials, normalizations and minimizations, and conceptualizations of racism as a pathologizing, universal, individual attribute. Such understandings render them incapable of recognizing and intervening to challenge racialized discourses and practices. Thus, they contribute to their reproduction, albeit unwittingly and indirectly. The denial of racism in children's lives is expressed in four ways: construction of children's relations as colourblind (5.3.1); normalization of racialized name calling (5.3.2); minimization of the significance of racialized incidents and discourses (5.3.3); and, attribution of the responsibility for harassment to minoritized children (5.3.4). When children's racialized relations are recognized as such, they are blamed on the family influence through imitation of parents' discourses (5.4.2), or are dealt with through unsuccessful interventions, which fail to target racism in its multiple shifting forms (5.4.1).

The widespread understanding of racism as non-existent in children's lives among the participants becomes highly problematic in light of international research findings, which confirm the wide acceptance of the fact that racism intersects in children's lives 'in a flood of elaborate, blatant, and subtle ways – from the definition of identity and self, to the performance of hurtful practices, to various articulations of dominant group power' (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001, p. 198). For example, Rizvi's (1993) research in Australia found that children are exposed to racially constructed images of social relations and engage in certain ideological practices of popular racism before beginning school. Phoenix (1997b) similarly argues that race and ethnicity are features of everyday life from early childhood. More recently, having reviewed several studies of racism in children's lives in Britain, the USA and Canada, Phoenix (2010) emphasizes their common finding that race and ethnicity are often salient in children's lives from a very early age through processes of racialization and ethnicization.

The non-passive way in which children receive and use racist ideologies was also pointed out by Troyna and Hatcher (1992a), who also argued that the power of racism in children's lives lies in its ability to provide ways through which children 'make sense' of everyday life circumstances and problems, as it places children's perceptions in the broader ideological constructions of national identity (p. 113). Additionally, Connolly (1998b), in his qualitative study on racism and gender identities in a multi-ethnic, inner-city school in Britain, came to the conclusion that even six-year-olds are able to appropriate, rework and reproduce discourses on 'race' and act as strategic agents. From a social psychology perspective, Wetherell (1996) argues that children's discourse about race as an important social division is a product of the incorporation of their culture's narratives in order to construct their self-understanding. Such findings are confirmed by this study, as the racialization processes identified in Chapter 6 and the racialized discourses and practices reported by teachers in Chapter 5, indicate that children's relations at the school I researched are far from colourblind.

More specifically, teachers' assumption that the racialized name calling they observe is *not* racism (5.3) contradicts the findings of numerous researchers who explored name calling practices, the intentions behind them, their effects, and possible interventions to challenge them. Troyna and Hatcher (1992a) found that the most common expression of ideas of race and racism in children's lives is name calling, which was analysed further by Hatcher (1995) and confirmed by other studies in Europe and North America (Aboud, 2009; Connolly, 1994; Connolly & Keenan, 2002; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Devine et al., 2008; Wessler & De Andrade, 2006; Zec, 1993). Reactions to racial slurs depend on the interpretation of each situation by those involved (Essed, 1997). If teachers like Stella, Andreas and Yiorgos (5.3), view the incidents in which Arun or other minoritized children are subjected to racialized harassment as *not* racist and as a normal part of children's interactions, then, I would argue, they will most probably *not* intervene to challenge them.

A few teachers recognize that racism negatively affects the experience of minoritized groups in the Greek-Cypriot society, although they do not necessarily

name them as such (5.2). Most participants' constructions were characterized by a complete silence about institutional racism, as there were no references, signs of awareness or understanding of its processes in the educational context. The adoption of such colourblind approaches by many teachers and policy-makers, who tend to treat everyone alike, is not surprising, considering the political nature of many of the problems that arise in the fight against racism (Gillborn, 1990) – particularly the stigma attached to being perceived as racist. The inspiring auto-ethnographic research of Pearce (2005) based on her diaries of five years as a White teacher at a multiethnic school, describes her journey from colourblindness to colour-cognition and shows the tremendous efforts required in this process.

When racism is acknowledged by participants, it is usually constructed as an individual learned prejudice through the assumption that children 'unconsciously' imitate their 'racist' parents' discourses (5.4.2). Regardless of whether they understand all meanings attached to them, however, by repeating racist statements of adults, children learn how intergroup relations are constructed (Wetherell, 1996). The emergence of the construction of racism as individual learned prejudice is similar to Ryan's (2003) findings that the few Canadian headteachers who acknowledged the presence of racism, saw it as a matter of individual prejudice. Furthermore, children's agency and their ability to negotiate, challenge and produce racialized discourses they encounter in their environments were denied in teachers' constructions. Combined with colourblind approaches, neglecting children's agency reproduces 'static and essentialist notions of children, 'race', ethnicity and gender' and does not enable the necessary changes to be made (Phoenix, 2000, p. 96).

Teachers argue that the power of parents' influence upon their children's discourses and practices is too significant to be challenged. The few attempts of educational interventions to challenge children's racialized relations were problematic as they ignored issues of institutional racism and power relations and were based on a conceptualization of racism as individual prejudice. As we saw, Stella's intervention shifted the racialization of Arun's skin colour as dirty, to

a discourse related to poverty and pity (5.4.1). At the same time, teachers indirectly and, sometimes, explicitly, free themselves of the responsibility to act, as they construct themselves as powerless in front of the family influences. Such assumptions are also found in multiculturalist approaches which attempt to challenge racism based on the assumption that it consists of 'learned attitudes' (2.2.1). They are problematic as they essentialize racism as an attribute of the 'prejudiced/racist individual' and consider it to be 'a relatively coherent cognitive set of attitudes and beliefs which can be transmitted, learned (and potentially unlearned)' (Archer, 2003, p. 112). However, dealing only with individualized notions of prejudice, fails to deal with racism (Phoenix, 1998). In Wetherell and Potter's (1992, p. 217) words, 'the psychologizing of racism seems to misplace the problem'.

Participants' arguments that racism/prejudice are individual attributes, learned from parents or inherent in all of us, natural, unchangeable, inevitable and universal, belong to the social-cognitive and self-categorization theory approaches in psychology regarding prejudice. Such constructions in effect minimize and deny the responsibility of institutions. As Billig (1991, p. 137) explains,

> '[b]y equating 'prejudice' or 'racism' with individual psychological states, 'institutional racism' becomes a logical impossibility: for how can institutions harbour irrational hatreds? By making institutional racism an impossibility in theory, this sort of discourse justifies it in practice'.

Teachers' constructions of racism in children's lives as non-existent or as a matter of individual prejudice reflect institutional discourses. The term racism is almost completely absent from the Ministry's policy documents of intercultural education (1.4.3), which I would argue is related to the teachers' constructions. Also, the Ministry's response to the identification of discriminatory teachers' practices by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006) attributed such discourses to each individual teachers' stances and assumptions, constructing racism as an individualistic prejudice of the few, denying thus the possibility that it affects minoritized children's school experiences.

8.3.3 DIFFERENTIAL RACIALIZATION PROCESSES

Minoritized children become differentially racialized, through the complex interplay of the shifting intersections of factors such as national origin, religion, gender, skin colour, social class, achievement, and time of arrival, producing racialized, ethnicized, classed, gendered and religioned representations. Such findings confirm those of similar studies in the UK (Archer & Francis, 2005b; Connolly, 1998b; Phoenix, 1997b, 2002, 2009; Troyna & Hatcher, 1992a; Youdell, 2006) and the US (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001) asserting the gendered and classed racialization and ethnicization of children's identities from a young age. Minoritized children are racialized in predominantly negative ways, while positive racialization constructions function to confirm the rule of the negative ones.

This thesis demonstrates that teachers and children, both majoritized and minoritized, act as racializing agents, who, regardless of their intentions, through their colourblind approaches and constructions of racism contribute to the racialization and ethnicization of minoritized children. The stereotypical gendered racialized constructions of minoritized groups identified in teachers' constructions of the Other as they emerge from their repertoires of diversity (Chapter 4) are reflected in the constructions of minoritized children in 6.3. Eastern Europeans and Muslims are constructed in essentialist and negative ways in Chapters 6 and 7. Teachers' repertoire of intolerance (4.3) particularly contributes to the racialization of Iraqi-Palestinians/Muslims as the ultimate Other within the school population and provides justifications for the observed segregation in the playground.

Skin colour appears to have particular significance as a factor for differential racialization, as incidents related to visibly minoritized pupils Arun (5.3, 5.4, 6.2) and Ahmed (5.3 and 5.4) because of their darker skin colour are often reported, but also deracialized by teachers. Furthermore, reference to the Cypriots' lack of preparedness to 'accept' a black bride in an Orthodox church by Headteacher Anna (4.3) indicates the important position that skin colour holds in Greek-Cypriot discourses of the Other. Ascribed dirtiness appears to be another

common racializing factor, usually, but not necessarily, linked to darker skin colours. However, before the arrival of Iraqi-Palestinians, for whom it was widely used (6.5.3, 6.4.3), constructions about minoritized children as dirty were evident in discourses about and exclusion of Eastern European girls (6.3.2), though at a lesser extent and not as generally applied as for the Iraqi-Palestinians.

The shifting racialization processes and racisms are particularly evident through the constructions of Eastern European children, who, after the arrival of Iraqi-Palestinians in 2008, become like 'our own', despite being the 'only' Other within the school population some years before. Similarly to McCall's (2005, p. 1791) findings, the differential racialization processes identified in the analysis of this study demonstrate that 'no single dimension of overall inequality can adequately describe the full structure of multiple, intersecting, and conflicting dimensions of inequality'. What matters, Archer (2003, p. 157) argues in her study of Muslim boys in England, is that 'particular discourses, conceptualizations, assumptions and stereotypes' about minoritized children may have real effects and implications for their school experience. These are discussed below.

8.3.4 OPERATIONS OF RACISM: CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT OF HARASSMENT

As discussed above, the analysis in this thesis demonstrates that there is a predominant denial of racism on a policy, institutional, school and teacher discourse level (1.4.3, 5.2, 5.3), while, at the same time, there is evidence of differential racialization processes (Chapter 6), institutional and everyday racism operations (6.6), teachers' dysconscious racism (for example, 7.2) and colourblindness (5.3.1).

Institutional racism and racialization processes operate throughout the societal and school levels, entering structural and everyday aspects of school and classroom life. They involve teachers and children who, albeit unintentionally, contribute to its reproduction through their discourses and practices, in an institutionally monocultural, nationalistic and exclusionary education and school environment (1.3). Combined with intercultural education policies and practices

which construct diversity as a deficiency and promote assimilatory practices and stereotypical 'celebrations of diversity' (1.4.3 and 2.2.1), institutional racism affects minoritized children in different ways depending on their positionality. Teachers' inability to challenge racism and everyday racialization processes have implications for minoritized children, who are affected negatively in terms of their achievement, self-esteem, wellbeing and success.

As a consequence, I would argue, many minoritized children at differential degrees, experience school in an environment of harassment which is created, maintained, and reproduced by institutional and individual everyday discourses and practices. The environment of harassment is a suitable concept for describing the racialized and racializing context within which many minoritized children experience school as demonstrated by the thesis findings. It may include name calling incidents but also violent physical assaults and other types of subtle and indirect forms of behaviour, including racist graffiti, jokes, wearing racist badges, denial or ridiculing of cultural differences, exclusion from group games, and teasing children because of their accent (Connolly & Keenan, 2002). It involves intimidation, degradation and humiliation as the consequences of racist harassment behaviour, and implicates broader structures and institutions instead of just the motivations and actions of individuals (ibid.).

As evident in the racialized incidents and discourses reported by participants, representative of a plethora of similar instances collected during my fieldwork, it appears that racialized name calling is regularly employed at the school I researched. Processes of everyday racism (Essed, 1991) are identified in minoritized children's school experience, operating through the environment of harassment that is constructed and reproduced by institutional and individual discourses. The frequency of the verbal harassment and ridicule of Arun (5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, 5.4.1), Ahmed (5.3.4, 5.4.1), Vasilis (6.5.2), Abdul and Noor (6.5.3), and other minoritized children points to an obvious familiarity with and repetition of practices with racist implications. Consequently, the unequal relations between Greek-Cypriot and minoritized children are reinforced through these routine everyday practices, consisting of everyday racism operations.

The effects of racialized name calling and teasing that minoritized children are subjected to can be devastating on their sense of self. As Wessler and De Andrade (2006) state about the impact of racist language on students of colour in the US, minoritized children experience emotions of fear, anger, embarrassment, discomfort, and isolation, which they do not always articulate, as some of them develop acceptance of and resignation towards such hostile environments. Aboud (2009) also states that children become so used to witnessing intergroup bullying that they rarely report it and it thus remains unchallenged. Being the object of racialized name-calling was often the first, often shocking, painful and life-changing, memory of awareness of racism for many black and mixed-parentage young people in a study in England (Phoenix, 2005). The dehumanizing effects that racialized name calling and discourses on young people's self-esteem were also evident through the accounts of the Muslim teenage boys in Archer's (2003) study. Speaking both as a researcher and a woman of colour, Essed (2004, p. 125) describes how experiences of discrimination

> 'could eat at your heart, chip away at your self-confidence, cause anger that had to be repressed, could cloud your mind in circular thinking of how you should have responded differently, how you should have challenged the perpetrator, but did not...'

It is not difficult to imagine children like Ahmed, Arun, Vasilis, Noor and Abdul having similar thoughts and feelings when subjected to name calling or other forms of harassment. Minoritized children's school experience, as portrayed in the data analysed in this thesis, is most probably having a negative effect on their self-esteem.

It becomes apparent that the lack of antiracist policies at the school (1.4.3), in combination with the monoculturalism and hellenocentrism of the hidden and official curricula, the dominance of Orthodox Christianity in everyday school life (1.3), teachers' understandings of racism in children's lives (5.3 and 5.4), the stereotypical and essentialist assumptions in their repertoires of otherness

(Chapter 4), and children's racialized name calling practices (Chapters 5 and 6) contribute to the construction and maintenance of an environment of harassment for minoritized children that is racist and discriminatory. While no generalizations can be drawn, considering the similarities between Greek-Cypriot schools on a policy and curriculum level and the lack of intercultural teacher training, I would argue that it is highly unlikely that the minoritized children mentioned in this thesis are the only ones experiencing school in an environment of harassment.

8.3.5   RESISTANCE, AMBIVALENCE, CONTRADICTIONS AND COMPLEXITIES

Contradictions, complexities and ambivalences are identified in teachers' discourses and practices. The same is evident for children in terms of their discourses and their differential reactions to the racialized harassment they may be experiencing – ranging from silence to violence (6.5). Teachers' repertoires about diversity (Chapter 4) confirm Wetherell and Potter's (1992) finding that people's talk is fragmentary and dilemmatic, evidence of the fact that people do not hold enduring, stable, cognitive 'attitudes' about diversity. Even contradictory repertoires are simultaneously deployed, indicating the variability and the ideological dilemmas facing Greek-Cypriot teachers when trying to make sense of diversity and multiculturalism in schools and society.

Furthermore, though few, resistance instances to the predominant institutional and everyday racializing discourses and practices are identified, both by teachers and children. Resistance is manifested through teachers' employment of the repertoire of empathy (4.5), subtle awareness of institutional racism (5.2), recognition of children's racialized relations, challenging colourblind assumptions (5.4.1), and, through surpassing structural and time constraints to adjust the curriculum in order to include minoritized children (7.3). Minoritized children's assimilation, resistance and negotiation of racialized ascriptions strategies (6.4.2, 6.5.1 and 6.5.2), majoritized children's challenging of racialized name calling practices (6.5.3), and Hashim's efforts to break out of his invisibility (7.2.1), though infrequent and isolated, are examples of resistance on behalf of the children.

Juxtaposing teachers' talk about diversity and racism with their practices reveals that these are not necessarily in agreement. The emerging ambivalences and contradictions demonstrate that individuals are not 'racist' or 'not racist' (3.8.1). Their discourses and practices are complex and ambivalent, often contradictory, and may result in racist effects. Teachers can be colourblind and dysconsciously racist and thus contribute to institutional and everyday racism and to children's racialization and discrimination, regardless of their intentions. Similarly, Gillborn's (1990) early ethnographic research in multi-ethnic secondary schools showed that, despite their intentions, teachers' actions had racist effects on the lives of their Afro-Caribbean pupils. As Phoenix (2001) explains, even unintentional teacher racism, may affect the learning opportunities for young children in ways that are complicated and difficult to identify because of the intersections of gender with ethnicization and racialization, and thus contribute to the persistence of racialized, gendered educational inequalities.

Antonia's case is indicative of the complexities, ambivalences and contradictions embedded in everyday racialization and ethnicization processes, but also acts of resistance. Her discourses and practices combine the repertoires of intolerance (4.3) and empathy (4.5) with awareness of structural inequalities (5.2), recognition and simultaneous minimization of teacher racism (5.3.3), and adjustment of the curriculum and her teaching practices in order to include Hashim in the classroom on equal terms to the rest of her pupils (7.3). Motivated by her empathy towards children who are 'sitting doing nothing', Antonia resists the constraints imposed on her everyday teaching practices by the institutional structures.

Recognition of such contextualized contradictions, ambivalences, resistance and variability in teachers' and children's discourses and practices casts doubts on simplistic models according to which individuals hold uncontradictory and rigid beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes which are translated into discriminatory practices and lead to inequalities (Rattansi, 1992). As this thesis shows, it is precisely such ambivalences and contradictions that provide evidence of the

individuals' power of agency and create the necessary spaces where resistance may be further cultivated.

8.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

> 'what is posed in Cyprus is the challenge of an increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse society, over and above the ethnic divisions between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots' (Anthias, 2000, p. 35).

This section attempts to provide a closure to this thesis by discussing the implications of the findings in relation to the wider social and educational levels.

8.4.1 WIDER SOCIAL LEVEL

While the circumstances and individuals' and groups' experiences described in this study are not generalizable to the whole educational system and people living in Cyprus, they do point to certain reflections of the structural into the everyday. On the Greek-Cypriot socio-political context, then, the question arises whether the inhabitants of Cyprus, whether Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots, refugees, or migrants, will manage to live by and within Gilroy's (2004, p. xi) idea of conviviality: 'the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life'. It seems to me that a society where the media and some politicians deal far more with the specificities of Jennifer Lopez's potential visit to the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' and its political consequences (Reuters, 2010) than with the essence of the political negotiations between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, may have not reached that stage as yet.

On the contrary, as I complete this thesis, Cyprus and the town of Larnaca specifically, where the majority of asylum-seekers reside, has seen 'peaceful' demonstrations against 'illegal immigrants' turn into bloody and violent clashes with migrants and asylum-seekers and their few Greek-Cypriot supporters during a multicultural festival at the sea front in November 2010 (Agathocleous, 2010). The incidents sparked intense debates in the media, with right-wing populist politicians, leftist government representatives, the police, NGOs, ministers and neo-fascist youth groups. Extreme views are published in internet blogs, newspapers, TV and the radio, while few calm voices suggest avoidance of the

clashes (see, for example, The Cyprus Mail, 2010). As a positive outcome, however, the constitutional law again racially motivated crimes is currently under examination by the Parliament, in order to be reinforced.

It appears then, that, due to such socio-political developments, the contribution of this thesis may be more significant than it initially aspired, as the Iraqi-Palestinian children talked about in this thesis live in neighbourhoods where the walls, including those of churches, schools and mosques, have been sprayed in blue with slogans such as FOREIGNERS OUT (ΕΞΩ ΟΙ ΞΕΝΟΙ) and MUSLIM OUT (ΜΟΥΣΟΥΛΜΑΝΕ ΕΞΩ) and with the name and symbols of the organized and increasingly supported nationalist group ELAM (Greek National People's Front http://www.elamcy.com/). At the same time, the global economic crisis, is beginning to take its toll in Cypriot economy, leading several people to economical frustration and unemployment, making them particularly vulnerable to the populist right-wing politicians and neo-fascist youth groups.

As seen in 1.2, my findings are situated in a social context where the recent but also historical developments of globalization, migration, the Cyprus problem and the partial lifting of restrictions of movement between north and south greatly affect people's everyday experiences and interactions. In the near future, Angelos (Greek-Cypriot) and Ferrah (Turkish-Cypriot) might be joined for coffee by Iraqi-Palestinians Racha and Abdullah, which will further complexify the process of ordering coffee as 'Greek', 'Turkish', or 'Arabic' from a Ukrainian waiter. It is precisely these disagreements at an everyday level, and, on a wider political and social level, that need to be addressed through intercultural education, so that all, as *Cypriots,* will potentially find it easier to order 'Cypriot' coffee.

8.4.2 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
It appears that significant changes need to take place for intercultural education discourses and practices of Greek-Cypriot primary education to approach the principles of CRT and critical multiculturalism regarding challenging the multiple context-specific, shifting racisms (2.2.3). Intercultural education needs to move from the contributions and additive approaches to a more critical approach

(1.4.4), taking into consideration the shifting multiplicity of identities and intersecting differential racisms, addressing all children and identifying and challenging inequalities on structural and interpersonal levels. A step to this direction, at least on a policy level, is expected to happen with the dissemination of the Ministry's new publications and potential change in intercultural education discourses and practices (1.4.4).

Vaught and Castagno's (2008) ethnographic research in the US showed that teachers' racial attitudes, after anti-bias in-service training, reflected the larger structural racism which informed and reinforced these attitudes and their consequences in practice; they concluded that without structural transformation racism will only be further rooted in education. Holistic institutional approaches engaging with complex theorizations of racisms in order to address inequalities within schools are necessary, as racisms are linked with identities, subjectivities and emotions shaped by a variety of intersectional factors, which make racist discourses resistant to rational approaches and interventions (Archer, 2003). This further highlights the need to examine the specificities of the racializing discourses and processes in each context before embarking on efforts to undermine them. Consequently, providing practical recommendations to teachers and policymakers following the completion of a study can be highly problematic, and so is suggesting a clear and defined piece of knowledge about specific minoritized groups (Archer, 2003). Instead, to paraphrase Archer (2003, p. 156), the aim of this thesis is to help readers rethink and challenge both their own and dominant ways of understanding diversity, racism, and minoritized groups in Cyprus. Considering the fast pace with which racist discourses and incidents are developing in late 2010, this is a necessity.

Examining the Irish context, Bryan (2009) concludes that by abnormalizing diversity and reinforcing the otherness of minority students, misrepresenting or ignoring their cultural identities, and reinforcing false assumptions about racism and diversity, intercultural education policies and practices become a form of symbolic violence which reproduces power relations and racism. To avoid

continuation of similar consequences in Cyprus, suggestions are made for large-scale structural transformations in the educational system in terms of changes in the curricula, the educational goals, philosophies and pedagogies, educational material, and the political will for social change in order for racist and nationalist discourses and practices to be deconstructed (Zembylas, in press).

In an investigation of antiracist education in British secondary schools, Gillborn (1995) found that Headteachers, teachers and students were able to collaborate effectively towards antiracist developments. Such findings highlight the importance of the teachers' role in the process of challenging racism. The teachers' role as political actors is widely acknowledged (Aguado & Malik, 2001; Bartolome, 2008; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Delors, 1996; Gundara, 2000; Pearce, 2005; Starkey, 2007; Wilkins, 2001). In accordance with this literature, and based on this thesis findings, teacher education is one of the areas where change should necessarily be incorporated.

Phtiaka (2002) emphasizes that Greek-Cypriot teachers need to be prepared to teach Greek-Cypriot pupils who will have to live with Turkish-Cypriots, possibly in a bizonal, bicommunal federation within the EU, in a global setting. Action research with Greek-Cypriot student teachers, shows ways through which emotions of anger, historical trauma, shame, and ambivalence towards the Turks and Turkish-Cypriots may be used constructively in the classroom in order to promote social justice within the frameworks of peace and intercultural education (Zembylas, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008). Zembylas' work particularly shows the potential of teacher training that identifies and takes advantage of the spaces of ambivalence in teachers' discourses and practices, such as those identified by my analysis, in challenging and altering predominant nationalist and racist ideologies and discourses. I would add that diversity issues are no longer limited to the relations between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, but have expanded dramatically and concern migrants and asylum-seekers from a variety of backgrounds.

Designing and implementing teacher education for Greek-Cypriot teachers could benefit from the findings of a number of teacher educators internationally, who have looked into the preparation of student teachers for education for diversity (Conteh, 2003; Leeman & Ledoux, 2003; Nieto, 1999; Sleeter, 2008; Tomlinson, 2008). They also explored student teachers' perceptions of diversity, race, and their own racial identities (Housee, 2008; King, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Solorzano & Yosso, 2008; Wilkins, 2001), and highlighted the prevalence of colourblindness (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Marx, 2006) and issues of Whiteness (Sleeter, 2001).

As for the implementation of intercultural education on a school level, the thesis findings related to the presence of Nane at the school and the beneficial effects for minoritized children's school experience (3.5.2) indicate the huge significance that an interpreter has for newly-arrived children, their families and teachers. Having someone who speaks the children's first language assists home-school communication and is vital for the self-esteem, feeling of belonging, and adjustment of linguistically minoritized groups. I would suggest that interpreters are a necessary step for all foreign languages that are met in Greek-Cypriot schools. As a further step, the Ministry could facilitate the learning of the most commonly met foreign languages in Cyprus by providing incentives for teachers to learn them. Those teachers could then be strategically placed at the schools with the most needs for each language. The curriculum could also be adjusted to include the compulsory teaching of these languages in addition to Greek and English.

Also on a school level, the development and implementation of antiracist policies is highly urgent. A policy banning use of racialized discourses and reporting of racialized incidents should be combined with in-depth examination of the causes and consequences of existing phenomena. Importantly, particular attention needs to be paid to reactions of physical retaliation of minoritized children to any form of harassment, with a focus on their causes, in order to reach some understandings of racialization processes in education (Phoenix, 2002).

A significant suggestion based on the findings of this study relates to the development of teacher networks. The lack of preparation of teachers for work in multicultural classrooms, their feelings of isolation and powerlessness, their ignorance or denial of institutional and other forms of racism, and, the lack of support by the Ministry in terms of teaching materials and context-specific guidelines for intercultural education, make the creation and development of supportive networks for teachers a necessity. Coming together with teachers sharing similar concerns and experiences, with the involvement of researchers, academics, parents and group representatives, could prove to be a much faster and more constructive way than the educational reform that is about to begin (1.3). One such example is the Association of Historical Dialogue and Research (http://www.cyprus-tube.com/historical-dialogue/), an NGO which brings together history educators and researchers from the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities. Through teacher training seminars, research projects and other activities, it works to promote multiperspectivity in history teaching as a way of promoting peace, stability, democracy and critical thinking. Collaboration with this organization and development of others, with a focus on issues of diversity and racism within a context-specific intercultural education framework is crucial, particularly if the educational structures remain unchanged.

8.5   SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Deciding which changes will contribute to the promotion of equality for all children, regardless of origin, gender or social classs, is extremely complex and 'clearly not a matter of 'changing attitudes', but of understanding how, so early, children come to be positioned in ways which can cumulatively disadvantage them through intersections of 'race', gender and social classs, even when teachers do not intend this to happen' (Phoenix, 1997b, p. 14). My research enables us to understand to a greater extent how the complex racialization processes operate in Greek-Cypriot primary schools, attended by children from various backgrounds. This study developed from previous research in the field towards the identification of the newly emerging differentially racialized

constructions of minoritized groups, through intercultural education policy discourses and teachers' and children's discourses and everyday practices.

The complexities of the intersections of racialization with other forms of differentiation require that the shifting commonalities and differences between individuals from differentially constructed groups need to be considered in order to map the present inequalities and move towards greater equality and justice (Phoenix, 2002). To this aim, this study identified the contextual specificities of racialization in a Greek-Cypriot primary school, taking an intersectional approach in order to incorporate the various constructions of social divisions, inequalities and racisms.

Already developing research projects are expected to advance further our understanding of issues of diversity and racism in Greek-Cypriot education and wider society. Zembylas and his colleagues (2010 in press; in press) are investigating teachers' repertoires and practices of reconciliation between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots following the introduction of a policy promoting peaceful co-existence. Another project carried out at the European University of Cyprus aims to explore the nature and causes of students' views and experiences with racism and ethnic out-groups in Cyprus (Center for the Study of Childhood and Adolescence, 2010). Advantages of both these projects are the inclusion of various age groups and private and state schools across Cyprus among their samples, and, the incorporation of quantitative, qualitative and action research methodologies.

Further research could develop the findings of this thesis through:

- Detailed analysis of children's relations in primary and secondary schools with similar population demographics, particularly Eastern European/Christian and Arab/Muslim groups, in order to develop further understandings of national origin and religion as racializing factors across groups, but also resistance and negotiation strategies.
- Examination of the links between the representations of the Turks and those of other Muslims in Cyprus in order to shed light to the

intersections between the historically racialized and ethnicized Other and the racialization and ethnicization processes of Muslim migrants and asylum-seekers in contemporary Greek-Cypriot society.

- Comparison between popular constructions and the educational experiences of particular minoritized groups in Cyprus with their constructions and experiences internationally (for example, Roma, asylum-seekers, Pontians). Such analysis could focus on intercultural education policies and examples of good practice in similar contexts and provide insights useful for the Cypriot realities.

- Longitudinal case studies of specific minoritized children regarding their experience of schooling in Cyprus. Taking an ethnographic approach methodologically and an intersectional analytically, such research may explore the complex ways in which each case is uniquely positioned across social divisions through time and draw links to the structural level.

- Action research with teachers-volunteers, which could simultaneously produce data for the analysis of racialization processes, create in-service teacher training opportunities, and provide empowering opportunities for all children. Such studies could eventually produce context-specific guidelines of good practice of intercultural education in Cyprus. Already, several teachers are engaged in fruitful work with minoritized children in ZEP schools in deprived areas of Cyprus (1.4.1).

- Large-scale quantitative research could be combined with in-depth qualitative ethnographic projects in order to produce more generalizable findings regarding intercultural education and racialization processes in Cyprus.

- As the new curricula will be enacted from September 2011 (see 1.4.4), bringing changes in the timetable, aims and teaching material, future research could investigate their implications in terms of intercultural education implementation, teaching of Greek as second language and inclusion of diversity.

Future studies would complement the findings of this study, and most importantly, generate new questions and hypotheses for examination. Once racialization and racism operation patterns are identified on a larger scale, policymakers, teacher educators and teachers will be enabled to design and implement the appropriate interventions to challenge them.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that intercultural education for minoritized children in the Greek-Cypriot primary school that I researched is implemented in a context where:

- teachers, affected by media representation, draw on a variety of repertoires regarding diversity which construct the Other, particularly Muslims, in predominantly essentialist and negative ways (Chapter 4);
- institutional, teachers' and children's discourses and everyday practices contribute to the differential ethnicized, gendered, and religioned racialization of minoritized children as individuals and groups (Chapter 6);
- institutional policies and teachers' discourses and everyday practices of intercultural education racialize and exclude minoritized children, regardless of intentions (Chapters 6 and 7);
- institutional, colourblind, everyday and dysconscious racisms operate in various ways and at various levels, negatively affecting the experiences of minoritized and majoritized groups and individuals (Chapters 6 and 7); as a result, many minoritzed children experience school in an environment of harassment (Chapters 5, 6, 7);
- institutional and teachers' constructions and denials of racism inhibit them from recognizing, intervening and challenging racializing discourses and practices and their effects (Chapters 5 and 6);
- the nuances and contradictions identified in teachers' discourses and practices, signifying the complexity and ambivalence inherent in racialization processes, demonstrating that individuals cannot be labeled as 'racist' or 'not racist' (Chapters 4 and 7);

- some individuals, teachers and children, exercise their agency, resist the dominant racist discourses and negotiate racialization processes.

The findings demonstrate that intercultural education in Cyprus does not address institutional racism and inequalities, due to the prevalent monoculturalism in the discriminatory educational system; teachers' inability to recognize racisms and intervene; and, their repertoires of diversity which produce essentialist constructions of 'us' and 'them'. Within this context, minoritized children are differentially racialized and experience school in an environment of harassment through institutional and everyday forms of racism. The rare instances of resistance by teachers to the predominant colourblindness assumptions and structural constraints and by children to racialized discourses and incidents emerge as spaces of ambivalence which may be explored further in order to become the opportunities for the promotion of awareness and challenging the effects of the various racisms.

As I am now back in primary school classrooms after five years of conducting this study, I realize that the intercultural education recipes I once set out to find do not exist. Carrying with me the knowledge and the insights gained from my doctoral research in London, having been taught by my teacher participants, and bringing with me the recent life experiences that have shaped my worldview, I can only hope that my findings will, first of all, help me become a better teacher, and possibly others. If even a few teachers or children are discouraged from supporting or parading next to the newly emerging neo-fascist groups against migrants and asylum-seekers, then this thesis will have accomplished its most important purpose, which is to contribute to the cultivation of self-reflection in individuals and promote respect for all. In the words of Maria, Hashim's teacher, teachers can only continue the lonely struggle for the better:

> Well what can I tell you Elena darling? In the end the teachers, whatever change happens, *whatever* change happens, us teachers, we accept it. We will work. We are always with the doubt whether we are doing the right thing or whether we are doing the wrong thing. *Always*, permanently. Well, and the teacher gets along, on their own. They are

on their own that they get along, the teachers. Completely alone. From their good heart and consciousness.

It is my aim that through the dissemination of this thesis' findings, teachers will feel less alone and will be encouraged to develop supportive networks for intercultural education, participate in voluntary teacher training opportunities, and share examples of good practice. Of course, such developments need to be supported by the required structural transformations in schools, policy, curriculum and pedagogy. The consequences, hopefully, will involve more smiles from more children.

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10 APPENDICES

10.1 PUPIL POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS

'Foreign' means one or both of the child's parents are non-Greek-Cypriot. The school did not provide me with more detailed data.

National origin	Infants 2007	Juniors 2007	Infants 2008	Juniors 2008
Greek-Cypriot (both parents)	88 (51%)	140 (74%)	66 (46%)	146 (72%)
Georgia	30	24	30	15
Greece	7		7	
Russia	15	5	9	10
Iraqi-Palestinian	1		10+	13+
UK	3	2	1	
Romania	9	2	9	1
Ukraine	1	5	1	5
Moldova	1	4		3
Serbia	2	3	2	1
Germany	2			
Bulgaria	2		3	1
Iran	1	1		2
Poland	1	1		1
Philippines	1		1	
Belgium	1			
Ireland	1		1	
Iraq	1 (Ahmed)			
Finland	1			
Lithuania				1
Armenia	1			
Turkish-Cypriot-Thai	1			1
India		1 (Arun)		1
Lebanon	1	1	1	
'foreign' children	83 (49%)	49 (26%)	75+ (54%)	55+ (28%)
TOTAL of children	171	189	141	201
TOTAL at whole school	360		342	
Greek-Cypriot children at whole school	228 (63%)		212 (61%)	
'foreign' children at whole school	133 (37%)		130+ (39%)	
Eastern Europeans	105 (29%)		93 (27%)	
Iraqi-Palestinians	1 (0.002%)		23+ (6+%)	

'all different all equal'

MAYPAKIA (LITTLE BLACKS)

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ΑΣΠΡΑ (WHITES)

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ΚΙΤΡΙΝΑ (YELLOWS)

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10.3 ACCESS LETTER TO THE MINISTRY

To the Director of Primary Education Department

Ministry of Education and Culture, Nicosia, Cyprus

TOPIC: Application for permission for access and carrying out doctoral research in Primary School

Dear Sir,

After three years of service as a primary school teacher in Cyprus and after completing my postgraduate degree MA in Education: Culture, Language and Identity (2006, Goldsmiths College, University of London), I am now a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London, Arts and Humanities Department, under the supervision of Dr Hugh Starkey. My research is concerned with intercultural education, as it has been implemented in Europe, with a specific emphasis on the Primary Education of Cyprus.

I am writing to you in order to receive permission for access to conduct my pilot study in the context of the doctoral programme at the [Infants and Juniors] which I intend to carry out during May 2007. I have already received the agreement of both Headteachers of both schools. The methodology I will employ includes interviews with the Heads and teachers regarding their experience in the education of non-Greek Cypriot pupils at their schools and possibly, depending on the research progress, observations in the classrooms of the participants and focus group interviews with pupils.

At the same time, I would like to be informed about the person/s working on the area of intercultural education at the Ministry, in order to communicate with them regarding the arrangement of an interview on the Ministry's official policy on the matter.

For the purposes of my research, I also require data in relation to the presence of non-Greek Cypriot pupils in Cypriot Primary Schools (numbers, countries of origin, parents' occupation etc) of the last few years. Therefore, I would also like to ask your permission to access the Ministry of Education and Culture's Archives.

Each person who will volunteer to participate in the research will be asked to complete a consent form, which will include information about the research and the participants' rights. In the case of children, the consent form will be signed by their guardians. The reference letter that I enclose from my supervisor confirms the professionalism with which I intend to conduct my research at both schools. According to the BERA Ethical Guidelines (http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/ETHICA1.PDF) on which my research is based, my research and any publications deriving from it will be characterized by the anonymity of all the participants (town, schools, people), their right to withdraw at any time they wish from the research, confidentiality of the data, respect for the personality and personal life of each participant and a constant effort to conduct the research in the most convenient possible way, according to the wish of the Headteachers and the teachers and to avoid any interference with the school function. Each conversation will be carried out during the teachers' non-teaching time.

I am hopeful for this collaboration with the Ministry regarding the conduct of my doctoral research – the findings of which I will communicate to your office – which will be completed in 2009. Such collaboration will be particularly important, because of the

possible contribution of the research findings to policy development in relation to intercultural education.

If possible, I would prefer to be informed in writing.

Thanking you in advance,

Elena Papamichael

10.4 ACCESS LETTERS TO HEADTEACHERS AND STAFF

To the Headteachers and staff of [Infants and Juniors]

Good morning

Firstly, I would like to thank the Headteachers for their oral agreement to the conduction of my research at your school. I am writing to you to inform you that I will be at your school from 7th May for one month.

As you already know, because of my experience as a teacher in Cyprus for three years, I have been concerned particularly with the issue of intercultural education, which has developed in the US and Europe following concerns about the education of minoritized groups and the rise of racism and discrimination accompanying increasing global diversity. I have already completed my postgraduate degree MA in Education: Culture, Language and Identity at Goldsmiths College, University of London. My dissertation for this degree was a preliminary research on this matter, which has created further questions for investigation, which I intend to explore in the context of the doctoral studies I am undertaking at the Institute of Education, under the supervision of Dr Hugh Starkey.

I have chosen your school because of the presence of large numbers of non-Greek Cypriot pupils and also because of the excellent cooperation I had last year with the Headteacher and the staff at Infants, when they participated in my dissertation research. The research methodology includes conversations with the teachers that wish to take part in the research, about their experience in relation with the presence of non-Greek Cypriot pupils at your school. My aim is not the production of generalizations but a close look into the every day life and the experiences, the concerns, the impressions and needs of teachers. This research aims to allow teachers to be heard in a context of anonymity and safety. I consider that an understanding the social and educational situations cannot be reached unless qualitative research approaches are employed, which allow the participants to contribute to the research process with their own questions and concerns. I would like to confirm that, according to the ethical guidelines of the Institute of Education, I intend to keep the town, the school and participants anonymous, while all the data will be completely confidential and will not be used for any reason irrelevant to my doctoral thesis.

I have already asked for permission for access to your school by the Director of the Primary Education Department at the Ministry, accompanied by a reference letter from my supervisor and I expect that by the time I arrive at your school I will have the relevant permission in writing.

Your help will be invaluable to me. I will welcome all of your queries when I arrive at your school. If you wish, you may contact me through email.

Thank you very much. I am looking forward to meeting you in May.

Elena Papamichael

10.5 CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS

<u>Date:</u>

<u>Project title:</u> Intercultural education in Greek Cypriot primary schools: policy and practice

<u>Name of Researcher:</u> Elena Papamichael

<u>Explanatory Statement:</u>

During and after my experience as a teacher in Cyprus for three years, I have been concerned particularly with the issue of intercultural education in terms of policy and everyday practice, in relation to all aspects of education (curriculum, teacher training, resources, teaching materials, policy guidelines, children's relations, home-school relations, school ethos). Intercultural education has developed in the US and Europe following concerns about the education of minoritized groups and the rise of racism and discrimination accompanying increasing global diversity I have already completed my postgraduate degree MA in Education: Culture, Language and Identity at Goldsmiths College, University of London. My dissertation for this degree was a preliminary research on this matter, which has created further questions for investigation, which I intend to explore in the context of the doctoral studies I am undertaking at the Institute of Education, under the supervision of Dr Hugh Starkey.

I have chosen your school because of the presence of pupils from a variety of backgrounds. I also had an excellent cooperation last year with the Headteacher and the staff at Infants, when they participated in my dissertation research. My aim is not the production of generalizations but a close look into the every day life and the experiences, the concerns, the impressions and needs of the teachers. This research aims to make the concerns of teachers heard in a context of anonymity and safety. I consider that understanding the social and educational situations cannot be reached unless qualitative research approaches are employed, which allow the participants to contribute to the research process with their own questions and concerns.

The methodology I will employ includes interviews with the Headteachers and teachers regarding their experience of the impact of the presence of pupils from a variety of backgrounds at their schools, observations in the classrooms of the participants and focus group interviews with pupils whose parents will sign the consent form.

According to the British Educational Research Association Ethical Guideliness, my research and any publications deriving from it will be characterized by the anonymity of all the participants (town, school, people), their right to withdraw at any time they wish from the research, confidentiality of the data, respect for the personality and personal life of each participant and a constant effort to conduct the research in the most convenient possible way, according to the wish of the Headteachers and the teachers and to avoid any interference with the school function. Each conversation will be carried out during the teachers' non-teaching time.

<u>Date:</u>

<u>Project title:</u> Intercultural education in Greek Cypriot primary schools: policy and practice

<u>Name of Researcher:</u> Elena Papamichael

I agree to take part in the above research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I may keep for my records. I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. I understand that my participation is voluntary; that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- be interviewed by the researcher at a time and place of my choice
- allow the researcher to observe my classroom while I am teaching

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party. No identifiable personal data will be published. All towns, schools, people will be given pseudonyms in the research thesis and any publications deriving from it.

I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant	*Date*	*Signature*

Elena Papamichael		
Researcher	*Date*	*Signature*

10.6 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND OFFICIAL SCHOOL DOCUMENTS ANALYSED

Official documents:

Ministry of Education and Culture. (1994). *Primary Education Curriculum*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Primary Education, Programme Development Service

Ministry's Strategic Planning Report 2007

Ministry's Annual Reports 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009

Intercultural education policy documents:

Ministry of Education and Culture. (2002). *Intercultural Education and Schooling - Circular 29th October 2002 [Diapolitismiki Agogi kai Ekpedefsi - Egkiklios 29 Oktovriou 2002]* (No. 7.1.19.1/3). Nicosia: Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture.

Ministry of Education and Culture. (2007). *Aims of school year 2007-2008 - Circular 28th August 2007 [Stohoi sholikis hronias 2007-2008 - Egkliklios 28 Avgoustou 2007]* (No. 7.1.05.20). Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture.

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Ministry of Education and Culture. (2008). *Press Conference of Ministry of Education and Culture, 21 January [Ypourgio Paideias kai Politismou, Dimosiografiki Diaskepsi, 21.01.08]*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture.

Ministry of Education and Culture. (2009). *A guide to education in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, Cyprus Pedagogical Institute.

Ministry's website on intercultural education:

Ministry of Education and Culture. Intercultural Education [Diapolitismiki Ekpedefsi]. from http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/diapolitismiki.html

School documents related to intercultural education:

Infants report on Intercultural Dialogue Plan of Action and Implementation
Infants DVD of lesson for Intercultural Dialogue
Headteachers' seminar notes on Intercultural Dialogue

10.7 INTERVIEW GUIDES

TEACHERS

- What does intercultural education mean for you?
- How is intercultural education implemented at your school?
- Do you consider that children in the school receive intercultural education?
- To what extent do teachers/parents/children/inspectors understand intercultural education?
- What are the relations between children of different backgrounds?
- What are your relations with non-Greek-Cypriot children?
- How does having diverse pupils affect your job practically (preparation, materials, teaching, resources, communication)? Is there something you need in order to work more effectively?
- Religion issues
- Language issues
- What can you tell me of your relationship with the parents (both Greek-Cypriot and non-Greek-Cypriot)?
- How do you define racism/xenophobia/discrimination? (only if they mention the terms)
- What do you think of the Ministry's policy on intercultural education?
- Have you had any training? What kind of training do you think you would need in order to work more effectively in a diverse school?
- Is the school ethos affected by the presence of children from various backgrounds? How?
- Is there a difference in the children's achievement in terms of their background?
- How would you feel about the employment of non- Greek-Cypriot staff in your school?
- How is the curriculum related to diversity?
- Cyprus is becoming more and more multicultural in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture and language. At the same time, there are reports about the rise of racism and xenophobia. What are your personal thoughts on this?

HEADTEACHERS

Same as teachers plus specific ones related to management of diverse school:

- How do you deal with the arrival of non-Greek-Cypriot pupils in the middle of the year?
- Does diversity affect the teachers' work? In what ways?
- What are the school's relations to the local community?
- Is there something you would need in order to lead a multicultural school more effectively?

INSPECTORS

- How long have you been working as the Inspector of the specific schools?
- In relation to the other schools you are inspecting this year, how would you describe it in terms of diversity?

- How do schools deal with the arrival of new non-Greek Cypriot pupils? What is the procedure?
- Are there any specific issues arising from the large numbers of diverse pupils that attend the schools?
- What is your relation with the Parents' Association of the school? Have the parents come to you for help with issues related to diversity?
- Have you had any training in relation to diverse school environments?
- What is the Ministry's policy in terms of educating children from a variety of backgrounds? How do you implement it in your work as an Inspector?
- Is there something you would like to be changed in terms of intercultural education?
- Do the Heads or teachers have specific problems in relation to diversity in their school/classroom?
- Do you think the Heads or teachers would need something in order to work more effectively in diverse environments?
- Do you have any suggestions in terms of both the policy and practice of intercultural education?
- Cyprus is becoming more and more multicultural in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture and language. At the same time, there are reports about the rise of racism and xenophobia. What are your personal thoughts on this?

CHILDREN (after they return consent forms from parents – in discussion groups of no more than 5)

I explain that the 'rules' for our conversation are that we don't all talk at the same time and that rude or offensive speaking for anyone is not allowed. There are no right or wrong answers. The recorder is there in order to help me remember what they said.

- What can you tell me about your school/classroom?
- What is good about your school? What would you change to make it even better?

If the issue of diversity is not brought into the conversation in the first few minutes, I will explain that the reason I chose their school is because it has children from a variety of backgrounds and I am interested in seeing how they feel/think about it. Depending on the conversation flow, I will pursue to find out about their views on people from other countries/with different skin colour/with other languages or religions and whether they discuss issues of diversity with their teachers/parents/friends.

10.8 HEADTEACHERS AND TEACHERS PARTICIPANTS

NAME & YEARS OF SERVICE BY 2008	MAY 2007	JANUARY-FEBRUARY 2008
ANNA Infants 40	Headteacher Interviewed in April 2006 Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in her office – 34.32	Headteacher Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in her office – 26.51
ANDREAS Juniors 35	Headteacher Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in his office – 25.33	Headteacher Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in his office – 3.00 & 11.00
ANGELA Juniors 22	Assistant Headteacher Home Economics Recorded interview alone in Head's office – 31.00	Assistant Headteacher Home Economics Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in Home Economics classroom – 33.00
ANTIGONI Juniors 14	5^{th} grade Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with Zoe present – 40.00	Not at the school
ANTONIA Juniors 1	Not at the school	Substitute teacher Various lessons Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in photocopying room – 33.00
CATERINA Juniors 19	5^{th} grade Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in her classroom – 28.00	6^{th} grade **1 week observations** Recorded interview alone in her classroom – 33.46
CONSTANDINOS Juniors 12	5^{th} grade Greek teacher in Cyprus for 11 years Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in Head's office – 25.32	4^{th} grade **1 week observations** Recorded interview alone in Head's office – 9.49
DESPINA Juniors 25	Assistant Headteacher 6^{th} grade Recorded interview alone in Head's office – 27.00	Did not participate in research
DINA Infants 6	Not at the school	1^{st} grade **1 week observations** Recorded interview alone in staffroom – 32.56
ELENI Infants 4	2^{nd} grade Interviewed in April 2006 Classroom observations Non-recorded interview alone in the cleaner's room	2^{nd} grade Classroom observations Non-recorded interview alone over lunch at cafe

IOANNA Juniors 1	Substitute teacher Various lessons Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with others present – 23.30	Not at the school
LAKIS Juniors 1	Substitute teacher Various lessons Classroom observations	Not at the school
LYDIA Infants 2	2^{nd} grade Greek teacher in Cyprus for 2 years Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in the cleaner's room – 36.00	Not at the school
MARIA Juniors 17	Did not participate in research	4^{th} grade **1 week observations** Recorded interview in photocopying room with Constandinos present – 31.28
MARILENA Infants 10	Art teacher Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in Art classroom – 22.00	Not at the school
MINAS Juniors 15	Not at the school	5^{th} grade Arun's teacher Recorded interview with others present in the staffroom – 10.25
NADIA Infants 9	1^{st} grade Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with interruption by Anna – 36.00	Not at the school
NANE Juniors -	Not at the school	Arabic speaker (of Syrian origin) Classroom observations Teaching Greek to groups of Iraqi-Palestinian children Conversations in the playground and on the phone
NICOLETA Juniors 22	Not at the school	Music teacher Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with other teachers present – 9.41
PAVLOS Infants 37	Assistant Headteacher Classroom observations Various lessons Did not participate in research	Assistant Headteacher Various lessons Recorded interview in staffroom with other teachers present – 13.15
REBECCA Infants 12	1^{st} grade Classroom observations Ahmed's teacher Recorded interview over lunch at cafe – 36.00	2^{nd} grade **1 week observations** Recorded interview alone in classroom – 29.22
SOULA Infants	2^{nd} grade Classroom observations	2^{nd} grade **1 week observations**

17	Recorded interview with others present in staffroom – 17.00	Ahmed's teacher Recorded interview with others present in staffroom – 8.18 & 25.08
STELLA Juniors 15	4th grade Classroom observations Arun's teacher Recorded interview in staffroom with others present – 17.17	Not at the school
VASILIKI Juniors 25	Assistant Headteacher 6th grade Recorded interview alone in Head's office – 26.15	Assistant Headteacher 6th grade Recorded interview alone in the staffroom – 32.00
YIOTA Infants 13	3rd grade Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in staffroom – 31.00	Not at the school
YIORGOS Infants & Juniors 8	PE Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with others present – 32.00	PE Classroom observations Recorded interview in staffroom with Constandinos and Minas present – 15.00
ZOE Juniors 11	4th grade Classroom observations Recorded interview alone in her classroom – 30.50	Not at the school
TOTAL: 27 teachers – 36 interviews	**TOTAL OF RECORDED INTERVIEWS: 18 (8.63 hours)**	**TOTAL OF RECORDED INTERVIEWS: 15 (5.9 hours)**

10.9 INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

2007 & 2008	Number of recorded interviews/discussions	Total length
Interviews with 27 Headteachers and teachers	33	14.53 hours
Discussions with children (on average 3 in each group)	76	11.49 hours
TOTAL	109	26.02 hours

10.10 INTERVIEWS WITH MINISTRY OFFICIALS AND INSPECTORS – 2007

ROLE	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE (2007)	LENGTH
Ministry Officer (man)	Ministry	07-May	49.27
Ministry Advisor/ENHPS (woman)	Ministry	17-May	46.32
Infants Inspector (woman)	Inspector's Office	18-May	35.3
Juniors Inspector (woman)	Inspector's Office	22-May	39.16

10.11 INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS

NATIONAL ORIGIN	CHILD'S CLASS	TYPE OF INTERVIEW
Greek-Cypriot father (English wife)	Second grade (boy)	Telephone
Greek-Cypriot mother	Second grade (girl)	Telephone
Greek-Cypriot mother	Sixth grade (girl)	Telephone
Greek-Cypriot mother	Fourth grade (boy)	Telephone
Georgian mother	Fourth grade (girl)	Telephone
Georgian mother	Fourth grade (boy)	Telephone
Georgian grandmother	Fourth grade (girl)	Telephone
English mother	Second grade (girl)	Face to face at cafe
Iraqi-Palestinian mother and father	Second and fourth grade (boys)	Face to face at their house
Greek-Cypriot President of Parents' Association	Sixth grade (girl)	Face to face at her office
Maria (Juniors teacher)	Fourth grade (boy)	Face to face at school
Caterina (Juniors teacher)	Sixth grade (boy)	Face to face at school
Constandinos (Juniors teacher)	Third grade (girl)	Face to face at school
TOTAL: 13		

10.12 CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN AND PARENTS

<u>AGREEMENT FORM FOR PUPILS</u>

Date

Hello.

My name is Elena Papamichael. I am a doctoral student at the University of London and I have chosen your school for my research. Your teacher has agreed to help me talk to you as well. I am interested in talking to you to find out about your experiences at your school, where children from many backgrounds attend. We will have conversations in small groups and I would like to audiotape them so I don't forget what you tell me! I will not tell anyone else whatever you say at our conversations. Also, when I talk to other people or publish my research I will change all of your names, including your town, your school and your teachers', so no one can identify you. Remember, you don't have to take part in my research if you don't want to! Whatever your decision is, please give the letter I am attaching to your parents, ask them to fill it in, sign this one yourself and return both letters to your teacher as soon as you can.

Thank you very much! I appreciate your help!

Elena Papamichael

✂

My name is ……………………………………………………………………………. My class is ………….. I agree / do not agree (delete as appropriate) to participate in the research by having a

conversation with Elena Papamichael in a group of other pupils from my school.

Signature: …………………………………………..

Date: ……………………………………

AGREEMENT FORM FOR PARENTS

Date

Dear Parent/Guardian

My name is Elena Papamichael and I am a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am writing to inform you about a research project I am undertaking in your child's school. I was previously a teacher in Cyprus and I have completed a dissertation for the MA in Education: Culture, Language and Identity at Goldsmiths College, University of London. I am interested in investigating with the teachers and pupils at your child's school their experiences of working and studying in a community where there are children from a variety of backgrounds. The school Headteacher and the teacher of your child have agreed to help me. For this purpose, I am asking your permission to:

> ➤ Observe pupils in a classroom situation.
> ➤ Have a conversation with the pupils about their experience at the school in small groups.

Any observations that I make will not interfere with pupils' learning. Any personal details that I gather about pupils and any information that the pupils provide me will be confidential. The town, school and names of pupils and teachers will be kept anonymous in the research and any publications deriving from it.

I am hoping that your son/daughter will take part in this research and if you are in agreement with the above, please sign the statement below and return this to me through your child's teacher. Your son/daughter has been given an agreement form to sign regarding the research which you may wish to look at in addition to this letter. If you have any queries, please don't hesitate to contact me on 99498721 or epapamichael@gmail.com .

✂ --

I have read the above letter and I allow my son/daughter to be involved in this research project. I understand that this research will not interfere with his/her learning.

Name of pupil: ……………………………………………………………………………….

Name of parent/guardian: …………………………………………………………….

Signature of parent/guardian: …………………………………………………………………….

Date: ………………………………………………………………………………

10.13 SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN

2007 – CLASS	DISCUSSIONS	CHILDREN
First-1	1	4
Second-1	4	12
Second-2	2	5
Third-1	4	8
Fourth-1	4	10
Fifth-2	4	7
Fifth-3	4	13
Sixth-2	4	12
Sixth-3	7	19
9 classes	**34 groups**	**90 children**

2008 – CLASS	DISCUSSIONS	CHILDREN
First-2	8	9
Second-1	5	9
Second-2	6	12
Fourth-1	8	16
Fourth-2	7	13
Sixth-3	7	17
Iraqi-Palestinians with Nane as translator	1	6
7 classes	**42 groups**	**89 children**

10.14 SAMPLE IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN - 2007

GROUP DISCUSSIONS Gender and national origin of mother (m) and father (f)	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	CLASS	DATE (2007)	LENGTH
Girl, GC	4	1st 1	16-May	7.33
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC	3	2nd 1	16-May	10.04
Girl, Pontian-Russian				
Girl, GC				
Girl, Russian	3	2nd 1	16-May	8.27
Girl, Philippines (m)				
Girl, Thailand (m)				
Boy, GC	3	2nd 1	16-May	6.17
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC	3	2nd 1	23-May	8.3
Girl, Georgia				
Boy, Russia				
Boy, GC	3	2nd 2	16-May	6.19
Boy, GC				
Girl, Pontian				
Girl, Moldova (m)	2	2nd 2	16-May	6.4
Girl, Belgium (m)				
Girl, GC	3	3rd 1	16-May	10
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC				
Boy, Greece	1	3rd 1	22-May	5.58
Girl, Georgia	1	3rd 1	22-May	9.37
Girl, Georgia-Russia	3	3rd 1	22-May	8.26
Girl, Greece-Georgia				
Girl, Georgia				
Boy, Africa-GC	4	4th 1	18-May	20.43
Boy, GC born in UK				
Boy, GC-Greece				
Boy, Georgia-Russia				
Girl, GC	4	4th 1	18-May	13.33
Girl, Bulgaria (m)				
Girl, GC				
Girl, Greece-Pontian				
Boy, India (Arun)	1	4th 1	22-May	8.26
Girl, Moldova-Russia	1	4th 1	22-May	6.5
Girl, GC	3	5th 2	18-May	13.42

Girl, GC				
Girl, GC – Lebanon (f)				
Boy, GC	2	5th 2	18-May	18.44
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	1	5th 2	21-May	3.31
Girl, GC	1	5th 2	21-May	4.59
Boy, GC-Greece	4	5th 3	21-May	12.3
Boy, Serbia				
Boy, GC				
Boy, Georgia				
Girl, GC	2	5th 3	21-May	8.55
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC	4	5th 3	21-May	13
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	3	5th 3	21-May	5.58
Girl, GC				
Girl, Georgia				
Girl, GC	5	6th 2	21-May	14.03
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, Serbia				
Girl, GC				
Girl, Georgia	3	6th 2	22-May	17.02
Girl, Georgia-Russia				
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	2	6th 2	22-May	5.41
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	2	6th 2	23-May	4.13
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	4	6th 3	21-May	15.09
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	5	6th 3	21-May	18.39
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC	5	6th 3	22-May	12.33
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				

Girl, Italy – GC				
Girl, GC	1	6th 3	23-May	5.53
Girl, Georgia (m) Ukraine (d)	1	6th 3	23-May	4.45
Girl, Hungary	1	6th 3	23-May	8.45
Girl, Russia-Georgia	2	6th 3	23-May	8.48
Girl, GC				
34 groups	**90 children**	**9 classes**	**4 weeks**	**5.44 hours**

10.15 SAMPLE IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN – 2008

GROUP DISCUSSIONS Gender and national origin of mother (m) and father (f)	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	CLASS	DATE (2008)	LENGTH
Girl, GC	4	1st 2	1-Feb	8.11
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC	2	1st 2	4-Feb	3.26
Girl, Greece-Russia				
Girl, GC	1	1st 2	8-Feb	2.24
Girl, Greece	1	1st 2	8-Feb	2.23
Girl, GC	1	1st 2	8-Feb	1.43
Boy, GC	1	1st 2	8-Feb	2.31
Girl, GC	1	1st 2	8-Feb	2.28
Girl, Georgia	1	1st 2	8-Feb	2.57
Girl, GC	2	2nd 1	12-Feb	7.10
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC (f) – UK (m)	1	2nd 1	14-Feb	4.36
Boy, GC	3	2nd 1	12-Feb	6.51
Boy, GC (m) – Finland (f)				
Boy, GC (m) – Greece (f)				
Boy, Iraq	1	2nd 1	12-Feb	5.48
Boy, Poland (m) – GC (f)	2	2nd 1	14-Feb	5.30
Boy, Greece				
Girl, GC (f) -Romania (m)	2	2nd 2	8-Feb	16.06
Boy, GC (f) – UK (m)				
Boy, GC	2	2nd 2	8-Feb	3.54
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	2	2nd 2	12-Feb	22.50
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC	2	2nd 2	12-Feb	7.42
Girl, Romania				
Girl, Ireland (m) – England (f)	1	2nd 2	12-Feb	5
Boy, GC	2	2nd 2	12-Feb	5.38
Girl, GC				
Boy, Georgia	1	4th 1	23-Jan	4.15
Girl, Greece	3	4th 1	23-Jan	8.11
Girl, Georgia				
Girl, Georgia-Russia				
Boy, Iran	3	4th 1	23-Jan	18.33
Boy, GC				
Boy, Greece				
Girl, Greece-Georgia	2	4th 1	24-Jan	3.58
Girl, Russia				
Girl, GC	2	4th 1	24-Jan	8.15
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	2	4th 1	24-Jan	9.57
Boy, GC				

Girl, Lithuania	2	4th 1	24-Jan	4.42
Girl, Greece				
Boy, GC	2	4th 1	24-Jan	4.05
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	3	4th 2	9-Jan	3.31
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	3	4th 2	9-Jan	10.30
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, Greece	3	4th 2	9-Jan	7.23
Girl, GC				
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC	3	4th 2	10-Jan	5.44
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, Russia	1	4th 2	10-Jan	3.46
Girl, GC	2	4th 2	10-Jan	7.45
Girl, GC				
Girl, Turkish-Cypriot (f) – Thai (m)	1	4th 2	11-Jan	4.34
Boy, Greek-Pontian-Georgian	3	6th 3	16-Jan	16.24
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC	4	6th 3	17-Jan	18.38
Girl, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC	2	6th 3	18-Jan	11.49
Boy, GC				
Girl, GC	2	6th 3	18-Jan	21.25
Girl, GC				
Boy, Serbia	3	6th 3	18-Jan	11.39
Boy, GC				
Boy, GC				
Girl, Ukraine	1	6th 3	23-Jan	10.38
Girl, Ukraine	2	6th 3	25-Jan	10.10
Girl, Moldova				
Girl, Iraqi-Palestinian	6	support	11-Jan	49.00
Girl, Iraqi-Palestinian				
Girl, Iraqi-Palestinian				
Boy, Iraqi-Palestinian				
Boy, Iraqi-Palestinian				
Boy, Iraqi-Palestinian				
42 groups	**89 children**	**7 classes**	**6 weeks**	**6.05 hours**

10.16 NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS

TYPE OF DISCUSSION	2007	2008	Both years
One-child discussions	9 (37%)	13 (31%)	22 (29%)
Group discussions	25 (73%)	29 (69%)	54 (71%)
TOTAL	34 (5.44 hours)	42 (6.05 hours)	76 (11.49 hours)

10.17 NATIONAL ORIGIN OF CHILDREN-PARTICIPANTS

NATIONAL ORIGIN	2007	2008	TOTAL
Greek-Cypriot	54 (60%)	51 (57%)	105 (58%)
Non-Greek-Cypriot	36 (40%)	38 (43%)	74 (42%)
TOTAL	90	89	179

10.18 CHILDREN'S GROUP CHOICES IN TERMS OF GENDER AND NATIONAL ORIGIN

GROUP COMPOSITION*	2007	2008	Both years
Only boys/only girls	16 (64%)	23 (79%)	39 (72%)
Boys & girls	9 (36%)	6 (20%)	15 (28%)
Only GCs**/only non-GCs	13 (52%)	20 (65%)	33 (61%)
GCs & non-GCs	12 (48%)	9 (27%)	21 (39%)
TOTAL OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS	**25**	**29**	**54**

*One-child discussions not included.

**GCs = Greek-Cypriots

10.19 CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS – 2007

CLASS	2007	PERIOD	LESSON	TEACHER
First-1	08-May	1st-2nd	Greek	Nadia
Third-2	08-May	4th	Geography	Anna
Second-2	08-May	5th	Greek-Math	Eleni
Third-1	09-May	1st-2nd	Math	Demetris
Fourht-1	09-May	7th	Geography	Stella
Third-1	10-May	1st-2nd	Greek	Yiota
Second-3	10-May	3rd-4th	Greek	Lydia
Fifth-3	10-May	5th-6th	Art	Ioanna
Fifth-3	10-May	7th	Greek	Constandinos
Sixth-1	11-May	4th	RE	Substitute teacher
Sixth-2	11-May	5th-6th	Art	Substitute teacher
Second-2	11-May	7th	Math	Eleni
Fourth-2	14-May	2nd	Greek	Zoe
Third-3	14-May	3rd	--	Me as substitute
Third-3	14-May	4th	Greek	Caterina
Third-3	14-May	5th	Math	Caterina
Third-3	14-May	6th	RE	Andreas
Fourth-1	14-May	7th	Geography	Stella
Second-1	15-May	3rd	Greek	Soula
Fifth-2	15-May	6th	Greek	Antigoni
Third-3	16-May	6th	--	Me as substitute
TOTAL: 27 teaching periods of observations in 13 classes				

10.20 CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS – 2008

CLASS	2008	MAIN TEACHER
First	28 Jan – 1 Feb	Dina
Second	4-8 February	Rebecca
Second	11-15 February	Soula
Fourth	7-11 January	Constandinos
Fourth	21-25 January	Maria
Sixth	14-18 January	Caterina
TOTAL: 175 teaching periods of observations in 6 classes		

10.21 TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- (…) = omitted material between extracts
- *Italics = emphasis added by the speaker*
- **bold = emphasis added by author for the purposes of analysis**
- (λέξη/φράση στα ελληνικά) = word/phrase in Greek added in parenthesis whenever Greek/Cypriot dialect was difficult to translate precisely
- (.) = pause
- [explanatory word/phrase] = word/phrase added by author to clarify meaning that was conveyed during the interview
- … = speaker ends a sentence with extension of their voice as if waiting for me to speak next
- – = the speaker switches abruptly from one phrase to another (eg. I wanted to – I was hoping) or leaves a word unfinished (eg. 'I am not rac–')

10.22 EXAMPLE OF EXTRACT FROM TRANSCRIPT

Yiorgos, PE teacher for Infants and Juniors
7 years of service
11 May 2007, 31.53 + 1.14'

Yiorgos is the PE teacher for both schools. At Juniors, he was the one I felt most comfortable with at the beginning, as we worked together in the past. The interview was in the Juniors staffroom with other teachers present, which I couldn't really avoid. It was also a sort of discussion than just interview, because others would interfere. When we were done, I turned the recorder on again because we kept discussing the issue more informally so I recorded a bit more of that.

Κοίταξε επειδή το μάθημα που κάνω εγώ είναι Γυμναστική, δεν είναι τόσο απαιτητικό. Έχει μωρά που μπορεί να μην ξέρουν τη γλώσσα, ειδικά [at Infants]. Καταλαβαίνουν τι πρέπει να κάνουν διότι βλέπουν τους άλλους, ό,τι κάνουν οι άλλοι κάνουν κι εκείνοι (γελά). Έχει μωρά τα οποία ας πούμε Ρώσοι, ήρθε ένα μωρό στην Α τάξη δεν ήξερε λέξη ελληνικά ούτε αγγλικά. Ε από την εμπειρία μου είδα ότι τα άλλα μωρά που είναι Ρώσοι το βοηθούν, κάνουν το μεταφραστή. Ε όσα μωρά άλλοι που έρχονται και ξέρουν αγγλικά τους μιλώ εγώ αγγλικά. Αλλά δεν είναι τόσο απαιτητικό – μπορεί κανένα παιχνίδι που είναι λίγο, πρέπει να τους το εξηγήσεις και τους το εξηγώ. Αλλά κάποιες ασκήσεις τις βλέπουν και τις κάνουν.

1.35

Τώρα στη Β τάξη ήρθε ένα κορίτσι που δεν ξέρει ούτε ελληνικά ούτε αγγλικά αλλά ούτε ρώσικα να έχει άλλους να μεταφράζουν. Άραβας. Εκείνο το κορίτσι βλέπω ότι είναι πολύ δύσκολο για εκείνη. Διότι κανένας δεν μπορεί να συνεννοηθεί, μόνο με νοήματα. Και φυσικά σιγά σιγά βλέπεις τα μωρά μαθαίνουν με τον καιρό αλλά εκείνα τα μωρά βλέπω ότι συναντούν πολλές δυσκολίες – η προέλευση τους να μην έχει καμία σχέση με τους άλλους.

Κάτι άλλο;

Τις παραπάνω δυσκολίες τις συναντούν τα μωρά του [Infants]. Του [Juniors] όλοι που κατάγονται από άλλες χώρες έμαθαν ελληνικά, συνεννοούνται. Έχει 1-2 μωρά που δεν πολυμιλούν αλλά συνεννοάσαι, ξέρουν λίγα και είναι εντάξει. Αυτό για το θέμα γλώσσας.

3.13

Άλλα προβλήματα που μπορεί να έχουν προσαρμογής, βλέπω ότι έχει μωρά τα οποία είναι λίγο απομονωμένα, μπορεί να είναι και ο χαρακτήρας τους αλλά πιστεύω ότι επηρεάζει το ότι ήρθαν από μια ξένη χώρα. Και με τους συμμαθητές τους δεν εντάχθηκαν, βλέπω μερικές περιπτώσεις έτσι.

Παραδείγματα;

Δεν έχουν πολλούς φίλους, είναι μόνοι τους, παραπονιούνται ότι τους πειράζουν, ότι τους περιπαίζουν. Και ειδικά και στο μάθημα τους βλέπεις ότι δε θέλουν να παίξουν εκείνο το παιχνίδι, δεν μπορούν, δεν έχουν πολλή αυτοπεποίθηση. Και OK, πιστεύω ότι μπορεί να είναι και άλλοι λόγοι, όχι μόνο το ότι...

Ρωτάς, είναι εύκολο να τους προσεγγίσεις;

Τους προσεγγίζεις αλλά εντάξει, δεν είναι τόσο. Εγώ τους βλέπω μόνο 2 φορές τη βδομάδα 1 ώρα, δεν είναι εύκολο να σου μιλήσουν. Παραπάνω ο δάσκαλος της τάξης μπορεί να...

Εσύ όμως ξέρεις κάθε μωρό των 2 σχολείων άρα σε ξέρουν όλοι..

5.00

Θέλεις να σε ρωτήσω; Βέβαια κάποια μπορεί να μην ταιριάζουν επειδή κάνεις μόνο Γυμναστική.

(με διακόπτει) Το άλλο θέμα για ρατσισμό ας πούμε, είναι και αυτό μέσα;

Βέβαια, εννοείται.

Δε βλέπω ας πούμε να υπάρχει πρόβλημα ρατσισμού, βλέπω ότι υπάρχει – έχει ένα μωρό που την Ινδία ο [Arun] που είναι μαύρος. Βλέπω ότι είχε μωρά που τον περιπαίξαν ότι 'είσαι όπως την καπήρα', 'είσαι μαύρος', έτσι πράματα.

Στη Γυμναστική;

Ναι και στη Γυμναστική. Αλλά δεν το θεωρώ ότι είναι ρατσισμός. Το έχουν, όπως και τον άλλον που θα τον περιπαίξεις ότι είναι χοντρός, ο άλλος είναι έτσι.

Τα έχεις και αυτά στη Γυμναστική;

Ναι θα τους δεις, επειδή εκτονώνονται στη Γυμναστική. Επειδή άμα παίζουν ένα παιχνίδι όπως ποδόσφαιρο εκτονώνονται, θα πουν κουβέντες. Αλλά δεν το βλέπω ότι είναι ρατσισμός αυτό το πράγμα. Το βλέπω ότι είναι (παύση) όπως θα κοροϊδέψεις έναν άλλον που είναι χοντρός, κοροϊδεύεις και τον άλλον επειδή είναι μαύρος.

Τι θα έλεγες ότι είναι ρατσισμός;

Ρατσισμός θα έλεγα ότι είναι να μην τον κάνουν παρέα, να τον απομονώνουν, ενώ δε συμβαίνει αυτό το πράγμα. Τον βλέπω ότι έχει φίλους και παίζει το διάλειμμα.

7.00

Το άλλο είναι ότι μερικοί κάνουν παρέα μαζί, ας πούμε όσοι είναι Ρωσοπόντιοι. Συνήθως είναι μαζί, κάνουν παρέα.

Από την ίδια τάξη;

Μπορεί και από τις άλλες, τους βλέπω τα διαλείμματα και είναι μια παρέα. Συνάουνται, *συνάγονται, πώς να το πούμε; (γελούμε και οι 2).*