Authors' names: Loizidou, A. and Koutselini, M.

(University of Cyprus)

Title: Teachers' and students' metacognition: Is there a relation?

Abstract:

Researchers agree that 'metacognition' conceptualises the kind of learning that fits our fast-changing, meta-modern world: An autonomous, lifelong learning which is adjustable to new learning tasks. Metacognitive active persons develop such learning because they are aware of their knowledge and, simultaneously, they can control further learning by activating strategies such as programming and evaluating. This paper argues that a research gap exists regarding the way metacognition can be developed in schools. A specific research design is suggested.

School age is crucial for the development of metacognition as the later is enacted and further developed during the first school years; metacognition improves as children get older and as it is more practised. Above all, metacognition appears to be necessary because it facilitates effective school learning. Nevertheless, the way metacognition is currently enhanced during everyday teaching has not yet been thoroughly examined. Several interventions managed to improve some metacognitive skills of children by applying certain teaching methods, but the sustainability of these positive results and the transferability of the methods into normal school life were not investigated. Little is known about the relation of metacognitive teaching with teachers' characteristics, too. For instance, research in Israel (Zohar, 1999; Kramarski, 2008) showed that educators' metacognition can be promoted during in-service programmes, but, the effect of this improvement on children was only examined via teachers' self-reports.

Having these in mind, **the research proposed aims to investigate a possible relation between teachers' and students' metacognition.** Three **research questions** are addressed: a) Is there a relation between teachers' metacognition and their teaching methodology? b) Can teachers promote their students' metacognition during everyday teaching? and, c) If they can, in what specific ways? The proposed research will be conducted in Cypriot primary schools and will combine data collection from children and teachers via classroom observations and tests. Any possible relations found will be of great importance as they will indicate that students' metacognition can be enhanced by promoting their teachers' metacognition and by improving the teaching methods applied in an everyday classroom…

Introduction: The current world's plea for adjustability

> 'After all, education is not only for the present…Students will be living in a world different from the one they now occupy... Who among us can tell what the future look like? … The primary aim of education is to enable youngsters to learn how to invent themselves - to learn how to create their own minds…'
> (Eisner, 2003, p. 6, 10)

There can be no doubt that the most permanent feature of our era is change. The current world (natural, technological and social) is rapidly changing in such an unpredictable way that there is a crucial need for an active, meta-modern citizen who is flexible in decision making and able to handle a growing package of information. Above all, persons need to have the skills to use new information so as to meet changing environmental needs and, also, to control any feelings that may interfere with correct decision-making in all aspects of their personal lives.

The question that logically follows the above consideration is "how can anyone be constantly adjustable to this changing meta-modern world?"

In the psychology area, researchers from two different schools tried to give an answer. Cognitive psychologists crystallised their theory to the idea of human "consciousness", which they defined as a self-driven function of organising information that increases a person's ability to deal with it (Demetriou, 2000). Relevant research began as early as the beginning of the twentieth century and the research results showed that persons with developed consciousness (or for some researchers with meta-consciousness i.e. with the ability to have consciousness of conscious procedures) are more flexible when reacting to environmental stimulates and have more self-control when instant reactions are required (Zelazo, 2004).

Developmental psychologists, on the other hand, focused their research on the development and function of "metacognition". The term, introduced by Flavell in 1979, implies that a person has knowledge of his/her knowledge or ignorance, as well as the ability to control his/her own cognitive function. Metacognitive developed persons are flexible to any learning environment, they can monitor their learning and set their own learning goals; consequently, they can improve and guide their further cognitive development (Kluwe, 1982; Brown, 1987; Kuhn, 2000). The last twenty years, relevant research focused on how metacognition is developed, how it functions during human learning behaviour and under what circumstances it can be further enhanced.

Although it seems obvious from the pre-mentioned that cognitive and developmental psychologists had similar research interests and results, the two psychology areas had parallel courses for many years. It is only recently, and after the realisation that "consciousness/metacognition" has a crucial role in effective learning and flexible living, that attempts are made to merge research findings from the two research areas. One of the main purposes of this attempt is to narrow research gaps regarding the ways in which this meta-modern ability of flexible thinking, learning and living could be cultivated in future citizens. It is with this research trend that schools came under investigation.

The wider area of interest of this paper is effective school learning, in the sense that this learning occurs when students take the maximum of knowledge and learning skills they can in academic institutions, they are conscious of their learning progress and, finally, they can use and further develop this learning outside school, throughout their life span. More specifically, this paper deals with the presence and development of metacognition in schools, a metacognition that facilitates

the effective learning described above. Thus, the theoretical background presented below has developmental psychology as its main source.

Metacognition under investigation:

Thirty years of research about metacognition have produced an important insight into the inner mechanisms of human thought and cognition. Nevertheless, the need for extra research also became obvious as many definitions were added for several metacognitive phenomena (e.g. meta-comprehension, self-regulation) and as there is still no common understanding among researchers regarding these phenomena (Veenman, Van Hout-Wolters & Afflerbach, 2006). In addition, more and more research questions are added: What are the factors influencing the development of metacognition in real life? What is metacognition's development in elderly people? How can metacognition be taught from person to person, during everyday life? Etc.

The first definitions of metacognition were quite simple. Flavell (1979), the pioneer researcher of the area, aptly described metacognition as 'cognition about cognition' (1985, p.104). Flavell's (1979) research yielded two key concepts: metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive experience. A person may have metacognitive knowledge of some factors that affect his/her learning (these factors may relate to beliefs about oneself as a learning creature, the learning task, or the strategies engaged to achieve the learning goal). Simultaneously, one may have metacognitive experiences that can be explained as conscious thoughts or feelings about the learning process the very moment this occurs.

Although the idea can be detected in Flavell's work, Hacker (1998) comments that it was Kluwe in 1982 who first clarified the way in which individuals apply metacognition: they both monitor and control their own learning process. Metacognitive monitoring produces declarative knowledge (you say what you know) and control depends and produces procedural knowledge (you can direct your thought) (Kluwe, 1982). Several other researchers who furthered our thinking about metacognition similarly identified metacognition's dual action of control and monitoring (e.g. Brown, 1987; Koutselini, 1995; Koutselini and Theofilides, 2001; Kuhn, 2000; Nelson and Narens, 1994).

As years passed, definitions became more specific but more complicated, too. For instance, Brown's (1987) research contribution was important as she clarified that metacognitive knowledge could be furthered analysed into knowledge about what you know, as well as about how and when you learn more easily. Similarly, she defined five specific ways of applying metacognitive control (programming, handling information, monitoring, self-correcting and evaluation of action/ results). Many more definitions followed, always while seeking for metacognition's exact function during human thought and other inner processes.

This non-stop, research work produced important conclusions about **the importance of metacognition and about some factors affecting** its development or appliance but, as pre-mentioned, research also underlined the need for clarification of these new ideas. It is characteristic that Flavell himself viewed his own first definitions as 'limited' in the sense that they did not include any reference to human feelings. Brown (1987) also commented that metacognition was seen by many as a 'blanket term' under which many cognitive and other non metacognitive phenomena could be hidden.

Regarding the importance of metacognition, Flavell (1985) argues that it plays a crucial role in many types of cognitive ability including oral communication of information, language acquisition,

reading, writing and comprehension, problem-solving etc. There is also ample evidence that metacognition can guide further cognitive development (Kuhn, 2000). On the other hand, it was concluded that some children's inability to adopt thinking skills and strategies was due to their metacognitive insufficiencies. The meta-analysis of relevant research of Veenman, Van Hout-Walters & Afflebarch, (2006) surprisingly revealed that metacognitive skills are responsible for the 17% of the students' learning, while cognitive development affected only 10% of this learning. Zimmerman's (1995 in Hartman, 2001) comment is noteworthy: Metacognition is essential but not enough for academic success as other factors may interfere, e.g. school stress. More importantly, metacognition appears to decidedly affect decision making and learning in everyday life. As Brown (1980) puts it, "one of the major justification for studying metacognitive skills is that they do appear to have "ecological validity"; that is, there are recognizable counter-parts in "real-world everyday life" situations" (p.454).

Very little is known about the factors influencing the development of metacognition. Age and practice are the only two, generally acceptable, factors.

Research dealing with metacognition in different ages showed that there are some signs of metacognitive behaviour, even from the early ages of 3-5, as the infants begin to have their theories of mind and show skills of programming or even reflection (Veenman, Van Hout-Wolters & Afflerbach, 2006; Whitebread, Coltman, Anderson, Mehta & Pasternak, 2005). But, metacognition actually develops while the child has learning experiences: metacognitive knowledge appears at early school age (Shneider & Pressley, 1989). One of the most frequent conclusions of the early and more recent research is that older children have better results than the younger ones in tasks concerning metacognitive skills (e.g. Kreutzer, Leonard & Flavell, 1975; Flavell, 1981; Alexander, Carr and Scwhanenflugel, 1995).

Research results about the development of metacognition in grown-ups are very limited. It is only the last five years that relevant research is conducted. Vukman- Bakracevic's (2005) work is remarkable: She investigated four age groups (16 to 73 years old participants) that were asked to solve mathematical and everyday problems and reflect on the solving procedure. The results showed that while self-knowing is improved with age, self-reflection skills worsened after the age of 63. Similarly, in Mecacci & Richi (2006) research in which participants aged from 17-85, it was concluded that it was the elderly that had less ability to identify their cognitive mistakes.

Apart from age, practice appears to enhance certain metacognitive behaviours. A number of intervention programmes targeted students' metacognitive skills in text comprehension, mathematical thinking or science (e.g. Cross and Paris, 1988˙ Juliebo, Malicky and Norman, 1998˙ Koutselini and Hadjiyanni, 1999˙ Palinscar and Brown, 1984). These interventions showed that some metacognitive skills can be taught or improved with teaching and that some particular teaching methods were proved to be particularly effective. For example, modelling the way someone thinks proved to be one of these successful metacognitive methods (Palinscar & Brown, 1984). It was also shown that the more the learners were consciously engaged in the learning process by being informed about the learning tasks, the procedures and the value of the learning result, the better their metacognition was at the end of the intervention (Stipek, 1988˙ Kuhn, 2000˙ Loizidou & Koutselini, 2007).

Although the intervention programmes pre-mentioned are of great importance- as they are the first attempts to realise Flavell's (1979) dream of transmitting in a systematic way metacognition- an important criticism can be made: Most of this research was conducted out of the "natural environment" of students, i.e., outside of everyday teaching routines. Thus, an important area of research still remains unexplored, namely, children's current levels and potential development of

metacognition through everyday teaching (Juliebo, Malicky, & Norman, 1998). Moreover, very little is known about any relations between the development of children's metacognition and their interaction with their teacher. In this vein, the proposed research focuses on the relations among the teacher, the teaching methods applied during everyday teaching and the children's metacognition.

The aim of the research:

The primary aim of the proposed research is to detect correlation between:

i) The personal metacognitive level of teachers and their teaching methodology that is applied in lessons in order to enhance their students' metacognition.

ii) The teaching methodology of teachers and the metacognitive development of their students.

The research questions:

The above aim was further analysed into three research questions:
i) Is there a relation between the personal, metacognitive level of teachers and their teaching methodology?
ii) Can teachers enhance the metacognition of their students during everyday teaching?
iii) Which model of teaching methodology correlates with the enhancement of the metacognitive behaviour of the students (metacognitive monitoring)?

Necessity of the coming research:

The research proposed is necessary as it aims to narrow the research gap in three ways:

First, as pre-mentioned, metacognition affects the effectiveness of cognition and the first school years are crucial for its development. Nevertheless, there is not a clear picture of what exactly happens during normal school life regarding metacognition's enactment during some children's learning behaviour. Having these in mind, the research was designed so as the students participating are young (8 year-old children) and the data are collected during their everyday life in classrooms.

Second, there are certain theoretical advices about teaching methods that appear to contribute to the improvement of certain metacognitive skills (e.g. the meta-comprehension of a text, the metacognitive monitoring), but these advices need to be tested in real school life, beyond the controlled environment of an intervention. Thus, the observations planned will focus on aspects of teachers' methodology that have been related in previous research to metacognitive activity during learning. In this way, it may become obvious if these teaching suggestions can be materialised in classrooms and, simultaneously, if there is any relation to the metacognitive behaviour of the students that are taught in a certain way.

Finally, the third reason that necessitates the proposed research has to do with the teacher's characteristics. There is evidence that a close relation exists between the cognitive level of the

teachers and the cognitive development of their students (Stigler & Heibert, 1999; Putnam & Borko, 2006). At the metacognitive level, the relevant research is still at the beginning. Kurtz & Shneider (1992), for example, collected data about the metacognitive behaviour of German and American students. Some differences in metacognitive thinking were spotted and these differences were explained on the basis of the teaching approaches applied in the classes by the teachers in the two countries. However, these approaches were investigated through the teachers' self-reports. In the absence of real classroom observations, serious doubts about the reliability of the data may appear.

Recently, a serious attempt to investigate the relation between teachers' and students' metacognition takes place in Israel. The work of Zohar (1999), Mevarech and Kramarski (1997; Kramarski and Mevarech, 2003) is similar in the sense that they train teachers during in-service programmes to improve their own metacognition – in Maths and Science- and then, they investigate the results of this training on the metacognition of their students. Although the research showed an improvement in both teachers' and students' metacognitive skills and knowledge, again, one can question the fact that students' improvement was only seen through their teacher's eyes (self-reports).

Having this in mind, a research that examines the real classroom situation and tests the impacts of teaching on children's metacognition via immediate observation and collection of raw data from the students is needed. Thus, the research designed combines data collection methods (observation, tests to teachers and tests to children, repeated data collection) and aims to gather information from teachers and students themselves, as well as from the class life without indirect reports.

Importance of the research:

Considering the possible results of the coming research, it could be argued that any relation that may appear between the teaching methodology and the children's metacognition will be of great importance as this may offer extra explanations of the differences that appear among the children's metacognitive behaviour. Students with metacognitive weaknesses may receive certain guidance with the appropriate teaching method and, at the same time, lessons could be better planned and conducted so as children's metacognitive development is effectively supported by teachers.

It is also important to clarify any relation between the teachers' metacognition and their teaching methodology. Any positive relation may give extra directions for the initial and in-service training offered to educators. Both forms of training should be designed so as to enable teachers to reflect on their own learning procedures and results and behave as learning models to their students. Simultaneously, teachers should be trained to use those teaching methods that offer their students the metacognitive autonomy desired.

In other words, if relations under investigation are proven, the metacognitive enhancement of a teacher may lead to an improvement of the teaching methodology applied in classrooms so as students' metacognition to be enacted and further developed.

Theoretical framework:

Following Brown (1987), research about metacognition / consciousness can be classified into four groups: a) Research about metacognitive monitoring, b) Research for executive control of information, c) Research about self-regulation (Piagetian and meta-Piagetian school) and d)

Research that deals with other types of regulation (based on Vygotsky's theory about social learning). The research proposed in this paper is more related to the first and last group of research works.

Metacognitive monitoring:

Metacognitive monitoring is applied when learners supervise their cognitive level and state what they know, what they do not understand and what they ignore (Miner and Reder, 1994). Wellman (1983) adds that this kind of monitoring also includes a prognosis of future success in cognitive tasks. Research indicates that metacognitive monitoring is present even at the age of 4-5 but it is actually consciously used some years later (Wellman, 1977; Markman, 1979).

Research about metacognitive monitoring was a turning-point. According to Schwartz and Perfect (2002), metacognition "came into the 'modern' era" (p.4) with Nelson and Narens' (1990, 1994) work. These two researchers developed an interesting theoretical framework that distinguished metacognitive monitoring from metacognitive control and further defined monitoring in relation to four metacognitive phenomena. These are judgements that may occur before, during or/and after learning and refer to what is easy to be learned, what has it been learned and with which level of difficulty will this learning be used in the future.

It appears obvious that applying metacognitive control, that is, making conscious decisions about learning tasks and learning strategies, is highly important as it gives a person both learning autonomy and flexibility in relation to learning demands. A wealth of research evidence documents that metacognitive monitoring not only plays a key role in the effectiveness of the learning process, but it also facilitates this metacognitive control. Interestingly, it was revealed that the information acquired from checking the cognitive level (the state of knowledge) forms the basis on which decisions are made about the way the learning process will be changed, sustained, or further developed (Kluwe, 1982; Schneider, 1985).

According to Nelson and Narens (1994), during metacognitive monitoring the cognitive level informs the meta-level, thus activating metacognitive action. For instance, there is research evidence indicating that wrong judgments of what is known can result in ineffective methods of learning or in allocation of study time to learning tasks that have already been accomplished (Kelemen, 2000; Tobias and Everson, 1995; Vadham and Stauder, 1994). In contrast, those who reflect on their knowledge or ignorance can make better decisions on how to effectively control their learning process (e.g., as discussed in Miner and Reder [1994], they might decide to re-learn something they consider unknown).

This salient role of metacognitive monitoring was not initially conceptualised by researchers. The first relevant studies concentrated exclusively on the accuracy of metacognitive judgments rather than their usefulness (Miner and Reder, 1994). In 1965, Hart was the first to investigate individuals' accuracy in monitoring their stored knowledge: he gave undergraduate students two tests, one in which they were to identify their incorrect answers from among many choices, and a second, where they had to identify their correct answers on a multiple-choice test. The results indicated that students' judgments were relatively accurate indicators of their stored knowledge (in Hacker, 1998). Overall, these first studies showed that it is possible for some kindergarten age children to evaluate their knowledge correctly but, in general, children's ability to do so increases with age (Hacker, 1998). Brown (1980), however, also points out that children's weak metacognitive skills could be attributed to their lack of experience in a variety of learning situations rather than to their young age.

As mentioned earlier, studies since the 1980's have documented a clear correlation between metacognitive monitoring and metacognitive control. More recently, research interest has focused on metacognitive ability at tertiary level education. Nelson and Dunlosky (in Hacker, 1998) found in their 1991 study of college students that there is a negative relation between the time elapsed after learning and the accurate monitoring of the learned knowledge. A wealth of research reviewed in Hartman's (2001) meta-analysis also indicates that high-achieving students in universities showed better metacognitive monitoring of knowledge when asked to predict their grades compared to low-achieving students who overestimated their abilities. Finally, of great importance are the two studies undertaken by Everson and Tobias (2001) in colleges, as they provided the research community with a reliable method of assessing students' knowledge monitoring ability, known as 'the KMA' (Knowledge Monitoring Ability). The basic strategy of this method is to assess knowledge monitoring by evaluating the differences between students' estimates of knowledge and their actual knowledge as indicated on a test.

Metacognition as social learning:

In this category, Brown (1987) considers research works that view metacognition as a result of social learning. This way of thinking was influenced by Vygotsky's theory according to which every psychological process is simultaneously social. A person – and especially a child- adopts these processes through socialization.

Research in this area was developed at a very slower pace compared to the other three categories. Systematic attempts to teach metacognition in a controlled environment started in 1990's. It was then indicated that metacognition can be taught or at least improved by practice (Flavell, 1985, 1987˙ Hartman, 2001). As mentioned above, however, these results could not be easily transferred into normal school life as the research results came from interventions that were applied out of the everyday routine life of a classroom.

More particularly, teaching metacognition regarded meta-comprehension of a text (the ability to understand your understanding) (e.g. Palinscar & Brown, 1984˙ Cross & Paris, 1988˙ Juliebo, Malicky & Norman, 1998˙ Koutselini & Hadjiyanni, 1999), learning metacognitive skills to solve mathematical problems (e.g. Carr & Biddlecome, 1998˙ Davidson & Sternberg, 1998˙ Pappas et al., 2003) and, finally, using metacognitive monitoring (Loizidou & Koutselini, 2007).

When school age children were involved in research it was indicated that their metacognitive skills were improved after these skills were modelled systematically by others. For instance, in a research work of Palinscar & Brown (1984), high school students with severe text comprehension problems were taught four strategies of understanding – summary, creating questions, clarifying and predicting- via reciprocal teaching: The child and the teacher exchanged roles and explained to each another the way they thought and the way they intended to work. Students' improvement was significant. Yet, modelling metacognition is not always the solution. Carr & Biddlecome (1998) explain that indeed during an intervention metacognitive skills can be adapted when they are observed. But, in real classroom situations, other factors may interfere and reverse willing results, such as children's problematic relations, motivation, stress etc.

Some methodological principles for teaching metacognition can be mentioned. Veenman (1998 in Veenman, Van Hout-Wolters & Afflerbach (2006)) describes the «W.W.W. & H.» rule for teaching effectively metacognition: The teacher must inform the learner about what he is about to learn (What), why it is important to learn it (Why), when and how the new learning will be useful (When). This method also includes practicing the skill to transfer the new learning into new environments (How).

Similarly, the acronym IMPROVE (Introducing the new concepts, Metacognitive questioning, Practicing, Reviewing, Obtaining mastery, Verification and Enrichment and remediation) presents a methodological suggestion for teaching metacognitive skills in Mathematics (mathematical reasoning). The method was applied by Mevarech & Kramarski (1997, Kramarski & Mevarech, 2003) to high school students and in-service teachers and had positive effects on learners' metacognition. The acronym implies that metacognition in Math can be enhanced when the teacher begins by introducing the new concepts. Then, 'Metacognitive questioning' follows during which the educator makes questions and helps the learner to understand the purpose of the coming learning. In this way, the learner is able to program, monitor and finally evaluate his/her learning procedure. Afterwards, practicing in problem solving takes place (individually or in groups) and, at the end, the teacher sums up the main points (reviewing) and asks clarifying questions to certify that no gaps or misconceptions exist (Obtaining mastery, Verification and Enrichment and remediation). Extra homework can be given to enrich the new learning.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that researchers came to the conclusion that practicing metacognition improves cognitive results. Metacognition and cognition appears to be so closely related that "the double curse" noted by Dunning et al. (2003) appears by rule: The students with low cognitive results are the ones with the most limited metacognitive skills. However, it is hopeful that in the interventions these students were the ones that have the greater improvement in both cognitive and metacognitive level (e.g. Loizidou & Koutselini, 2007).

Basic research definitions:

The research proposed has metacognition as the main concern, but more particularly, it focuses on three elements: teachers' metacognition, students' metacognitive monitoring and teaching methodology. The following definitions are adopted or given for the terms used in this research:

a) Metacognition: It includes metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive monitoring and control. Hacker's (1998) definition is considered to sum up efficiently the core meaning of metacognition as viewed in this paper: "It is the knowledge of one's knowledge, processes and cognitive and affective states; and the ability to consciously and deliberately monitor and regulate one's knowledge, processes and cognitive and affective states" (p.11).

b) 'Teachers' personal level of metacognition': Teachers as learners themselves develop metacognition as defined above. Nevertheless, effective educators must also posses the 'Teachers' Adaptive Metacognition'. The idea of a "special" teachers' metacognition belongs to Lin,Scwhartz & Hatano (2005). The researchers emphasise that as teachers confront "highly variable situations" (p. 245), they must have the ability "to change oneself to one's environment, in response to a wide range of classroom social and instructional variability" (p.245). In other words, teachers should be able to analyse the teaching environment, to recognise the needs of students, peers and parents and to find ways to effectively communicate and interact with people of different values, motives and reactions. A 'routine' metacognition applied to teaching situations has not effective results on students' learning. Metacognitive adaptation on the other hand, creates an autonomous, effective educator who consciously develops skills and characteristics according to changeable teaching environments.

c) Students' metacognitive monitoring: The research concentrates on the examination of students' metacognitive monitoring for two reasons: First, metacognitive monitoring has a salient role in metacognitive control, as explained above. Second, due to time limitations, it is not possible to

examine all forms of metacognition in children participating. Thus, it was decided to focus on metacognitive monitoring in order to collect more detailed data and extract safer conclusions as this form of metacognition can easily be measured with Everson and Tobias' (2001) method (see above). The model of Nelson and Naren's (1994) is adopted, according to which metacognitive monitoring is applied with four types of metacognitive judgments:

- Ease-of-learning (EOL) judgments: These are predictions made prior to learning and refer to what is easy to learn or what strategies will make learning easier.

-Judgments of Learning (JOL): These are judgments that occur during or after acquisition of knowledge, and are predictions about future test performance on currently recallable items.

-Feeling of Knowing (FOK): These are judgments made during or after the acquisition of new learning, and refer to whether a currently non-recallable item is known and will be remembered on a subsequent test.

-Confidence: In contrast to the above, confidence relates to retrospective judgments as it concerns judgments about a response that has already been recalled.

d) Teaching methodology: With this term the teachers' behaviour in a classroom is implied, a behaviour that is observable and noticeable. This behaviour may include actions, words, physical communication and feelings that can be noticed by an observer.

Theoretical framework of the research:
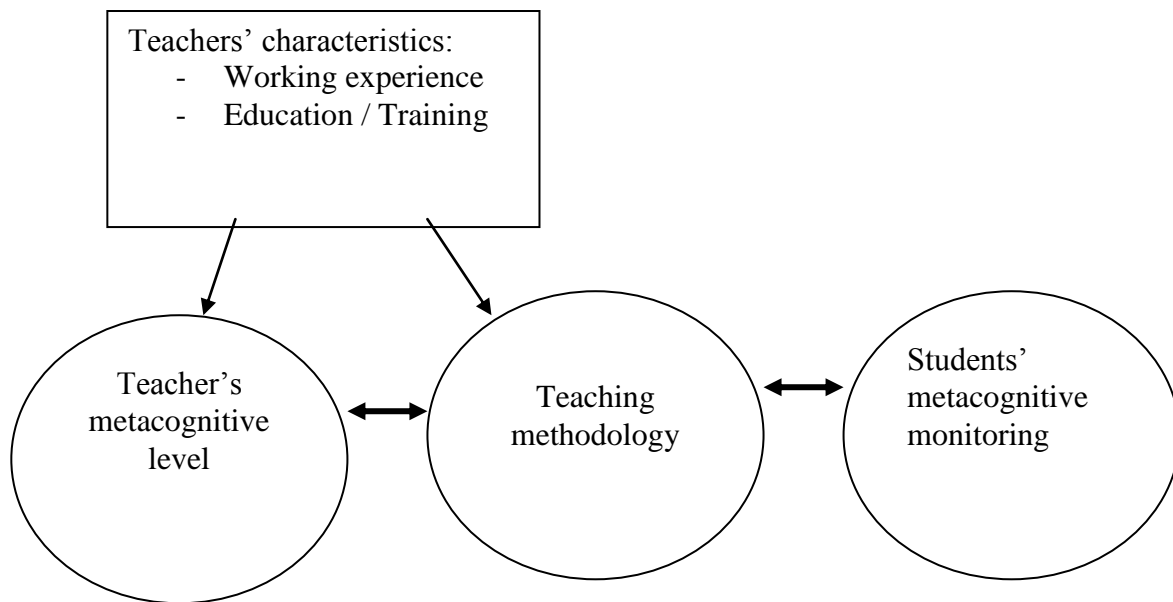
Following the above framework, the proposed research aims to investigate a correlation first between the teachers' metacognitive level and the teaching methodology applied in class, and then, between this teaching methodology and the students' metacognitive monitoring. As seen, the double arrows indicate that the expected relation will be vice-versa in the sense that it is hypothesised that the teachers with high, personal and adaptive metacognition will deliver children a "more metacognitive lesson", but, at the same time, these teachers will reflect on the teaching environment developed during lessons and they will improve or sustain their personal way of thinking and teaching skills. Teachers' characteristics are expected to affect both their metacognition and their teaching methods. It will be interesting to discover such an effect and

more importantly the nature of it: Are the younger teachers more metacognitively sensitive? Are the more educated more capable to deliver a more metacognitive lesson? ...

The double arrow between the teaching methodology and the students' metacognitive monitoring, similarly implies that the methods applied during a lesson are expected to affect the way students are encouraged to monitor their learning procedure and results. Simultaneously, the students' strengths and weaknesses in this metacognitive skill are expected to guide the teaching methods, as far as the teacher is capable to recognise this data, of course.

General characteristics of the research:

An attempt is made to combine advantages of qualitative and quantitative research. So, the proposed research is mainly quantitative since the main aim is to find general relations applied to the population under investigation. The sample is big and representative of the population of students in Cyprus. Tests and inventories/ questionnaires will be used. In addition, observations of classrooms will be made. This qualitative method of data collection is used in order to collect more thorough information, to have a first hand experience and thus have a better understanding of the teaching methods applied in a classroom.

The research is also co relational as it investigates possible relations, but not causal relations. Thus, experimental research is not applied in this case. Finally, it is important to clarify that this is a cohort research or a follow up study (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p.48) in the sense that during a school year there is repeated data collection from both the teachers and the students. Following Cohen and Manion (1994), this kind of research is preferable as it combines some advantages of cross sectional and longitudinal research and it restricts the respective disadvantages. More specifically, it is known that a longitudinal study is preferable in order to uncover changes in behaviour. However, it is time- and money- consuming. Also, participants may choose to leave research ('sample mortality', Cohen & Manion, 1994) or they may get used to the research procedure. On the other hand, in a cross sectional study changes may be spotted in a short period of time but these changes may be random as data collection occurs once. The repeated data collection in the follow up study ensures that any changes that may occur are real. The short period of time in which the research will be conducted allows a repeated research procedure, and at the same time this procedure is less tiring for both participants and researchers.

Research population and sample:

All the children that will be studying in the third-grade of the public primary schools of Cyprus in 2009-2010, as well as, their class teachers belong to the research population. Eight-year-old children were preferred as they are at an age they start developing their metacognitive skills. Also, these students have sufficiently developed their oral and written linguistic skills so they will also be able to give anonymous, written information in a test. Class teachers are considered to be the ones teaching Greek and Maths in a certain classroom. Those two lessons have more teaching time than the other subjects (13 of total 35 teaching periods of forty minutes each). Normally, a class teacher also teaches other subjects in a class. Consequently, this educator spends a lot of time with the same students and it is more possible to affect more drastically their way of metacognitive thinking.

Teachers that teach for the first time Maths to the students of a class will be preferred as their effect on pupils is expected to be more intense, rather than if they are teaching the same children for the second year.

Convenience sampling will be applied: Teachers that are near the school of the researcher will be preferred until a representative sample is made. According to Cohen & Manion (1994) this is an acceptable research procedure. Thirty teachers of the third grade classrooms will be chosen, with their students (approximately 500 children). Due to staff turnover in Cypriot schools the sampling will be completed in September 2010.

Means of data collection:

Due to the absence of instruments to collect the data needed for the purposes of the current research, it was decided to combine an existing inventory, a test and a questionnaire made by the researcher in order to measure teacher's metacognition, to make a checklist for observing the lessons and finally, to use a Maths test in order to measure students' metacognitive monitoring.

Teacher's metacognition:

More particularly, teachers' metacognition will be measured with an instrument that will have four parts.

In the first and second part, teachers' personal metacognition is measured. The first part is «The Metacognitive Awareness Inventory» (MAI) of Schraw & Dennison (1994) translated in Greek. This inventory is based on Brown's (1984) theory about the three kinds of metacognitive knowledge and the five kinds of metacognitive control processes. It includes 52 self report statements like "I am good at remembering information", "I make a summary of what I learn" etc. Participants are asked to evaluate themselves for each statement on a 100 point scale. The inner and external validity of this test was checked by the researchers in two ways: it was completed by 197 college students and it was investigated if their answers could be classified to the 8 kinds of metacognitive behaviour identified by Brown. Factor analysis of data did not make this possible, but it became obvious that the statements could be classified in two factors, metacognitive knowledge and control. Apart from this, the researchers checked if the MAI inventory had similar results with existing instruments for measuring metacognition in adults. It was found that indeed the results of their instruments were satisfactory, apart from metacognitive monitoring.

Having this in mind, for the current research, it was decided to include a second part in which the teachers' metacognitive monitoring is checked. Everson and Tobias' method (2001) is used for this purpose. Teachers will be given a list with 30 Greek words. First, the teachers will be asked to give marks to themselves (1-5) in order to indicate their feelings of how well they know each word. Then, in a second list, the teachers are going to choose the correct explanation for every word (four choices are given per word). Finally, next to the explanation they chose the educators are going to indicate their confidence for each answer they gave by marking themselves from 1-5 (1= do not know, 5= certain for the meaning). As the method of Everson and Tobias suggests, the differences between teacher's judgments and real performance will indicate the level of their metacognitive monitoring (do they know their cognitive strengths?). It is important to notice that educators' judgments made before they give their answers are their "FOK judgments" in Nelson and Narens (1994) model. Their judgments after they will choose an explanation of each word will reveal their "Confidence judgments".

In order to examine teachers' ability to analyse and evaluate their teaching environment, thus examining their "Adaptive metacognition" (Lin, Schwartz & Hatano, 2005), two extra parts were included in the teachers' instrument. In the third part, teachers will be asked to evaluate their students' metacognition on a list of their students' names. What each grade (from 1-4) represents for each child's learning behaviour will be defined. This idea belongs to Sperling, Howard, Miller and Murphy (2002) who were the first to apply this method with educators. Finally, in the fourth part a checklist will be given to teachers. Educators will be asked to evaluate a lesson previously observed by the researcher. The checklist contains main points of the checklist used during the classroom observation.

As it will be explained below, the teachers are not going to complete the four parts of the instruments concurrently.

The teaching methodology:

The checklist for the classroom observations was mainly based on the theory of metacognition. During literature review, however, it was noticed that the theory for students' motivation and classroom climate appeared to have many similarities with the effects of metacognition on learning. Thus, it was decided to include points to be checked from existing checklists for classroom observations that have to do with the way children are motivated or externally prompted to participate in their learning process so as to understand it, guide it and further develop it.

The checklist has four parts. In the first part, the observer concentrates on the way the teacher prepares students' cognitive schemes and motivation in order to receive the new learning (knowledge or skills). A grade is given to each educator's action, from 1 to 3 (1 is 'not applicable', 2 indicates 'at a moderate range' and 3 shows 'applicable'). Statements like "the teacher presents the theme of the lesson", "he makes connections with previous lessons" and "he stresses the usefulness of the new learning" are included in this part.

In the second part, the interaction between the teacher and students is investigated. This is a very important part as the new learning takes place. Also, for students' metacognition it is essential to note if some of the teaching routines engage students effectively in the learning process, for instance, by motivating them to deal with their mistakes, to participate in lesson, to model their thinking etc. In order to notice the interaction that the teacher has with each student a version of the "Verbal Flow" method of Borich (2003) is adopted. According to this method, the observer has a sitting plan of the classroom with each desk indicated as two boxes together. The names of the students are written in the boxes. Every time the teacher addresses a question, the observer notes an arrow on the desk of the child the educator talks to. Similarly, every time a child answers, a reversed arrow is drawn on the desk. Below each arrow a number is noticed so as to count the questions and answers of the lesson. This idea was slightly changed for the purposes of the current research. An important aspect of a metacognitively effective lesson is the exact way the teacher deals with correct or incorrect answers, how he praises or even how he comments on students' work. Thus, extra signs were added to the original method so as to note incidents like "the teacher prompts a child that doesn't want to participate", "a child gives a wrong answer and the teacher turns to another child for the correct answer' etc. Sign for modelling thinking skills was also included. The second part ends with some general statements about the behaviour of the educator during the lesson so as to get a more detailed picture of the interactions occurring. Once again, the observer uses a four-point scale to indicate the applicability of each behaviour of the teacher (statements like "the teacher helps students to set their personal goals", "she informs students about the reasons of their mistakes", "she helps students to connect new learning with existing knowledge" etc.

Statements about the teacher's behaviour at the end of the lesson are in the third part of the checklist. This part, as well as the fourth, are expected to be completed at the end or after the lesson is finished. The observer checks if a revision is made by the educator or the children, if clarifying questions are encouraged, and above all, if the teacher ensures that the learners reflect on their learning procedure.

Finally, in the fourth part, the observer looks at the teaching behaviours that relate to students' motivation and the classroom climate. Some of the statements of this part were taken from various, existing checklists presented by Borich (2003) (e.g. "The classroom warmth instrument", p.87) and others are based on the theory for learning motivation. Based on relevant theory, the effective teacher must concentrate on students' effort than on their results, to allow students to make decisions about the way they are going to work and, in general, to create a learning environment where children would feel comfortable to express their worries and learning concerns. On the other hand, if the learners are prompted to concentrate merely on the learning results and not on the learning procedure, if they are afraid to make mistakes and try to succeed without learning, then ineffective and contemporary learning occurs. Some examples of the statements included in this final part are "the teacher promotes comparisons among children", "she gives time to a child when he faces a difficulty", "the teacher has eye contact with children".

Students' metacognitive monitoring

Two versions of a Maths test will be used to measure children's metacognitive monitoring. The first version includes basic knowledge that the third-grade children have at the beginning of the year and the second version includes basic knowledge that the same children are supposed to have by June. In both versions, however, common exercises and problems are included so as to make the necessary comparisons. Everson and Tobias (2001) method will be applied so as students' FOK and Confidence Judgements to be expressed: Each version is included in two booklets. In the first booklet, next to each exercise a table exists with five columns. At first, the child must indicate the "feeling of knowing" that the exercise creates before it is solved. This will be done by putting a tick in one of the five columns that are titled as follows: "I do not know this exercise", "I will do more mistakes than correct actions", "I will do some mistakes", "I will do more correct actions than mistakes", "I know how to solve this exercise". Then, the children will take the second booklet and solve the same exercises. After they finish, they will turn back and again express their confidence by ticking in one of the five columns that accompany each exercise (the same titles as before but, in the past tense).

The research procedure:

The research proposed has two phases and it will be conducted in two years.

Phase I: The pilot study

This year, the pilot study is done. First, the "Metacognitive awareness inventory" (MAI) of Schraw and Dennison (1994) was translated into Greek by the researcher. A native English speaking helper translated again the Greek version into English and comparisons with the original version were made. No significant differences were noticed and this was a good indicator that the Greek version was presenting the ideas of the MAI. In order to check the validity of the translated MAI, as well as of the second part of the teachers' test with the word explanations, it was decided to give these two parts to 200 primary school teachers that would not participate in the final sample of the

research. For this purpose, 350 tests were sent to schools which were out of the research region. 210 teachers returned the tests and simultaneously, some of them reported some comments to the persons that took the tests back. More particularly, they commented on the time they needed to fill in the test and the clarity of some instructions. These 210 tests will be analysed by September. Factor analysis will be applied to investigate if similar to the researchers' results exist regarding the two factors of metacognitive knowledge and control.

During this academic year, the checklist intended for classroom observations was also used. The researcher observed five lessons of the same teacher to test the applicability of the checklist and the time limits. Some alterations were made as a result. Then, the researcher and the supervisor professor used the new checklist simultaneously as they observed a lesson. Later, they discussed the ways in which this instrument could be revised.

Finally, the two versions of the Maths test were given to the children of a second-grade class and a third-grade class so as to check any misunderstandings, the time limits and in general the applicability of the designed methodology. This happened at the end of the current school year so as the second grade children to represent the third grade children in September.

Phase II: The main research

The main research will be conducted in the following academic year (2009-2010). During September, sampling will take place. Then, in the first semester the children participating will take the first version of the Maths test, following the procedure presented above. In this way, data about the preliminary metacognitive monitoring of the students will be collected. At the same time, the teachers will fill in the first two parts of the instrument that was created to measure their "personal metacognition". During the school year, each teacher will be observed three times, once per semester. Two observers will observe simultaneously so that a more objective data collection is ensured. In the absence of a second observer, lessons will be taped so that the data to be used later on to certify the remarks of the one observer. At the end of the school year, the second version of the Maths test will be given to children so as to spot any development in their metacognitive monitoring, compared with the one they owned in the first semester. Also, teachers will be asked to complete the last two parts of the instrument that evaluates their "adaptive metacognition": To give grades to their students' metacognition and to evaluate their last lesson observed.

The analysis of the data collected will be multi-level: classroom level, students' and individual teachers' (or groups of teachers if necessary) level. For quantitative data SPSS will be applied.

Some final thoughts:

The research proposed aims to narrow the relevant research gap regarding teachers' and students' metacognition. Some research limitations are recognised, however. First, time limitations must be noticed. The research will be conducted during one academic year. Although repeated data collection from the same participants will be applied, it is admitted that the information collected would have been more thorough if it was possible to extent the research beyond the one academic year.

Apart from this, it should be noted that, for the teachers' metacognition, and in the absence of relevant instruments, a self–report questionnaire was selected, although some research dangers may exist: The educators may be lead by the questions or give subjective answers. The second part

of the teachers' inventory where a word test is given aims to limit or even reveal via comparison with the first part, these dangers.

Finally, as pre-mentioned, data for students' metacognition will be restricted to students' metacognitive monitoring due to time and accessibility limitation. In other words, metacognitive monitoring is more easily spotted and the method used (Everson and Tobias, 2001) for its measurement is more applicable to primary school every day, class routine.

Obstacles to the research procedure are also possible. Teachers' lessons, for instance, could be quite similar if a powerful teachers' culture exists (Hargreaves, 1989). If this is the case, no differences may be noticed during observations to justify differences in metacognitive monitoring of children that belong to different classes. Then, it is expected that some teachers will be very sceptical or even negative to participate in this research. This will be a difficulty that will add extra time limitations.

Having this in mind, it seems reasonable to claim that the proposed research is a first attempt to examine metacognition spherically in real classroom situation. Limitations and obstacles are expected and will be analysed or dealt. The coming results may throw some light to answered questions regarding metacognition's development and function, but they will surely be an extra reason for future research…

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"Not like our own school":
'Tensions' in 'home'-'school' relations
in a rural 'community' of the Aegean.

Abstract
The paper tries to fill a 'gap' in Greek ethnography which leaves education as an area mostly dominated by sociological analyses of basically quantitative characteristics. It presents ethnographic examples of 'tense' relations between 'mothers' and 'teachers' of a primary school, in a north-eastern community of Lesvos, Greece. Emphasis is given to how mothers negotiate strategies of 'resistance' or 'compliance' towards their children's schooling, with reference to the model of agonistic relations which permeates life in the village and shapes their relations with the neighbouring community - with which their children 'share' the same school.
Keywords: home-school relations, mothers' role, resistance, local identity, class identity.

Bouratzi Vasiliki
PhD candidate
University of the Aegean
Department of Social Anthropology and History
sam00108@aegean.gr

The research topic of 'tensions' in 'home' – 'school' relations and some basic theoretical concerns.

This paper deals with the research topic of tensions in 'home' – 'school' relations in a rural 'community', named Kleio, on the North-Eastern part of the island of Lesvos, Greece. The ethnographic material presented is gathered through participant observation, interviews and archival research – still carried out, since September 2007 and is part of an 'open' school ethnography that expands from the various forms of public schooling in the above area, to students' homes and their local community in general.

Researchers have studied closely the topic of 'home - school relationships' in their effort to escape the constraints of the mechanistic model of social reproduction (Althusser 1971). Some of them followed the 'role – model' which represented parents and teachers as natural enemies due to their common role and effort to influence children, thus suggesting a universal animosity between the two parts[1]. Others tried to throw light to cultural patterns related to social class. Bourdieu (1964) (1990) did this by using social class as a spring of cultural resources which regulate the gap between 'school' and 'home', therefore affecting student's educational outcomes. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital inspired many other studies that followed. For example, Lareau (1989) and Sirota (1988) studied the ways in which the cultural capital of the dominant classes helps them develop more successful educational strategies for their children. In the same line, others such as Heath (1983) and Michaels (1986) studied the difference in the cultural background of middle – class teachers and working – class, minority families, in terms of language use and education. Finally, a third big cluster of researchers concentrated on the processes of 'resistance' or counter hegemony (Gramsci 1977). Willis (1977) for example tried to explain school failure by connecting it to certain gender and class attitudes of working – class youth.

Researchers have gradually concluded that we are in need of more empirical research that will not take class and culture based 'home / school' discontinuities for granted, being thus able to depict the dynamic connections among social institutions, as well as the subtleties and complexities of dominant ideologies. For example, some researchers gave emphasis to the ambiguous ways teachers 'see' working – class parents (Levitt 1989, Danahay, Levitt 1988), while others analyzed the family strategies of 'compliance' or 'resistance' to schooling - thus giving emphasis to the way families deal with their children's schooling, not only in typical encounters with teachers at schools, but in a broader perspective, where local identity, class and culture are taken into consideration (Reed-Danahay 1996, 2000, Maddox 1994). Such works give emphasis on the production of cultural meanings in every-day life, 'in' and 'around' schools, thus depicting the multiplicity of ways through which 'schools', as state institutions, are being 'incorporated' in various local settings.

In this paper, I focus on some ethnographic instances of 'tensions' between 'parents' and 'teachers'. I describe the different terms and practices through which 'fathers' and mainly 'mothers'[2] deal with their children's schooling, strategically choosing to selectively 'resist' or not some of its facets. I try to avoid approaching 'schools' and 'teachers' as 'monolithic' entities to which mothers are 'opposed', by throwing light to the subtleties which regulate practices of 'resistance' or 'compliance' to school,

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[1] For example see Waller (1965), Parson (1959) Lightfoot (1978).
[2] Reed-Danahay points that 'family strategy' towards schooling is a great opportunity to identify female behaviors and relationships to power outside the private realm of the family (1996: 32).

with reference to the model of agonistic relations that permeates life in these rural communities. More specifically, I try to show how it is basically mothers the ones who develop strategies towards school teachers, in their effort to 'protect' their child's identity and their own, (as 'mothers' of schoolchildren) from any negative comments or gossiping in the village, due to the antagonistic relations that exist among village families[3]. In this context, mothers' talk or silences in their ways of dealing with other mothers or teachers, as well as the meanings they attach on activities such as the doing of homework and children's assessment at school, are of equal interest. On a second level, other 'tensions' with the school flow from the agonistic relations of Kleio with the neighbouring community of Kapi, since both villages share the shame school. Here, the school principle's origin from Kapi, rises to a big issue for some parents from Kleio.

Being a 'mother' of school-children...

In Kleio, the phrase "*young couples*" turns into a native category which depicts the scarcity of couples that have children of school age, due to the gradually ageing population of the village. Today, there are approximately 300 permanent residents left because of the major depopulation of the village in the 50s and 60s and the migration of a high percentage of villagers in cities like Athens or Mitilene. Therefore, most residents are over 50 years old, with the exception of 22 younger couples with children[4] – 5 of them in kindergarden, 13 in primary school, and 13 in secondary education.

Kleio continuous to depict the basic structural characteristics that most communities of north-eastern Lesvos seem to share: a high level of segregation of the sexes at home or in the village [5], a more loose but still present matrifocality[6] and a great

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[3] Gossiping or "*koutsombolio*" as a negative form of reciprocity has been extensively analysed in classical texts of Greek ethnography (see for example Campbell (1964), du Boulay (1974), Friedl (1962).

[4] Some fathers work as farmers, stock-growers, or builders, while others own grocery stores, coffee shops or other family businesses. Mothers take care of the house and help their husbands in the harvesting of olives in winter time, while three of them simultaneously offer a hand in their husbands little shops.

[5] I must mention at this point, that sex segregation in the village turned into a matter of methodological importance during fieldwork. I admit that being an unmarried woman in my early thirties and having settled in the village as an ethnographer, had its own implications in the gathering of ethnographic material.

In the village my communication with men is austere, short and restricted to the point: basic greetings etc. Anything more can be a matter of gossip. Therefore, approaching men for an interview was, and still is, a delicate matter. In most cases, interviews take place at home, with the presence of the wife or the elderly mother, in the case of unmarried men - a break from the common scheme that wants men to leave house or confine themselves in a certain room such as the kitchen when other women are paying a visit. Moreover, men, feel more self-conscious while talking to me. It is easier for them to talk about their childhood, life in the village then and nowadays, as well as politics. I get the impression that talking about their children isn't the most 'natural' thing to do. They never mention the topic unless I do and this certainly has its own meaning, especially regarding the qualitative characteristics of the interviews.

For the above reasons, I must make clear that the ethnographic material presented here pays more emphasis to the mothers' point of view, trying nevertheless to cover the presence of fathers' at home and school, as far as possible. Finally, for reasons of time economy, the issue of how children as agents, negotiate action between their parents at home and their teachers at school, especially in times of tension, will be briefly incorporated in the presentation of the ethnographic material.

identification of mothers with the house and the children. For Papataxiarchis the last two points proved extremely important in the analysis of "*the structural implication of motherhood and primarily female kinship in the wider realms of the community…*" (1988: 162). Women seemed to enjoy informal or implicit forms of 'power' that "*transcended the boundaries of the household*" (103), almost thirty years ago, in the neighbouring communities where he conducted fieldwork.

To be more specific, in Kleio, dealing with children and their schooling appears to be mostly a mother's task and responsibility. Mothers take the first role in the every-day care of children, in helping them with their homework, in participating in school festivities. Also, they consult each other when they have to take a decision about their children's free-time activities, the enrolment of children to private lessons etc. A father acts more as an observer[7], through the mother's daily reports of what happened at school and at home, of any problems with the teachers etc. Therefore, mothers have the upper hand in influencing their families stance towards schools and teachers but are also in fear of being 'exposed', due to the agonistic relations of village families, every time that 'problems' with children appear, at school or in the village. In this context, it is no surprise that most mothers talk about practices such as helping children with their homework, as something really tiring, a great 'burden' that consumes lots of their energy and time[8]. This rhetoric is part of the way they construct motherhood.

Some examples from the field can be illuminating:

Mothers' gatherings with children at the village and at school.

The matter of being gossiped for untidiness at home is a great issue at the village and a great burden for women. Spontaneous visits between them are rare, with the exception of sisters or mothers. A call or an invitation, are the usual prerequisites. Most women complained to me that they don't have a friend, someone to talk to, to trust because there is lot's of gossiping among them, so "*we are all closed at home*" "*kleistikame sto spiti",* as they characteristically say.

This difficulty that women seem to have in exchanging visits and being on good terms is depicted in the way mothers deal with their children's play and other organized gatherings with children, at the village or at school.

Playing…

Children in Kleio, usually play out of the house. On their way home, a common question they address to each other is "*Will you go out*?" "*tha vgeis*" meaning "*will you go out of the house to play with us in the afternoon"*. Except of the fact that children don't have much free time due to their lessons, most mothers mentioned that children in the village don't play together because: "*they are only a few … they don't have friends of the same age or gender, going at the same class at school*" or because "*they don't match or go on well with the rest of the children"*. I soon realized that

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[6] It is an inheritance system that passes the mother's dowry - basically a house and an olive groove – to the daughters (especially the elder one), while sons basically inherit land.

[7] Fathers help in practical things such as picking up or taking children to evening lessons etc.

[8] The most difficult period for them is when they pick up the olives, because they leave home early in the morning and come back late in the afternoon. This is the period when grandmothers living usually next door, take care of the children after school, till mothers' return.

there was an overemphasis in the above[9]. Then, some mothers started mentioning that maybe it was their fault: they passed their antipathies for other families to their children. Due to this, the latter stopped playing or communicating with the children of the opposing family. Moreover, Lena, (23 years old), once told me: "*Children play outside because mothers are afraid that they will be judged for their well keeping of the house, even if they play inside they never go upstairs in the bedrooms, it's a matter of secretiveness*". The above restricted even more the possibility of making friends from the village, for the children of Kleio.

Birthday parties, school festivities…

Every time mothers gather with their children in a certain room, as for example in the case of a birthday party, or a Christmas celebration at a public hall, organized by the women's committee, some basic schemes are observed:
First of all, sex segregation in space is quite rigid and persistent. Fathers are usually absent and if not, they act as strangers, confining themselves in the kitchen or avoiding much contact with the rest of the women who always accompany the young.
Secondly, actions and words are organized in order to minimize any possibilities of being 'exposed'. For example, at parties the presents are never opened in front of the quests. Children are almost never left unaccompanied. Even in times of 'crisis', when the latter gets embarrassingly naughty, scolding a child – one's own or another- is systematically avoided, as a possible source of misunderstanding. Some topics for discussion, such as talking about the teachers and any problems they have with them, remain open, depending on who the guests are, and whether they are in good terms or not. If they trust each other, they talk quite freely and without hesitation and their criticism creates a symbolic community of mothers who fight for the best of their children, no matter whether teachers do their job efficiently or not.
Thirdly, women create 'public' spaces whenever they appear with children, in domestic places, with their selective silences and their carefully handled discourses. This gives to their social encounters a typicality that one maybe would not expect. For example, I was surprised to find out in most parties I attended, that mothers took their children and went home, as soon as the candles were blown.
It is noticeable, that these patterns of women's socialization in the village are also 'brought' by mothers to school. The way parents attend school festivities is above all, gender – determined and specific[10].
 For example, at the carnival party, which is a school festivity attended exclusively by mothers, the latter bring home - made sweets, help children eat, and then sit down in a

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[9] Children played well together out of the house, in the village and at school, no matter how different their ages were.

[10] Mothers or (grandmothers) usually come to school unattended at the celebration for the opening of the school, at the scheduled teachers – parents meetings, at the annual carnival party, and at any form of school trips to accompany the children, especially the younger ones. Except of these scheduled visits to school, mothers sometimes spontaneously cross the school gate to inquire teachers on their children's progress. Nevertheless such meetings are quite rare and brief. Also, mothers sometimes choose to talk to teachers on the phone, avoiding thus going to school.
On the other hand, a small number of fathers accompanies mothers to school, during the celebration of Christmas – a festivity organised in the evening '*so that fathers can come*' as mothers and teachers tell me. Also, some of them come to the village church to watch their children read poems, for the celebration of the national holidays of the 28th October and the 25th March. Finally, some fathers watch the festivity organised for the ending of the school year, every June. This takes place outside, in the big school yard, where children play games, act, sing songs etc.

circle, talking carefully and hesitantly to each other. Communication between mothers who are not in good terms is quite typical and restricted. The same applies for mothers and male teachers since the latter usually stay in the headmaster's office during the festivity, leaving thus their female colleagues with the mothers and the children in the room. Therefore, their placing in 'space' isn't one of teachers versus mothers but one of women versus men.

Most fathers avoid going to school festivities which resemble situations of women's gatherings with children in the village or at home, and if they do - with their wives exhortation - they seem to feel quite awkward or out of place, entering hesitantly rooms, standing near doors, leaving if their wife isn't there to accompany them to their seat, searching for a male friend, or seating next to their wife for the whole evening. In general, fathers accompany mothers to school in order to attend festivities organised out of the context of school classrooms, as for example in the church, the schoolyard or the big hall of the kindergarten were Christmas celebrations takes place[11].

Therefore, it is not surprising, that some 'tensions' with the school, are being 'infiltrated' by mothers through local meanings and values, that apply to the model of agonistic relations in the village. The case of Rania can work as an example.

Rania is a 28 year old mother, who tried this winter to persuade the nursery teacher to accept her 4 year old daughter in kindergarden, overlooking the fact that she was younger than the legal age of admittance. The main reason was that Rania did not have someone to leave the girl to, during the time she worked. At first, the teacher accepted the little one who enjoyed going to school for a week. But one day Rania said that she heard the mother of another infant complain that "*the teacher would be too occupied now with the younger girl, to find time to instruct the rest of the children*". One of the following days, the teacher announced to Rania that she could not bring her daughter to school again because she had a fight with another girl and the rest of the children were teasing her. Rania put the blame on other mothers from the village who "*put words on the teacher's mouth*" and "*didn't took her side*". Once again she reminded me: "*We are mean people*".

Doing homework and the fear of low grades.

Helping children with their homework is exclusively a mothers' task and certainly a great topic of discussion among them. I observed that most mothers concentrate on the end product of their effort which is the completion of the exercise, no matter whether they do most of the job themselves, providing thus ready made answers to their children. This is why teachers often complain to me that mothers do all their children's homework: "*they are mocking us*" the headmaster told me once.

Maria is 33 years old and has two children, a son at junior high school and Gianni a student of 5th grade. Giannis has learning problems at school. Maria talks to me often about the burden of doing homework with her son. Every time school closes for holidays is a comfort to her. Once she admitted that she did most of her son's homework. I asked her why she didn't follow the teacher's advice to let her son do as many of the exercises he could alone. She answered "*How can I leave him go to school unprepared – without having written everything? I can't*".

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[11] Certainly, the argument that fathers can't attend other festivities because they work, has a meaning, but it is not the only one.

Mothers experience the practice of doing homework with their children as an agonistic idiom that leads most of all, to high levels of anxiety for the possibility of low grades at the school report. I am not saying that mothers feel like this instead of really caring about their children's educative future. I see both schemes as equally in progress. Nevertheless, it seems that the 'caring' about their child's and their own identity is something that appears, as soon as the child passes the school gate, even before parent's educative strategies develop in full length.

Mersini, for example, is the mother who has the tensest relations with the teachers, during fieldwork. Last June, at the festivity for the ending of the school year, as soon as she saw that her son took a 9 in the school report – something which brought him second under his best friend Kiriako, who lives in Kleio too, she approached the principal to complain about Petro, the teacher, "*who isn't doing his job well*". She insisted that the teacher hadn't marked the tests correctly. There were many mistakes, and these things were unacceptable. She threatened the principal that she would "*even go to the newspapers*". The principal told her to pass the other day from the office so that they could talk the matter over. Before this, Mersini had told me that she couldn't stand this anymore, "*the teacher meant to mark out the children*", Kiriako and Mano, who till then '*went together*' - meaning that they had the same grades. She couldn't stand it anymore and wished her son had finished school, so that they wouldn't have to be there, any more.

Generally, mothers try to find out about the grades other children took at the village in order to compare them with those of their own children. Most of the time, their children try to get this information from their schoolmates or more rarely mothers ask other mothers about it. Nevertheless, the latter is not a common practice in fear of misunderstandings, so mothers strategically and very carefully choose to whom they will talk to and whether they will complain to the teacher or no.

In front of this pressure for grades, teachers at primary school map out their course of action. For example, the headmaster told me once that the reports of the first semester are given to the students beforehand. Parents come to school, one at a time, the following days to talk to the teachers. Teachers do this to avoid grade – comparison among mothers. When I commented that mothers could still find out about the grades by asking each other, he answered: "*Yes, but they can never be sure*".

"Not like our own school": degrees of mother's familiarization with schools and teachers.

During fieldwork, I observed that mothers' approach to teachers was based a lot on whether the latter were natives (meaning from Kleio or other nearby villages) or '*xseni*' (non – natives, from other places on the island or Greece). This must be seen in relation to the fact that since 2000, the schools of Kapi and Kleio were unified[12].

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[12] The primary school of Kleio had two teachers ever since its formal opening, back in 1912. Teachers taught simultaneously 2 or 3 classes - a practice common at many rural Greek schools, even today. In 1999, the principal of the office of primary education, responsible for all schools of the prefecture, announced to parents and teachers that Kleio's school would be '*downgraded*' to one capable of withholding only one teacher for all classes, due to the lessening number of students, unless parents accepted the unification of the school with the equally weakened school of the neighbouring village of Kapi (only 4 km away). This solution was proposed in the framework of the national plan of the ministry of education, aiming at the creation of bigger clusters of schools that would supersede the smaller ones of the Greek countryside.

The two communities are characterised by Kleiotes as always having bad and antagonistic relations through time. For example, Kleiotes constantly construct their collective identity as members of an ever "*affluent village*", in contrast to the "*poor Kapiotes*" who used to work at their fields "*for a briki (kettle) of olive oil*". Therefore, the unification of the schools due to the lessening number of the students was not an easy endeavour and caused a lot of tensions in the relations of parents with the school. After a lot of reactions such as a 10 days sit – in at the school in Kleio and many negotiations between teachers and parents about practical subjects, such as the distribution of the classes and the festivities in the two schools, the transportation of students from one village to the other etc. all parts agreed on the temporary unification of the two schools, on the premise that a new school would be built, exactly in the middle of the distance that connects the two villages.

The current situation in the function of the school is compared by mothers to its previous state of one school in each village. Mersini once told me, in reference to the new school that has been built and will open its doors next year: "*it's good but it's not like our own school – it will never be*".

The above must be seen in relation to the fact that most mothers in Kleio, especially those who have elder students and experienced this unification from its start, do not 'see' teachers the same way. With this I mean that some believe that the principle Mr Giorgos - in his fifties, born, raised and settled with his family in Kapi, elected president of his natal community for the last 6 years - has more 'power' over other teachers who are not 'natives' and do not live in the area. He is the "*the root of the trouble*" as they characteristically say. Their belief is that Mr Giorgos is in favour of students from Kapi more than those from Kleio and 'influences' other teachers who are '*xseni*' on how they will mark their students etc. "*They want to lift up the children from Kapi, they don't see our children the same*" "*the principal takes care of his village more, he doesn't see them as the same…*" are a few expressions used by mothers.

 It is of interest that sometimes mothers equate so much Mr Giorgos with families from his natal community that expressions such as "*Kapi always does canny things*" or "*Kapi wants to overcome us*" are heard. With this I do not mean that complaints for other teachers are not heard. This is far from true. Nevertheless, the way mothers articulate this basic argument in reference to the principle, shows that some 'tensions' with the school are born due to the segmentation or agonistic relations between the two villages and his identity as a 'native' from the neighbouring community. The principle is a person whose past is well known to mothers. He is a person who lives among them, a person with whom they have things to share or divide.

The above are shown in the case of Mersini, the mother we met before. She comes from a family of medium land – holding peasants who inherited a lot of land from a maternal uncle in the 60's and therefore came closer to the stratum of the land – based elite or '*afentika*' '*bosses*'[13]. Mersini and her sister are proud of being among the first girls in the village to finish high school[14]. She compares herself and her natal community with Mr Giorgo and Kapi, in such a way that it is as if persons and places are identified before being hierarchically placed :

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[13] See Papataxiarchis (1988).

[14] They belonged to the children of elite land holding families who started going systematically to secondary education, without aiming to further studies in universities. Before them, only three girls of well to do families had gone to 'college' – a private junior high in Mitilene, known as '*the college*', only to return to the village to get married after finishing school.

" *In my village we didn't all study to go to university, we had it, to finish school, simply for the knowledge, and stay, I mean we didn't aim at it, those who aimed at it was Kapi, they wanted it (...) just a few went to university, those who didn't have money, who didn't have something, let's say, a field, something to bind them (...) those who had fortunes, left it to chance (...) I mean this thing that Kleio had, which other villages said I am a teacher, and we talk about the last student in class, students who did each class three years, and they are teachers now, and they think high of themselves, they think that they are THE educated people"..*

Finally, the case of Thalia, is equally interesting. Thalia, a 44 year old mother of two sons - Foti, a student of second grade in junior high, and Gianni, 20 years old now. She was born and raised in Kleio by small landholding peasants who strived for there living and for the well being of their only child[15]. She never went to junior high, even though she was an excellent student who loved school a lot, and dreamed of becoming a teacher. We talked about her 'decision' to leave school. She was moved when she remembered the couple of teachers and especially the woman, who tried to *'promote'* *'na proothisei'* her as she said, by urging her to continue to junior high:

"I am touched talking about it, but I saw some sympathy, I saw that she promoted me, in her own way, to continue" (...) "Her husband caught my father so many times and urged him, let Thalia go to junior high, but my father (...) I remember him telling me, and what if you go to junior high and you end up passing somewhere, going out 'na vgeis' as a teacher, which I wanted, where am I going to send you, can I pay for your studies, (...) you are a girl, where will you go my baby (...) and what if something happens to us, who is going to take care of us (...)and I sat down and thought about it, as much as I could think, a twelve year old child, and I said, wait a moment Thalia, stop thinking about studies and such things. I finished primary school, I went nowhere…".

Further in our discussion Thalia described to me how her relations with her oldest son's teachers worsened after the unification of the two schools:

"They unified the schools, that year was a traumatic experience for my son, because the principle was from Kapi".

At the beginning of that school year, all the temporary teachers who passed from her son's classroom, congratulated her for his bright mind. His new teacher as well:

"I was happy" Thalia says, *"after all they said such things, and when the teachers themselves grasp you, without me going to suck up to them, without even knowing them, without offering anything to them, and they say, are you Gianni's mother, no matter what, you feel happy, satisfied…".*

But at the parent's gathering at Christmas Thalia started thinking that the teacher's stance towards her son had changed, due to the principal's intermingling. It seemed that the teacher wanted to *'promote'* another student from Kapi, so that he would get

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[15] Her mother particularly came from completely landless plebeian parents who were economically depended to a local elite family (or *'afentika'* – *'bosses'* which is the native word). She worked as a maid as well as in the harvest groups which that family owned. Her mother's father worked as an overseer, *'epistatis'* in the olive fields especially when the harvest groups were at work.

better grades in order to hold the flag at the school parades. Here the word "*promote*" acquires a negative content, when applied to children of other families:

"*I go at Christmas to take the report, I see a teacher quite aggressive, I asked her about Gianni,, and she said yes but Nickos, a child from Kapi is also a great student, I tell her, excuse me I don't ask about Nickos, and she said yes but Giannis must be more careful in the tests, and such things…*".

At the beginning Thalia thought this was simply an advice, but gradually she got angry with the continuing remarks of the teacher. One day she met the other boy's father who told her:

"*I don't know, I went to the principle, and told him, go and put the teachers in hand, because my son is smart, and I want him to finish with excellent marks (…) I won't leave these little women teachers do such things….*".

Thalia came to the conclusion that this father had talked to the principle because they were from the same village, and the principle made the teachers help the other boy more than her son. She believed that the compliments of the previous teachers didn't match the new teacher's remarks, and an antagonistic opposition begun between her and the teacher. She started comparing the marks of the two students, and this had serious effects on Giannis' feelings towards school, as well as on their relationship which worsened.
In the end of the school year the students had to write a composition as a fairy well to school. The best would take a prize. Thalia says:

"*I sat down and I wrote Gianni a composition, from my old books (…) I did it to help Gianni to get the prize (…) I was happy when he read the composition, because it may sound egoistic but it was a very good essay*".

I was surprised to find out that she knew it by heart. Stratoula mentioned that the teachers decided not to give the prize after a first reading they had done of the essays in class, but she didn't seem to understand that maybe this decision was taken because teachers realized that she had written the essay herself:

"*Yes, it was the best essay, the other children wrote more simple things (…) G's composition had a deeper meaning (…) you must have a higher level to understand it (…) and then some teachers came and told me, congratulations the essay was perfect, 'Gianni, did you write it alone', and Giannis said 'mum helped me', but his teacher said nothing, no congratulations, not even good luck to junior high, and I think Giannis didn't go to wish goodbye to her, or anything else, and I didn't go near her, not even to talk to her, nothing, maybe from selfishness, maybe from something else, but I didn't go near her…*".

Conclusion

Mothers in Kleio seem to participate more than fathers in their children's schooling. This is encouraged by the sex segregation patterns that appear in the village and the cultural meanings concentrated around the notion of motherhood. The high

identification of mothers with their children and the competitive relations among village women and families in general, makes women experience their children's schooling as a great burden or stressful period for them, as well as some of their children. Therefore, school failure or disappointment is an important issue for mothers to handle and any instances of 'resistance' to teachers' practices can also be seen from this perspective. A mother decides whether she will choose more 'tacit' and 'pathetic' forms of resistance or not, depending on how much she wants to 'expose' herself and her child's problem at school, knowing that whatever happens will not be left unnoticed by co – villagers and/or other teachers.

Moreover, the cases of Thalia and Mersini particularly, show how the class origin of the mothers affects their strategies of 'resistance' or 'compliance' to school. Both of them didn't continue their studies (junior high and university respectively) due to different attitudes their parent's had towards schooling and their probable exodus from the village. For Thalia schooling was a risky endeavour basically because her father saw her leaving, as a threat to his family's economic and emotional survival. For Mersini, schooling was simply a way of showing off her higher social rank. Her family did not urge her to study, simply because their first concern was the sustaining of the families fortune; it is the land that binds them to the place and that is presented as having greater value than education. These experiences, I believe influence the way the two women approach school nowadays. Thalia prefers more 'tacit' or 'passive' strategies of resistance such as writing the composition for her son, while Mersini confronts the teachers face to face, climaxing their tense relations, probably because she feels more comfortable in doing this. She constructs her identity as one of the first girls that went to high school from the village, not to study but just for the knowledge, undermining thus the principle who probably studied to find a wage - job, as most of his co –villagers supposedly have done.

In general, mothers' talk about 'tensions' in 'home – school' relations and their practices of 'resistance' or 'compliance' to their children's schooling, appear as agonistic idioms, as ways of making statements about themselves, their families or their community. They are strategies of selfhood or group identity and therefore we can understand their meanings better by placing them in the wider context of every - day life in this community, of which they are part.

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4ᵗʰ Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Modern Greece and Cyprus

'Multiple Inequalities, Ambiguous Positioning: Intersections of 'Gender', 'Race', 'Class' and 'Age' in the Formation of Female Youth Identifications'

Eleni Stamou

Institute of Education-University of London

e.stamou@ioe.ac.uk

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Introduction

The present paper is part of my ongoing research on the construction of youth identities in modern Greece. The paper focuses on the narratives of two young Albanian girls living in Greece and aims at mapping out what it means to be young and female with an ethnic minority background living in Greece. Moreover my aim is to identify and deploy analytical tools that allow one to capture individual's multiple positioning and identifications. For this purpose I draw on Stuart Hall's theoretical tools and follow them through in the ways they have been appropriated and further developed in the context of feminist research.

I will start off with a short description of my study and the methods used. I will then refer to the main concepts deployed in the interrogation of the data. Thus I will introduce Hall's conceptualization of identify formation and refer to some ways it has been followed up in the context of gender studies. I will finally present extracts of the two girls' narratives and discuss them along with Hall's 'identifications' while also drawing on the existing research on social and educational inequalities.

The Research

As aforementioned my PhD focuses on the construction of youth identities in modern Greece. The object of the study double: On one hand it constitutes an exploratory, sociological research on the construction of youth identifications. On the other hand it is an exercise of theory and method. In particular it is a study on the interpretive possibilities and limitations of three perspectives: Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and Stuart Hall. While deploying tools from 3 different models, treating them as distinctive lens through which I view the data, my aim is to provide a reflexive account on the issues that these concepts 'hide and reveal' (Irwin 2000) with respect to the data.

The study is located within the broader context of redefinitions of 'youth' and the changing content of youth experience. The concern is focused on what has been constructed in the field of youth research as 'mainstream youth', 'silenced majority' and 'ordinary kids' (Brown, 1987). Hence it is concerned with students that are in secondary post-compulsory education and in particular, students at their last year of Lyceum. Identification issues are expected to be particularly relevant and important for these young people, as they are in a transitional phase of their lives. The

research is based on youth narratives generated through semi-structured interviews. The way young people narrated themselves is subject to several contextual limitations. Young people narrated themselves as a response to the research enquiry and thus in an appropriate -for the research circumstances- way. Moreover it has to be stressed that these narratives only capture one moment of a dynamic processes, namely the construction of subjectivities. As such they are partial, limited and open to transformations.

Identifications and Intersections

The formation of identity holds a central position in Hall's work and is located within the general object of his intellectual work, namely *'the present conjuncture'* (Soundings). *'Thinking conjecturally'* signifies, according to Hall, an analytical interest in social phenomena regarding them not as single entities but instead, focusing on their multiplicity and historical specificity and therefore seeking to identify the different forms they take at different historical phases. In this respect Hall declares his interest, for example, not in racism but in *'different forms of racism'* and indicates the need for thinking in plurals (Soundings). The general ideas of a non-teleological approach to 'conjuncture' and the rejection of fixity are manifested and developed further in the conceptualization of identity formation as a continuous process. To stress the procedural character of identity he terms it *'identification'*. From this viewpoint individuals are perceived as being in a continuous process of constructing and re-constructing identities across different settings.

The process of constructing identities is described as one that *'operates across differences, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of frontier -effects'* (ibid, p.17). Then, the construction of identity is not the disclosure of an internal origin; it is related to a complex work, of *'articulation and suturing'* (ibid, p.17). From the above, the notion of identity that is employed in Hall's approach is *'not an essentialist but a strategic and positional one'*, one that is *'never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions'* (ibid, p. 17). Identification in this framework is regarded as a *'meeting point, a point of* suture' signifying individuals' active *'attachment to subject positions which are constructed by discursive practices'* (see Hall, 1995). In this sense identification is seen as

'successful articulation or 'chaining' of the subject into the flow of the discourse' (page 19).

Hall's view of identity-formation as a continuous, open-ended, historically specific process raises a range of problematizations towards traditional conceptions of self-identity and introduces a new vocabulary for thinking, describing and understanding it. Hall's vocabulary was followed up and developed further -towards politically critical and analytically rich directions- in the ground of gender studies. In the context of gender studies research has focused on counter-hegemonic and under-legitimated forms of identification. By depicting responses to dominant discursive positions and forms of resistance, this kind of research sought to open spaces for their visibility, recognition and legitimacy. In these cases researchers have paid close attention to individuals' active involvement with meaning-making, ways of negotiating or resisting mainstream discursive positions as well as ways of bringing about discontinuities and change.

While dealing with such type of research-enquiries feminist research deployed the concept of *identification* along with *'dis-identifications'* to point out on the ways individuals de-legitimise, distance and disconnect themselves from certain discursive subject positions. Dis-identifications refer to points of rupture to what Hall describes as *'successful articulation of individuals to positions'.* Moreover the concept of *'counter-identification'* has been used to describe the process of shaping hybrid or alternative positioning, drawing on the material and symbolic resources that are available to individuals in a particular context at the specific historical moment. Thus the concept of dis-identifications and counter-identifications take further Hall's emphasis on individuals' active engagement with shaping self-identities -drawing on the available discourses and practices- and constitute a useful vocabulary for describing and elaborating further on the process of identity- formation.

From a different ankle, the influence of Hall's intellectual work in the field of gender studies is identifiable in studies of social stratification and inequality. Critical accounts (Anthias, Wright, Crompton, etc.) on the lines along which the research agenda in this field has been developed, point out on the early-years' divisions between class and gender analyses and their respective constitution of these two, as distinctive and separate fields. Nevertheless in the course of research developments

in both fields, the gap narrowed so that nowadays, according to Crompton & Scott (2001), it is a common ground among class and gender researchers that *'gender relations are also constitutive of class relations themselves* (Crompton & Scott, 2001:188). Anthias suggests that *'the ways in which these forms of social organisation and identification intersect in specific sites to produce forms of social asymmetry is undoubtedly the most central development in the social theorization of inequality* (Anthias 2005: page 32). In this font there has been a growing interest on *'intersectionality'* (Anthias 2005, Anthias &Yuval Davis) that is, towards exploring the interconnections and interrelations between and across different forms of social inequality and identification.

Young Female Albanians Living in Greece:

Aninta and Anna are two seventeen-year-old Albanian girls living in Athens. Anninta lives in central Athens and Anna lives in an area at the north-west part of Athens. They are both from Tirana and immigrated to Greece around the age of ten. Anna came to Greece with her parents and her older brother. Her father is a painter and her mother works as a cleaner. Aninta's parents came to Greece one year earlier in order to find jobs and a house for their children. During that year Aninta and her sister stayed in Tirana with their grandparents. Aninta's father works as a builder and her mother is employed as a house cleaner. Both girls are in secondary, post-compulsory education. They attend Technical Educational Institutions (TEE) and they are at their final year. Both girls have followed the Health and Care Division and work hard in order to do well at the exams and continue to higher education.

Intersections of Class and Gender

At several points Anna's and Aninta's narratives entailed extensive references to different 'gender regimes' and illustrated a view on their struggles for constructing a female self. Both girls reflected on their families' legitimate forms of 'doing girl' and read themselves along with a process of dis-identification. Anna and Aninta narrated themselves as shifting away from traditional forms of femininity as well as resisting their families' legitimate female identities. The girls' narratives, similar to the women studied by Skeggs (1997) were marked by a strong sense of what they don't want to be but were less sure of what they want to be (Skeggs, 1997, page 82). They therefore read themselves through dis-identifications rather than describing counter

or re-identifications. I rather capture them in a process of seeking for and crafting the latter.

The girls described the horizon of the female subject positions available to them in terms of 'gender regimes' (Walby 1997). These were made up of dominant discourses on female identifications and were interwoven with elements of class culture. Here I view class from the viewpoint of a lived experience, as embodied and enacted; as interwoven with schemes of thought and embedded in forms of practice; as a structure in the mind, that pre-disposes towards certain 'horizons of meaning' and fuels practice.

ANINTA

As aforementioned, Aninta has followed the Health and Care Division. She talks about this pathway in terms of a situation where she *'found herself in, before even realizing it'* rather than a result of thorough choices or elaborated decisions that she made for herself. She explains that it was always her mom's dream for her daughter to become a nurse and that she went to a Technical Educational Institution because her cousin went there too. Aninta does put effort towards doing well in the exams in order to go to a Higher Education Institution mainly because she dreams of living on her own, away from her family, in order to *'gain new experiences and try out her self'* in surviving on her own. Although Aninta find it easy to compromise with her family's choices on her education and future profession she narrates herself as resisting the familial legitimate female identity. At several different points during the interview, she Aninta talked about her family paying particular attention at the tensed relations with her mother. She talks on the reasons of this tension as follows:

- 'My mom wants me to be the perfect daughter!
- Which is?
- Well, first of all to be like…a good housewife, good with housekeeping you know! To be a bit reserved; to stay at home; to be a decent girl, to study a lot; also she doesn't want me to have relationships. I think she would only allow me to have a relationship with Mr. Perfect which will lead to marriage (she laughs). What else? Oh, she doesn't want anyone to say bad words about her daughter; she wants everyone around to have the perfect opinion about her daughter.
But you see, I like going out…I am going out a lot! I have many friends and mates to hang around. I am going out with guys! I have boyfriends…well sometimes I also do spontaneous relationships (she laughs). At this age it's normal to do such kind of stuff you need to experience things so it's ok'

The tension at her relationship with her mother is narrated with reference to different 'gender regimes' and subsequent legitimate forms of femininity. Aninta depicts her moms' legitimate pattern of doing girl as consisting of being good with house keeping, being reserved and being a domestic type of girl whereas she goes about narrating herself as a fun-loving, experience-seeking and sexually liberated individual.

Following feminist accounts on the formations of 'gendered relations', the development of the 'right' sort of femininity is interwoven with elements of class culture. In this respect feminist research has argued that '*the ontological security of the working class is more likely to lie in 'fitting in' rather than 'standing out'* (Skeggs 1997, Reay & Lucey, 2000, Val Gillies 2005). Aninta refers to her mother's concern that '*everyone has to say good words about their daughter'.* In the case of Aninta's family crafting a *'proper'* female identity entails following a standard pathway and sticking to a set of ethical principles and values. This value-system constitutes a resource for identification, and valuation and is inextricably connected to the local symbolic system. From this viewpoint the local symbolic system, provides the symbolic sources for the construction of the female self and works as a constant monitoring and valuation force.

Moreover Skeggs's ethnography of working class women provides insights on the ways women were observed to consider femininity in strategic ways. Thus definitions of the 'right' and 'valid' sort of femininity are also related to a process of *propertizing* the self. In Aninta's narrative the parental perceptions of the valid female identity are marked by a focus on heterosexuality. More specifically Aninta refers to a concern with developing a type of femininity that can be strategically manipulated and exchanged in the local 'marriage market'; in other words a concern with being 'marriable' constitutes a main aspect of female identification.

At the female identity indicated by Aninta's family, limited visibility in the public sphere is regarded as a marker of ethical conduct. Moreover limited socialization and reservation in terms of sexual conduct is deemed to be a signifier of decency and purity. Values, norms and prohibition are the material of which the female self is made. Overall, following Hall, the process through which such a female identity is shaped would rather be described in terms of 'chaining of the subject

within the flow of the discourse' (page 19). In the above case, traditional discourses of gender relations as they cross-cut with class culture make up a female self that is mainly enacted in the private sphere and focused towards a certain kind of heterosexuality. Furthermore such a female identification is constructed and enacted within strong collectivities.

Aninta dis-identification draws on post-traditional discourses of the 'modern girl'. The young female self is constructed through a collection of experiences and enacted in public spaces previously regarded as unknown territories. Multiplicity of experiences, impermanence, spontaneity and a loose sense commitment, constitute a source of pleasure and make up a youth female self that strives to be 'freed' from the norms of a traditional code of female practice. Thus, Aninta's dis-identification involves a weakening of norms along with weakening of the power of collective frames of reference. In Hall terms Aninta's project of self-fashioning would be rather understood in terms of *'a complex work of articulation and suturing'* (p. 17)

ANNA

Anna goes to the Technical Educational Institution and just like Aninta, she has followed the Health and Care Division. She explains that this decision was taken mainly because of fear, as she was 'afraid' to go to the academically oriented Unified Lyceum. Under the guidance of her family she went to the TEE. Anna is doing very well at school and is one of the best students of her year group. At the time of the interview she works very hard in order to achieve good results at the final exams and continue to higher education. During the interview Anna talks about regretting her choice to go to TEE and refers to a more general shift from the logic that informed her decisions back then. More specifically she no longer aims at graduating from TEE and obtaining a set of skills that will allow her to make a living; she has dreams of going to the University, getting further education and building up her own career. In this way she shifts away from her family's preferred pathway. While presenting extracts of her narrative I try to capture the ways in which *valid and legitimate* choices are made on the basis of classed and gendered symbolic systems. In toher words, I look at the ways these classed and gendered 'horizons of meaning' (Bourdieu) inform educational choices and attach value to future pathways.

'You are going to the Technical Vocational Lyceum...Where did this come from?

*How I decided it…Actually **I was afraid** to go to the Unified Lyceum.*
Because I was not so much…I was a student of 12, 13 and I thought well if I have 13
now, why going to Unified Lyceum, what am I going to do there? So I thought I'd
better go to the TEE. And perhaps I can get a degree…maybe I will learn a craft, I
will get some skills or something, I don't know. But since when I went it's been
completely different. Since when I started at TEE I have improved a lot as a
*student…perhaps because I decided **to do something**…**to become something in my***
***life**. I don't know if it has to do with the age and things…I mean the fact that I took it*
more seriously…Before I was younger and wanted games …you know what I mean…I
didn't care, I thought who gives a '….' come on now, I was only thinking of
boys…you know how it goes ….truanting and stuff…Now I have taken it more
seriously. And I want to continue to Higher education, you know…I want to continue
not just graduate and get a job'.

Later on in her narrative Anna speaks extensively about her decision to go to TEE and elaborates on changing her mind and regretting this choice.

'I have regretted for not going to the Unified Lyceum.
Oh really?
*Yes…it was **because of fear**…like **a kind of phobia**…I don't know how to explain it.*
Did you discuss it with anyone at that point?
Yes with my parents. Hmmm… I don't think that they had any kind of phobia but they
*rather thought of it in terms of my interests. They thought…they **could see me more at***
***the Voc/Tech. Lyceum**. They thought: 'there you will get a particular specialization,*
you will get some skills, you will get the degree on a certain vocation. And you will
come out as something, you will be able to use it and make a living. While at the
Unified Lyceum…you don't get something out of it. You graduate from a Unified
Lyceum, you have a degree. So what? What do you get out of it?'
… … … …
*'As a girl **all you need is a job that allows you to make a livin**g. You will have a*
family tomorrow or the day after, so it is good to be able to contribute to it'

Feelings of fear, lack of confidence and a sense of inadequacy seem to have accompanied Anna's choice of school. TEE was thought of as the place that is more suitable for her; a choice that corresponds to her perceived capabilities and attainment level. The Unified Lyceum -along with the academically oriented institutional culture that characterises it- feels like an unknown grey area; Here Ball's argument that *'schools are classed spaces within which some students feel at home and others can be distinctly uncomfortable'* can be taken into consideration. Ball suggests that in more general terms *'education is a trajectory through spaces of learning, and our movement through these spaces can be re-affirming of who we are or be part of becoming different'* (Ball 2006). For Anna Unified Lyceum is a cultural site distanced from the familial culture, which in turn triggers hesitation and a sense of discomfort. These are elements that, according to a growing body of research

(Reay 2001, 2002, 2005, Sayer 2005, Lucey 2002, 2003) signify the '*emotional politics of class*'.

On the other hand the choice of TEE sat more comfortably with the cultural capital of her family and the logic of practice stemming from it (Bourdieu, 1990). It is a choice that, according to her parents, is closer to Anna's interests; a practice that corresponds to the 'universe of meaning' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 87) of Anna's family. In the framework of Anna's parents, education is thought of as closely connected to the acquisition of skills that can be directly transferable to the job market and exchangeable in order to secure a living. What is regarded as valuable and relevant to her interests is the concrete set of skills that she can obtain out of TEE, as contrasted to a 'vague' body of academic knowledge that she would obtain out of the Unified Lyceum.

Furthermore this 'universe of meaning' is mediated by a certain 'gender regime' to inform choice making. Being a girl, for Anna's family, carries particular meaning in relation to future employment while also contextualising the future horizons and signifying priorities and limits within it. Within the familial gendered 'universe of meaning' the centre of female identity is focused around family rather than further education and career. Work is related to making a living and contributing to the family. The main frame of reference and source of fulfilment of female identities is set outside work.

Intersections of Gender and Ethnicity

Above I argued that the horizon of gender relations available to the girls and the gender identifications they can draw on/ the gender positions they can occupy/ are related to their class positions and mediated by class culture. I will now try to elaborate on the above points and discuss them in relation to identity formation, by bringing into consideration perceptions and lived experiences of 'ethnicity' as they are intersect with gender relations. In both girls' narratives 'ethnicity' and 'gender' are entangled and narrated in parallel. In other words, both girls' constructed racialised definitions of female identification. Interestingly, in both grils' narratives 'Greekness' and 'Albanianess' seem to constitute solid categories with fixed

characteristics. Thus symbolic boundaries are present and held strong in the Albanian girls' representations constructed in their narratives.

ANINTA

In the following extract Aninta was asked if she can think of any critical events, moments or people that influenced her decisively. She refers to the experience of immigration and reflects on it as follows:

- 'The fact that I left my country. I got to know a different mentality.
- And how do you go about thinking of it?
- Positively! Absolutely positive! It opens your mind. I mean, if I had stayed there I wouldn't have this mentality now. Imagine how I would be if I were in Albania well…maybe at this moment that we're speaking I would be married maybe I would even be heavily pregnant (she laughs). Can you imagine that? So, what happened was for me the best case scenario. … …
…My cousin was 15 years old when she got married. I do not want that! Well she finds it absolutely ok, actually she finds it perfect, she likes that…she's happy, well for the time being. But for me this girl knows nothing, she hasn't lived anything in her life. It's her own life and her own decisions, her mistake from my viewpoint…because I think she has lost a lot'

In this extract, we glimpse articulations of 'ethnicity' and 'gender'. In Aninta's narrative 'ethnicity' and 'gender' appear to be interwoven, with 'Albanian-ness' involving a singular pathway, with limited choices and multiple restrictions in living femininity and 'doing girl'. In his research on contemporary racisms and ethnicities Mac an Ghail (1994) finds that *particular relations of race, simultaneously 'speak' gender and sexuality: to be a 'paki' is also to be a 'non-proper' boy'* (Mac an Ghaill 1994, b). In the case of Aninta, 'Albanian-ness', apart from signifying ethnic origin, *simultaneously speaks* a female identity and a respective form of femininity. Being an 'Albanian girl' also means –for Aninta- following a single traditional pathway, dominated by family values and marked by limited social exposure and experiencing. Aninta constructs ethnic identity as infused with a certain form of female identity. In this extract 'ethnicity' signifies and for Aninta very restricted possibilities of female identification. 'Albanianess' is mandatory of a family-oriented female. From this viewpoint immigration is described as an 'absolutely positive' experience that 'opened up her mind' and points out on the form of female identity which is entangled with ethnicity.

ANNA

- 'Would you like to talk to me about your friends?
- '…When I was at high-school my two best friends were both Albanians. And I don't know how to explain this thing…there was so much competition going on. It is strange but I felt that people with same ethnic origins were competitive. We were from the same country, same town, and I felt that they were like, who is better…why she is better than me, or why she's dressed better than me. And so much bitching going on. And I didn't feel comfortable; I didn't like this competitive feeling. Now most of my close friends are Greeks because I find them more liberated.
- What do you mean by that?
- Well…for example with my friends at High School (who were Albanians) it was such a big deal to go out one night…we had to send a hundred txts and call each other and then finally sometimes they would cancel it. People from here…like with these Greek girls I am now close with, we don't have such issues. Plus I feel they value friendship more, they give a lot to friendship. We understand each other; they have targets in their lives as well, they are good at school and at the same time they like having fun, going out etc. Well, a typical Albanian girl for example, if she has a relationship she will not have me –her friend- first. She will have her relationship above all and I will go afterwards. Do you get what I mean?

Anna reads herself through a process of changing friendships and shifting alliances. Along with this process Anna describes herself as moving away from the group of Albanian friends and getting close to a group of Greek girls. In this context her high-school alliances with Albanian girls are interrupted and progressively replaced by those with '*liberated*' Greek girls.

Anna's self narrative is marked by symbolic differentiation and motion. Conceptions of 'ethnicity', female identifications and friendship are all present at the narration of Anna's experiences of dis-identification and her struggles for re-identification. Throughout her narrative Anna –similarly to Aninta- constructs 'Albanianess', as infused with a certain type of femininity and attitudes towards heterosexuality and friendship. As such 'Albanianness' for Anna, involves a form of doing girl which is marked by limited freedom in leisure and a high concern with heterosexuality. In contrast 'Greekness' as it is constructed in Anna's narrative is a signifier of rather more liberal female identifications characterised by higher aspirations for academic achievement coupled with greater freedom and pleasure in leisure. In these two different contexts Anna sees friendship as changing meaning and significance. Thus we glimpse Anna developing racialised boundaries entwined with female identifications; in this process we observe her differentiating herself from 'Albanianess' and identifying with 'Greekness' on the base of her desired mode of doing girl, experiencing leisure and developing bonds of friendship.

Anna refers to a sense of competition developing out of the female Albanian group of friends and points out on their limited freedom in terms of leisure. Hay's research on girls' friendship could possibly be informative here. In the context of her research on girls' friendship Hay (1997) -drawing on Willis's 'Learning to Labour'- argues that *working-class girls' investment in heterosexuality was in part mandated by their disinvestments in schooling as a source of (academic) prestige* (Hay 1997: 76). Moreover some girls in Hay's study read themselves in competitive relations with other girls because as Hay puts it: *'their investment in the heterosexual marketplace is seen as the only route through to what they see as desirable femininity'* (Hay1997:76). In this sense, competitiveness, or 'bitchiness' in Hay's research are seen as implications of a type of female identification and constitute one of the ways in which these girls *'come to resolve who they are'* (ibid).

Hay's research could provide useful insights for understanding further Anna's dis-identifications. What in Anna's narrative is a constitutive element of 'Albanianess', in Hay's research is seen to be implicated with certain forms of classed female identification. Drawing on Hay, Anna's shift from ethnic identity depicts a shift away from a certain mode of female identification and more broadly signifies a differentiation in terms of the means used to define and construct a sense of self. On one hand Anna dis-identifies herself with a 'youth' and 'girlhood' that are primarily invested on heterosexuality and geographically located in the private space and in the school life. In Hay's research competitive hostilities were a way through which a group of white working class girls were observed to define themselves. Anna dis-identifies herself with the mode of doing girl described previously, and positions herself closer to a 'youth' and 'girlhood' invested on academic achievement and freed to float across public and private spaces. In this context Anna's focus on strong friendship bonds could be viewed as the means through which she builds up her identifications.

While shifting away from the familial logic of practice, alliances with the 'liberated Greek girls' become a resource for re-identification. The friendship network also constitutes a network of support as well as a resource for alternative female identifications. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that in this process 'Albanianess' doesn't appear to have any kind of exchange value but is rather perceived as

interwoven with forms youth female identification antagonistic to the aspired and desired ones. Thus 'Albanianess' in its articulation with 'gender' is rather narrated as a burden; In other words, it is seen as something that has to be left behind rather than a resource that can be used in any way in the process of making up a desired female self. In this respect Anna's narrative reproduces negative symbolic evaluations and judgements with respect to the gendered aspects of 'Albanianness'.

<u>Final Remarks</u>

In the above analysis I tried capture and provide an account of intersections and multiple positioning. Following Hall and viewing identity as *'a source of agency in action' (Hall),* I focused on the lived realities of multiple positioning along with the process of identity formation, drawing on the narratives of youth subjects who are placed on counter-hegemonic positions. I was thus interested in identifying the ways girls go about occupying subject positions and constructing identifications. The analytical concern was placed upon the level of individual. According to Bourdieu *'narratives of the most 'personal' difficulties, the apparently most strictly subjective tensions and contradictions, frequently, articulate the deepest structures of the social world and their contradictions'* (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 511). I therefore consider the cases discussed earlier, as indicative of broader social workings. As such I view them as illustrative of some aspects of what it means to be young female and Albanian with working class background living in modern Greece.

In both cases ethnicity is narrated as a lot more than an ethnic identification. It has to be stressed that in the above text, the use of words 'gender' and 'ethnicity' referred to the girls own definitions as these were constructed throughout their self-narratives. Having said that, in the girls' narratives 'greekness' and 'albanianess', seem to constitute solid groups with fixed cultural characteristics. In other words, symbolic boundaries are there and are held strong. Furthermore, girls' 'ethnicity' (their narrated greekness and albanianess) also speaks 'gender' and 'youth' identifications and indicates possibilities for self-formation. Both girls constructed racialised definitions of female identification. Thus, economic immigration seen through, for example 'enthicity' and 'class' positioning, might involve a set of symbolic exlcusions. At the same time immigration seen through 'gender' and 'ethnicity' might entail the possibility of gaining acces to a wider range of identifications.

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Name: Alexandra Tsitlakidou

Affiliation: University of Essex

Abstract

At the end of the 1980s, Greece, traditionally an emigrant- producing nation became itself host to immigrants and refugees. Most immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union were of Greek origin. Known as Pontian (or Pontic) Greeks, they traced their origins mainly to Pontos on the coast of the Black Sea. Regarding students of such origin, issues such as their educational/cultural background, special characteristics drawn from literature work (concerning the ethnicity of the minority students), expectations from the teacher and the language course, influence of the peers, intergroup relations, and attitudes towards the foreign language will be glossed over;

Concerning the teacher, the paper will deal with issues such as teachers as motivators through their communication style, the teaching of English as EFL to Pontic Greeks, teachers' awareness of student ethnicity / cultural/learning needs and differences, teachers' approach to assessment procedures, teacher's attitudes towards stereotyping.

Finally, Pontic Greek parental support in its various forms (supervision, monitoring, praise, school contact) is another variable that has been proved to contribute to students' learning, and will be also discussed in the particular paper.

Data of all the above issues has been obtained by means of mixed methods research, including classroom observations, questionnaires, interviews, and case studies.

"How can teacher's communication style along with parental support create positive attitudes towards English to Pontic Greek students in Greek Junior High Schools"

…"Where are you from?" they may ask (sometimes a substitute for "What are you?"). I usually pause for a long second before answering with my own series of questions, "Do you mean where was I born? Or what is my ethnic background? How do I identify? Or where do I live?" All these are possible answers, but it would be much easier to answer, without hesitation, "I am an American." But because "American" does not yet include me in any significant way, I am not able to do this. I cannot even yet say, "I am a Puerto Rican- American" because I cannot bring myself to live as a hyphenated person. And I particularly refuse to be included when those who, with an arrogance so complete that they are not even aware of their own ignorance, attempt to include me under taken-for-granted definitions into the "club" on their terms (at the conclusion of an unresolved conversation about differences, they may say, winking broadly at me, "After all, we're all Americans, aren't we?").

Sonia Nieto (2002)

At the end of the 1980s, Greece, traditionally an emigrant- producing nation became itself host to immigrants and refugees. Most immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union were of Greek origin. Known as Pontian (or Pontic) Greeks, they traced their origins mainly to Pontos on the coast of the Black Sea. During the last decades, the number of returnee students has grown dramatically. Immigrant and remigrant (returnee) students (according to data from the Education Office of Immigrant and Remigrant Students) represent 10% of the total school population in Greek elementary schools (Giavrimis, Konstantinou, and Hatzichristou 2003). Some 83% of immigrant students come from Albania, 8.5% from former Soviet Union countries and the rest come from Europe (4.91%) and Asia (2.4%). During the last decade there has been a substantial increase in the number of immigrant students in Greek schools. The number of foreign students in Greek elementary schools rose from 10,634 in 1995-96 (Nikolaou, 2000) to 45,598 in 1999-2000. Most immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union were of Greek origin. After the fall of the Iron curtain, many ethnic Greeks realised the chance to move into their never-seen homeland (Sybille Bernardakis in Euroviews newspaper, 2006). Known as Pontian (or Pontic) Greeks, they traced their origins mainly to Pontos on the coast of the Black Sea, and it is the group of people the present paper is focused on.

For the sake of conceptual clarity, a definition of the term "returnee" used in the title should be given, which draws a distinction among different categories of foreigners residing and working in Greece today. So, as Petronoti and Triantafyllidou claim (2003),

among immigrants, Ethnic Greeks, Asylum seekers, refugees and repatriates, returnees are called the citizens of non- EU countries who are of Greek origin in that they derive from Greece or regions beyond the borders of the Greek state, which were formerly influenced by Greek culture, and this fact proved very crucial for the Pontic Greeks' acceptance by the Greek society. Co- ethnics from the former Soviet Republics were treated as returnees and this distinction may have encouraged the civic participation and integration of Pontic Greeks in Greek society. According to this logic, as Triantafyllidou and Veikou claim (2002), they had the right to return to their homeland because they were ethnic Greeks and because this did not contradict the interests of the Greek nation.

A significant issue for the Pontic Greek immigrants is the education of their children in the Greek educational system. In a research conducted in 1997 by Shamai and Ilatov collecting data from 31 selected public schools in the Greater Metropolitan Area of Thessaloniki, where large numbers of Pontian Greeks lived, parents had high expectations of school and they preferred their children to study in Greek in the local educational system. Gardner (1985) argues that parents can actively and passively affect attitudes in two ways, by influencing general beliefs about language learning and the L2 community and attitudes towards the specific language course. He emphasizes that parental support is not directly related to achievement in the L2 but related to the willingness to persist at language study. Therefore, we understand that it is of great importance to involve parents in school matters, and in fact this is a task that the same teachers can encourage for the benefit of their understanding of the students, and for the sake of their students' progress. There is a surprisingly high number of programmes running to integrate the Pontians in society and also to connect them with each other. The programmes are mainly funded by the EU, while the Greek state has agreed to pay 25% of the costs. Unlike the Greeks that returned from the West such as the United States, Australia and EU countries, the Pontians have massive problems integrating into Greek society.

According to De Tinguy and Hadjiisky (1997), only half of the repatriates of working age in Greece have a job and this rarely corresponds to the level of their qualifications. The result is that the returnees are sinking into poverty. The challenge is to understand the impact of poverty and its connection to how some children might suffer academically since they lack access to resources such as personal computers or extra curricular material that promote learning. Therefore, the children's level of English might be low in many cases as they also lack the financial resources to get private compensatory English instruction like the rest of their Greek fellow students. On the other hand, the importance they lay on the English language teaching could facilitate their assimilation in the European Union, a factor that many Pontics might not take into account under such circumstances.

Minority children need time in order to make a cultural and psychological adjustment to their new country and school, even if Pontic Greek children are considered returnee and don't have to fight with extreme cultural differences; all the same, Pontic Greek students appear to have the same low school performance with the rest of minority students in Greece in comparison with their fellow Greek classmates. It is true that Pontic Greeks from the Black Sea share the same ethnic background as native Greeks despite the fact that some of them were not born in Greece (Georgas and Papasylianou, 1993). However, there is statistically significant difference between native and immigrant students' self concept in the domains of school performance and ability and low level esteem. In

addition students with a higher academic achievement seem to have a more positive self esteem (**Hatzichristou and Hopf, 1992, 1995**). **When compared with remigrant (returnee) students, native students regarded themselves as being more capable in school having higher school performance and more positive self esteem. S**chool achievement is very important for students' progress in the Greek educational system and it affects students' social status. And school achievement is linked with the teacher's behaviour and communication style in class.

According to Noels, Clément and Pelletier's (1999) study, teachers' communication style can enhance or frustrate students' efforts to learn a L2 and ultimately contribute to successful language acquisition. As there are many communication, or, communicative styles (literature shows that both terms could be used in the same way), it would be wise to determine at this point that the current paper intends to deal with notions of **immediacy (verbal/ non- verbal)** along with **assertive** and **responsive behaviours** on behalf of the teacher, and how they are communicated through **feedback, input/ output, assessment procedures and rewards/ punishments**, as they appear fundamental in the context of shaping students' motivation research, and as there's a plethora of research data that has focused on.

The individual differences among the learners are best represented by theories of intrinsic/ extrinsic motivation, need for achievement, expectancy- value, learned helplessness, and goal oriented behaviour (Gardner and Tremblay, 1994). Situational factors identified by Dörnyei (1994) involve motivational components of the course, the teacher and the group. Therefore, this paper will deal with intrinsic attitudes of the Pontic Greek students towards learning English as a foreign language, since it is claimed that individual differences are stressed by intrinsic orientations along with intergroup variables. As the particular minority groups live in Greece, an integrative approach that emphasizes strong connection with the host community would not be so relevant, because English is rarely practiced outside the language classroom. Attitudes are going to be examined while they are shaped by teacher's communication style, and in this respect there is focus on the affective aspect of the concept. Although the Elementary/Intermediate level of the minority students connotes according to Dörnyei (1994) an instrumental interest towards the English language, it is the teacher's duty to elicit- and by no means to impose- intrinsic attitudes as they would sustain the students' future continuation and they appeal more to the nature of the multicultural classroom. Attitudes and motivation seem to be interlinked, and consequently, either two different and distinct disciples or the former part of the latter, they both share same characteristics and targets. It is very difficult to treat each other distinctly, and they are not opposite concepts, and this interplay between them unites them and makes it hard to mention one without referring to the other.

Additionally, lack of awareness of students' backgrounds on behalf of the teacher, backgrounds different from his/her own, may result in a serious mismatch between teacher's perceptions of their students' abilities and the actual abilities the students may have. Therefore, teacher educational programmes need to be reconceptualised to acknowledge the importance of culture and language on learning along with awareness of the persistence of racism and discrimination in schools and society, where no child should be made to feel guilt or shame about their backgrounds, where tolerance of a different culture becomes respect towards it but at the same time discard a "fear of

naming" situation and rather confront any negative aspects of history arts and science in an honest and direct way (Nieto, 2002) .

As it follows, one can assume that there are differences between teaching Pontic Greek and Greek students, and teaching the former involves more than merely teach the language. In my opinion, they need more motivation on behalf of the language teacher in order to realise the instrumentality and value of the English language as a lingua franca. To achieve this, the instructors' demeanour, the teaching activities and the materials used should reflect and cater for the particular students' traits and needs. The teachers need to be better and further trained to handle the cultural heterogeneity of their class to communicate with the pupil and to have contact with their parents. School integration is the key to social integration of the immigrant community and to the empowerment of newly arrived immigrants (Diamanti- Karanou, 2002). On the other hand, educators should not lapse into a simplistic behaviour of "methods fetish" teachers who are knowledgeable, well- trained and probably well- meaning but do not really care about their students; rather than using this or that method, Lilia Bartolomé (1994) encourages teachers to develop a "humanizing pedagogy"where students' native languages and cultures are central.

Thus, language teachers acquiring a "liberal multiculturalism" attitude rather than "liberal ostrichism" become what Sonia Nieto (2002) metaphorically describes as "bridges" between students' differences and the culture of the dominant or "sociocultural mediators" according to Estéban Diaz and his colleagues (1992). Within this inhibition- dropping multiculturalism framework Pontic Greek students and all students that show cultural diversity from the mainstream one feel welcome and safe to participate in the learning processes, feel that they belong, without having to choose between the two bad alternatives- either to conform or to fail. All the same, no matter how a monocultural curriculum should be avoided as it is unrealistic obscuring the versatility of classroom reality, there should also be acquired a critical attitude towards multicultural education; education needs to echoe social justice and critical pedagogy where on the one hand, muluculturalism is not peripheral but on the other, it should not reflect Nathan Glazer's warning (in Kubota, 2004) "We are all multiculturalists now- an unavoidable phenomenon that one can do nothing but accept". Diversity should not be treated superficially and light-heartedly otherwise the essence of multiculturalism turns into a utopia.

Concluding, I would like to mention that having myself a Pontic Greek origin (though my ancestors moved to Greece early in the 20th century) I am really sensitive to these people's anxiety to be assimilated into the contemporary Greek society and to have equal education and career opportunities not only in Greece or Europe but also in the whole world. As a permanent state English teacher that I am, I intend to apply the results of my research, which includes parents' interviews, teachers and students questionnaires, and classroom observations- but are currently being analysed, in the classroom for the benefit of my future students.

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