

Analytical Report on Education

National Focal Point for GREECE

ANTIGONE – Information and Documentation Centre,
Athens

BY

Ioannis N. Dimitrakopoulos

2004

DISCLAIMER: This study has been compiled by the National Focal Point of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). The opinions expressed by the author/s do not necessarily reflect the opinion or position of the EUMC. No mention of any authority, organisation, company or individual shall imply any approval as to their standing and capability on the part of the EUMC. This study is provided by the National Focal Point as information guide only, and in particular does not constitute legal advice.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

European societies have during the latter part of the 20th century gradually been transformed into multicultural societies composed of multiple linguistic, ethnic and religious groups. This modern multicultural social reality, however, stands in opposition to long established state structures founded upon the concept of a single national identity corresponding to a single nation-state.

Attempts to reform these state structures both by national authorities as well as by EU institutions have met with varying degrees of success. The nationalist political discourse focused on ethnic minorities and immigrant populations affecting social and political behaviours in ways that contradict the long established European tradition of tolerance and the political decision to build a multicultural and plural Europe. Especially foreign immigrants became frequent victims of racist and xenophobic attitudes and behaviours along with the other traditional targets of intolerance, the Roma and other autochthonous minorities.

The content of political discourse and its ability to convey successfully racist and xenophobic messages and meanings are largely determined by the national cultural context which is articulated through processes of political socialisation whose primary agent is the educational system, particularly at the primary and early secondary level (compulsory education). Education must therefore constitute a primary concern both of EU institutions and national governments, despite the fact that structures, funding, management and evaluation of education and training systems remains the exclusive responsibility of national authorities.

In the present report on phenomena of racism, xenophobia and discrimination in Greek education we have found that, despite the open acknowledgement of the multicultural character of Modern Greek society both by the government and all major political parties, many elements contribute still in the development of intolerant attitudes towards others with a different ethnic background, religion or language.

National identity constitutes the central point of reference for the Greek educational system; the formation of national identity, largely on the basis of a common language, religion and “ancestry” constitutes the fundamental duty of the educational system, according to the National Constitution; accordingly, during compulsory schooling students are expected to develop loyalty to the nation, respect for national symbols and knowledge of the –state defined– version of historical events. Minorities and immigrants are largely absent from the curriculum, while negative representations of the ethnic “other”, i.e. the Turks, abound in history textbooks.

The small number of surveys and academic studies point to the continuing existence of racism, xenophobia, intolerance and prejudice in Greek education –in as much as they are generally present in public institutions. Unfortunately, comparatively little effort and few resources have up till now been devoted to combating institutional or other forms of racism in any public institution indicating that the government has not yet allocated sufficient resources to the fight against racism, discrimination and intolerance within state

structures. Despite the continuously growing number of foreign born pupils in schools the situation in the area of education is therefore at the moment not satisfactory as:

There are still no provisions in place for encouraging effectively the promotion of diversity in education: the language, history and culture of immigrant ethnic minorities is still not taught in any school; very limited language support is offered to pupils whose mother tongue is not Greek; the curricula and textbooks developed by the project “Roma Children Education” are not used by schools with Roma students.; there is no provision for teacher training in diversity management.

There are still no reliable official statistical data concerning the number of students from socially vulnerable groups, their educational performance, drop out rate, etc.

There is no monitoring mechanism in place to record phenomena of racism, xenophobia, intolerance and discrimination.

No studies have as yet been published by the three competent public research institutes of the Education Ministry on such phenomena (the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies - IPODE, the Pedagogical Institute - PI - and the Centre for Educational Research - KEE).

However, the trends are not all negative. We can also observe a significant number of encouraging signs demonstrating a slowly emerging commitment both by the state and civil society to combat racism, discrimination and intolerance in education in the past few years: Significant funds from the 2nd Community Support Framework were devoted to the academic study and pilot implementation of intercultural and minority education and these large scale projects continue with further funding from the 3rd Community Support Framework. Finally, the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs established in 2001 the “Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies” to study and propose policies concerning intercultural education.

Certainly much more needs to be done; in our report we attempt to describe and analyse the situation. As National Focal Point of the RAXEN network we hope that the present report will provide EU institutions, national and local administration, decision makers and NGOs with a valuable tool in their fight against racism, intolerance and discrimination in education.

2. TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3
2.	TABLE OF CONTENTS	5
3.	Introduction – Aim and structure of the report	7
4.	The past and present political & cultural situation – The Greek Educational System	8
4.1.	The political and cultural situation: An overview	8
4.2.	The Educational System: Overview	11
4.3.	The Educational System: Organisation and Structure	13
4.3.1.	School System (Primary and Secondary – general and vocational)	13
4.3.2.	Higher Education System	14
4.3.3.	Teacher Education and in service training	14
4.3.4.	Adult education	15
5.	The current legal situation – policies and initiatives	18
5.1.	“Directorate of Education for Diaspora Greeks and Intercultural Education”	18
5.1.1.	Intercultural Education	19
5.2.	“Directorate of Foreign and Minority Schools”	21
5.2.1.	LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY AND IMMIGRANT PUPILS	21
6.	Theoretical and methodological approach: Definitions and demographic characteristics	26
6.1.	Resident Aliens – Documented / undocumented immigrants, asylum seekers & refugees	28
6.2.	Illegal Entry	30
6.3.	“Repatriated” ethnic Greeks from the NIS and immigrant ethnic Greeks from Albania	32
6.3.1.	Resident ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils’ education	34
6.3.2.	Foreign schools	35
6.4.	Roma	36
6.4.1.	Roma pupils in primary and secondary schools	39
6.5.	Religious minorities	41
6.5.1.	The Jewish community	41
6.5.2.	The education of the Jewish community	41
6.5.3.	Other religious minorities	41
6.5.4.	The Muslim Minority	42
6.5.5.	The education of the Muslim Minority	44
7.	Description and analysis of existing and non-existing data and sources	50
7.1.	DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY & PROBLEMS	50
7.1.1.	Data collection process	50
7.1.2.	Data collection sources	51
7.1.3.	Difficulties and problems encountered – unreliable and non existing data	52
7.2.	EVIDENCE FOR RACISM & XENOPHOBIA IN GREEK EDUCATION	54
7.2.1.	Ethnic Greek and other immigrants	54
7.2.2.	Roma	54

7.2.3.	Religious minorities.....	54
8.	Strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racism and supporting diversity.....	58
8.1.	Major initiatives and actions combating discrimination, racism and xenophobia...	58
8.1.1.	Other projects and activities.....	61
9.	SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS.....	63
10.	Annex I: Overview of the Educational System	65
11.	Annex II: Bibliography.....	66

3. Introduction – Aim and structure of the report

AIM AND NATURE

The aim of the 2003 analytical report is to contribute to the continuing systematic documentation and exploration of issues of racism and xenophobia in the Greek educational system. The relative inadequacy or absence of relevant official statistical data and the small number of studies on the topic of racism and discrimination in Greek education does not allow us to provide a more comprehensive analysis and interpretation within the limited context of the RAXEN project.

ORGANISATION & STRUCTURE

The study follows the EUMC model as far as possible in view of the nature of the topic, the country specific situation and the availability of data and information.

However, the size of the report exceeds by far the guidelines: this was deemed necessary in order to compensate for the absence of quantitative statistical data and information by engaging in a detailed narrative description of the situation. Although we have taken into account remarks made by the evaluators and peer reviewers in 2002, the lack of directly relevant statistical data or primary research data (qualitative) on discrimination, racism and xenophobia in education have led us to incorporate the analysis of the situation in Chapter 6 in the report on “Demographic and social characteristics”, rather than Chapter 7 which contains a general overview of existing data. The analysis of the situation is therefore largely embedded within the description of the social situation of the vulnerable social groups. The little reliable (quantitative and qualitative) evidence does not allow for a more conclusive and elaborate analysis of the situation in education without risking oversimplifications and generalisations that may endanger the validity and objectivity of the report.

Furthermore, we would like to point out that separating the definition and description of the general demographic and social characteristics of social groups from the analysis of the phenomena of discrimination, racism and xenophobia in education relating to these groups is confusing for the reader given the lack of statistical and other data and information.

4. The past and present political & cultural situation – The Greek Educational System

4.1. THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION: AN OVERVIEW

Since the achievement of national independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1830, the Greek state engaged in a vigorous nation building process that required a powerful national myth moulding multiple traditions and different collective memories, primarily through education, into a unifying ideological scheme: Thus “...the historical trajectory of the nation has been traced in a linear form and without ruptures or discontinuities from antiquity to modernity. Thus, any changes which have marked the past and the history of the national community have been re-constructed in such a way that the nation is represented as a homogeneous and compact unit. In contrast to contemporary times that Greece appears as a nation-state, the Greek nation survived through the centuries within a number of different political formations such as the great Empires (Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman) which succeeded each other in the region. Nationality was thus defined as the expression of genealogical descent and in direct reference to the glorious past of Themistocles, Pericles and Alexander the Great.”¹ This national myth was transformed into a powerful irredentism that fuelled the successive expansions of the Greek state throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, while also serving as an internal political strategy to relieve popular discontent.

In this way Greeks have learned to feel not only different from, but also superior to all foreigners and particularly the neighbouring, Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians and Serbs in terms of ethnicity and religion and because other nations could make no claim on the universally acclaimed classical Greek culture. Nationalist sentiments are nurtured both by the educational system and by political discourse not only as a means of keeping the voters' attention away from serious economic and social problems², but also as a means of using “glories of the past to recompense for the failures and dissatisfaction of the present”.

In a speech delivered in Northern Greece in 1989 the former President of the Hellenic Republic M. Sartzetakis characteristically defined the Greek nation as “anadelphon” – alone, without siblings–, a neologism that encapsulates the essence of modern Greek nationalist ideology and hints to the links between the Greek nationalist ideological discourse and the current manifestations of racism, xenophobia and intolerance in Greek society.

However, the study of ethnic myths and nationalist discourses can only partially account for phenomena of racism and intolerance in any social area including education. In addition it is necessary to examine the social, legal, economic, political or demographic

¹ Triandafyllidou, A., Calloni, M. and Mikrakis, A. (1997) 'New Greek Nationalism', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 2, no. 1, available at <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/1/7.html> (12/09/2002)

² Mouzelis, N. (1978) “Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment”, New York: Holmes & Meier. p. 135

factors that may contribute in the creation of a climate of hostility³ and furthermore, the social groups expressing hostility towards the “other”, especially the “*Modernisierungsverlierer* (“modernity losers”) —young, elderly, uneducated, farmers, and unskilled and semi-skilled workers— who may be turning to parties of the new extreme right in an “expression of protest over unrepresented political demands”.⁴ This element needs to be examined particularly carefully in Greece where unemployment fluctuating constantly at a high level of 10.5% - 11.5% for the past decade affects most acutely the above mentioned groups and the young.

Despite persistent discrimination and racism (mostly at an institutional level) directed against autochthonous minorities, such as the Roma and the Muslim minority in Thrace, the political discourse inexorably linked to the myth of an ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously homogenous society precluded, until the 1990s, any debate on issues of racism and discrimination; thus, issues, such as the absence of the majority of the Roma population (especially the nomadic Roma) from education or the inadequacy and problems of the Muslim minority education system that led most Muslim either to drop out early or continue their secondary education in Turkey, were not on the agenda of either researchers or the educational authorities. It is interesting to note that such issues were also conspicuously absent from the political agenda of the left which was dominated by concerns about the democratization of the state and the political system, while being particularly sensitive to any charges of “national treason”, especially since the civil war (1946-49). Until the early 1990s political debate and academic research on discrimination in Greek education concerned almost exclusively social class distinctions among an assumed ethnically, linguistically and culturally homogenous population, while Muslim minority education was considered an issue of “foreign relations” to be administered and managed by the Foreign Ministry.

It was during the 1990s that the rapid change in the composition of Greek society through the influx of almost a million foreign immigrants, refugees and ethnic Greek repatriates from the NIS and Albania forced issues of racism and discrimination on the political agenda, but defined by media and influential opinion leaders as “imported problems”, largely to be attributed to the “sudden appearance of foreigners” in an otherwise “traditionally homogenous society”, thus further reinforcing the myth of the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious homogeneity of Greece.

Until the first regularisation process in 1998 the absence of adequate regulatory and social support functions by the state combined with the immigrant’s desperate economic and social situation contributed in the creation of an environment of social exclusion and discrimination that soon led to the construction of negative stereotypes about foreigners in the collective unconscious. The media focused on crimes committed by foreigners, especially Albanians, who soon became the “nation's villains” and the police responded by hardening its stance towards immigrants, especially Albanians, despite strong criticism by independent public bodies such as the Greek Ombudsman, the National Commission for Human Rights and NGOs. At the same time, though, as racist incidents and attitudes began to be recorded and documented by international Organisations, NGOs and

³ Saxton G. (2001) “The Origins of Socially and Politically Hostile Attitudes to Immigrants and Out groups: Economics, Ideology, or National Context?”, available at <http://www.acs.brockport.edu/~gsaxton/Politics&Policy.pdf> (01/09/2002)

⁴ Dalton, R. (1990) “Germany Transformed: Public Opinion and German Studies.” *German Studies Rev.* p. 174

Eurobarometer reports, Greek society became more aware of discrimination and racism, while the media also focused on racist manifestations and incidents that may have gone unreported (or underreported) in the past, like police raids on Roma settlements or cases of police brutality against foreigners.

As immigrants (ethnic Greeks from the NIS since the late 1980s, ethnic Greeks from Albania and foreign immigrants since 1990) started bringing their families or having children in Greece the size of the (foreign and ethnic Greek) immigrant pupil population in Greece, especially in the schools of the main urban centres of Athens and Thessalonica, increased rapidly. By the year 2001 the number of foreign pupils with language problems, but also significant cultural differences, reached in inner city schools such levels that parents protested against what they perceived as the growing deterioration of learning conditions for Greek pupils, while the government responded by announcing the possibility of “desegregation measures” to “balance” classrooms proposed by a special committee assigned to study the major transformation of public school enrolment⁵. Such measures have not been implemented yet. According to as yet unpublished data that were made kindly available to us by the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies the number of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils from 26 different countries in primary and secondary education has risen from around 85,000 in 1999-2000 to 118,000 in 2002-03. Albanian pupils constitute approximately 50% of foreign pupils. The data were also later released to the press⁶.

Surveys⁷ on racism and xenophobia in Greek schools and the few recorded racist incidents (that will be examined in detail later) indicate a growing discontent which is difficult to understand and interpret adequately due to a complete absence of primary academic research on the subject without resorting to oversimplifications and generalisations referring to the presumed fear reaction of a community – *Gemeinschaft* – towards the “Other”, although such interpretations abound in media debates. It would therefore seem to be more productive to initiate research probing for the multidimensional causes and nature of racism in the socialization processes forming the dominant “national – ethnic” ideology that actively promotes the image of a unified and homogenous community through a process involving “...a number of forces: social exclusion and stigma and political resistance to them, distinctive cultural and religious heritages as well as new forms of culture, communal and familial loyalties, marriage practices, coalition of interests and so on.”⁸

⁵ Newspaper “Athens News”, 14/03/2003, p. A17

⁶ Newspaper “Ta Nea”, 01/02/2003, p.N17, article code A17554N171

⁷ RAXEN Database No 3B0018, 3B0039, 3B0013, 3B0010, 3B0009, 3B0008 and EUMC (2001), “Attitudes towards minority groups in the EU: a special analysis of the Eurobarometer 2000 survey”, p. 12

⁸ Modood T., Beishon S. and Virdee S. (1994), *Changing Ethnic Identities*, Policy Studies Institute, p. 120 available at <http://www.psi.org.uk/publications/ETHNIC/identity.htm> (09/09/2002)

4.2. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: OVERVIEW

Education has always constituted a major social value in Greek society, while it also constituted the primary means for upward social mobility⁹. Paradoxically, however, public education, suffering on the one hand from a chronic shortage of funds and on the other from ideological and political conflicts concerning its content and objectives, was also plagued by outdated and formalist curricula, bureaucratic and ineffective management and low quality infrastructure, a pattern that to a certain extent continues even today despite continuing efforts to reform and modernise.

The modernization and democratization of education has always been an arduous task in any European society, but more so in Greece, with its limited resources, conflicting ideologies, a history of educational conservatism linked to its nation building effort following the annexation¹⁰ of large territories in the late 19th and early 20th century that resulted in the incorporation of different ethno-linguistic populations within its expanding borders¹¹, as well as frequent major political changes and upheavals. Thus, the treatment of cultural, religious and ethnic minorities by the Greek educational system, which remains inadequate and to a certain extent assimilative, can perhaps best be understood in terms of what has always been considered as the primary role of the educational system, namely political socialization and the formation of a strong national and religious¹² identity, rather than simply in terms of its recently formulated immigration policies.

“National homogeneity is treated by the education system as a value. In such a context difference is negatively valued. The diversity that actually characterizes Greek society, as any other, including differences by social class, gender, ethnicity, religion and language and the discriminations that are often related to them, are, to a great extent, absent from the official curricula.”¹³

The educational system is highly centralized. The Ministry of Education formulates and implements education policy. The school curriculum is national and compulsory, while textbooks for all subjects are centrally printed and distributed gratis for all levels of education¹⁴.

⁹ For a detailed analysis of the significance of education for Greek society, especially after the establishment of the Greek state in the 19th century see Tsoukalas, K. (1992) “Dependence and reproduction: The role of educational mechanisms in Greece 1830 – 1922”, Themelio Editions, Athens

¹⁰ The latest territorial expansion was after WWII, in 1947, when the Dodecanese islands forming part of the Italian overseas territories were annexed to Greece.

¹¹ Christopoulos D. (2001). “The end of ethnic homogeneity: traditional and new forms of heterogeneity in Greece” in Marvakis, A., Pavlou M., & Parsanoglou D. (eds) “Immigrants in Greece”, Athens: Ellinika Grammata

¹² Religious instruction has an (Orthodox Christian) preaching character; it is taught at all levels and is obligatory for all pupils except when parents declare in writing that they follow a different Christian dogma or other religion.

¹³ Karakatsani D. (2000), “Civic Education and socio-political changes: The case of the Greek educational system”, paper available at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/conference2000/papers/epsd/papers/karakatsani.html>

¹⁴ The curriculum and textbooks are defined, ratified, produced and distributed (public education) or sold (private education) by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs through its Pedagogical Institute and its Publishing Organisation of Textbooks (OEDB). More information available at www.ypepth.gr

The Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs and its Pedagogical Institute are responsible for defining:

- **The school curriculum** ('analytiko programma') at the primary and secondary levels of education – essentially this is a guide prescribing in great detail what is to be taught.
- **Daily school timetable** ('orologio programma') at the primary and secondary levels of education –this guide prescribes exactly how many hours each subject will be taught.
- **Textbooks** – all textbooks are developed by the Pedagogical Institute and distributed gratis to students of public schools. Private school students are charged a nominal rate.
- **Employment of teachers**; public school teachers are hired as tenured civil servants.

Local Authorities (Municipalities) are responsible only for school buildings.

Formal education is characterized by the fixed length of study and the award of a formal school-leaving certificate at each level which is a necessary prerequisite for further education.

The National Curriculum is obligatory for all teachers, schools and pupils in Primary and Secondary Education (general and vocational) prescribing:

- The general and specific aims and objectives for each subject;
- The chapters to be taught from the official textbooks;
- The teaching methodology and the evaluation procedures
- Schools are internally non-hierarchically structured with the faculty deciding on all issues and school directors having a co-ordinating role; in practice, though, the centralised nature of the educational system does not allow the faculty any real autonomy.

A chronic shortage of classrooms in urban areas led since the 1960s to a two-shift system of morning and afternoon schools. According to this system two schools operate on the same premises alternating as morning and afternoon schools every month. However, this system is only present today in the poorest of urban areas, where immigrants tend to live, as many new schools were built during the 1990s. Two-shift schools are considered to have negative effects on educational attainment.

The infrastructure of most schools in both urban and rural areas has improved significantly in the past few years¹⁵. However, since parents cannot choose schools, since this depends upon their registered residence, it is obvious that immigrant pupils can only attend schools in the poorest districts, where the infrastructure is still poor.

Almost 90% of the schools in Greece are public. Almost all Roma, Muslim minority and immigrant pupils attend public schools. There are a small number of private foreign

¹⁵ For details consult the competent public authority School Buildings Organisation at <http://www.osk.gr>

schools¹⁶ operating in Greece on the basis of bilateral treaties mostly catering to the needs of embassy and corporate personnel. A Polish¹⁷ (primary and secondary education) and a Filipino¹⁸ nursery school were created by Polish and Filipino immigrants who were the first immigrant group to arrive during the late 1980s as “guest workers” employed primarily as domestics, but also as cabin attendants and waiters on cruise liners and pleasure boats.

4.3. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE¹⁹

4.3.1. School System (Primary and Secondary – general and vocational)

Pre-school education is **optional** and available for children from the age of 2 – 6 in public (state and local authority) or private kindergartens (supervised by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare) and public or private nursery schools (supervised by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs).

4.3.1.1. Compulsory Education (ages 6 –15) consists of:

a. Primary School– “Dimotiko”

Public schools operate from 8:30 to 13:30, but an increasing number of primary schools have been designated as “all-day schools” operating with an extended timetable and enriched curriculum from 7:00 to 16:30.

b. Lower Secondary School– ‘Gymnasio’

Public schools operate from 8:30 to 13:30.

4.3.1.2. Post-compulsory Secondary Education, reformed in 1997, consists of:

a. Integrated Upper Secondary General Education School – ‘Eniaio Lykeio’ 3 years. Following graduation through competitive national examinations graduates may, depending on grade achieved, enrol in Higher Education (all courses are competitive).

b. Technical & Vocational Educational Schools – ‘TEE’ 2 years (A' level) or 3 years (B' level).

Pupils may transfer from one type of school to the other.

* A number of nurseries and schools of primary and secondary education are designated as schools for pupils with special needs. There are also musical, ecclesiastical and physical education secondary education schools.

* Post-compulsory secondary education also includes the Vocational Training Institutes (IEK), which provide a formal, but unclassified level of education, because they accept both ‘Gymnasio’ (lower secondary school) and ‘Eniaio Lykeio’ (upper secondary school) graduates.

¹⁶ German High School, French Lyceum, Italian High School, Iranian School and Japanese School.

¹⁷ RAXEN Mapping Database No NFPGR0097

¹⁸ RAXEN Mapping Database No NFPGR0006

¹⁹ See also Annex for a schematic overview.

4.3.2. Higher Education System

Higher education is offered in Universities and Technological Education Institutes (TEI). Students are admitted on the basis of national competitive examinations at the 2nd and 3rd grade of ‘Eniaio Lykeio’. Additionally, students can also be admitted to the Hellenic Open University upon the completion of their 22nd year of age.

Studies in higher education last 8 – 12 semesters (in TEI including compulsory work placement and the completion of a graduation project), and lead to a degree. Subjects include compulsory courses, as well as mandatory elective and optional elective courses. In most cases – apart from the legal, medical and engineering professions, where an additional professional qualification is mandatory – the degree qualifies holders for employment and/or further studies at postgraduate level. There are also other Higher Education establishments, such as the Higher State Academies for the Merchant Navy.

4.3.3. Teacher Education and in service training

Pre-primary and primary school teachers are university graduates²⁰ with pedagogical training at faculties of pre-primary or primary education. In service training is also available, though not mandatory, at Teacher Training Centres²¹, Regional Training Centres²² and through various specialist courses (culture and arts, environment, etc)²³.

Secondary general education teachers are graduates of faculties whose primary subject is taught in secondary schools. They receive (one-semester) pedagogical training - not always mandatory²⁴. No further teacher training or education training is required for their employment in education. However, some categories of teachers, like economists, sociologists, jurists, engineers must have an additional teaching qualification obtainable upon completion of a course²⁵ at the Pedagogical Training School (“PATES”). Secondary technical or vocational teachers are trained in a Vocational and Technical Teacher Training Academy (SELETE) where they also receive pedagogical training. Secondary education teachers also receive limited in service training at Regional Training Centres and through specialist courses on a variety of issues (culture and arts, environment, etc). Generally the pedagogical training of secondary general and technical education teachers is not considered adequate, while there is no diversity management or intercultural education training.

However, a relatively small number of teachers have received limited and mainly theory focused training in intercultural education in projects funded by the 2nd CSF:

²⁰ Except teachers in Muslim minority schools; see Chapter 6, Muslim Minority Education.

²¹ “Didaskaleia”

²² “Perifereiaka Epimorfotika Kentra”

²³ There are no courses on diversity training or intercultural education.

²⁴ These courses include a theoretical approach to intercultural education, but no actual training in diversity issues or diversity management.

²⁵ This course does not include any training in diversity issues, diversity management or intercultural education.

- “Education for Repatriate Greeks and Foreign Students” carried out by KEDA²⁶ (1997-1999) conducted 64 teacher training seminars with 2,500 teachers participating in various regions.
- “Muslim Children Education” carried out by the Department of Primary Education of the University of Athens conducted training for 231 Christian and Muslim primary Minority school teachers and 25 secondary Minority school teachers in Thrace.
- “Roma Children Education” carried out by the Department of Education of the University of Ioannina conducted 59 training seminars with more than 4,000 teachers participating.
- “Education for Diaspora Greeks” carried out by EDIAMME²⁷ conducted 62 training seminars with 3,616 teachers participating.

4.3.4. Adult education

Adult education – beyond the traditional “evening schools” available to working adults lacking formal education (“esperina scholeia”) since the 1930s – was reformed and modernised during the 1980s with European Social Fund support that led to the rapid growth of a number of learning and training activities, concerning mostly adult vocational training.

In 1985 the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education was upgraded to a State Secretariat (General Secretariat for Popular Education) under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture until 1991 when it was transferred to the Ministry of Education. The authority was renamed in 2001 to General Secretariat for Adult Education (GSAE²⁸), headed by a General Secretary, is the competent public authority for planning, co-ordinating and supporting non-formal general, socio-cultural and job-oriented adult education dealing with adult literacy and basic education, vocational pre-training and training, combating social exclusion and activities related to culture. Main target groups are young adults, women, members of disadvantaged groups, such as Roma, immigrants, ex-offenders, etc. It also implements language training programs and counseling support services for immigrants in its Adult Training Centers.

Most of GSAE’s programmes are nationally funded and projects supported by the European Social Fund are co-financed by 75 % from European structural funds. Since 2001 the G.S.A.E. supervises the Institute for Continuing Adult Education (I.C.A.E.), which provides technological and scientific support to GSAE in actions promoting lifelong learning.

The GSAE does not co-ordinate all aspects of adult education on a national level: Greece still lacks a comprehensive policy on adult education and thus each public body, local authority or private organisation, such as the Ministry of Education, Agriculture, Justice, Labour, Social Welfare, Health, Communication and Transport, Commerce, National

²⁶ Centre for Intercultural Education, University of Athens. More information at <http://www.keda.gr> (25/10/2002, site under reconstruction)

²⁷ Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies, University of Crete. More information, <http://ediamme.edc.uoc.gr> (28/10/2002)

²⁸ More information available at <http://www.gsae.edu.gr> (12/01/2003) mostly in Greek.

Economy, Environment and Planning, Mercantile Marine, Municipalities, Prefectures, Banks, the National Organisation of Tourism, etc..., develop their own adult education programmes without reference to the work carried out by others. General adult education is also provided by regional and local authorities: each Prefecture has a section for adult education funded (until recently) through the ESF. Municipalities also organise adult education programmes, but not in a systematic way due to financial constraints and lack of human resources. Some NGO's also provide adult education courses at a relatively low price, like the Greek YWCA, the Greek Council for Refugees, etc.

ESF funding led to the establishment of many private Centres for Vocational Training²⁹ which during the 1990s implemented several language teaching and vocational training courses supporting ethnic Greek immigrants ('repatriates') and, to a much lesser extend, other immigrants. Although the number of these courses has been drastically reduced due to funding limitations we managed to record 15 projects for Greek language learning³⁰ and 36 for vocational skills with additional preparatory Greek language lessons³¹ targeting immigrants. The projects were supervised by the Greek Ministry of Labour, but no evaluation reports exist, were published or made otherwise available to us. Furthermore, a number of projects developing social support structures and providing social support services were also implemented³² with the support of the Special Secretariat of Repatriated Ethnic Greeks from the NIS (Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace³³).

The lack of any centralised administration and co-ordination agency for the wide variety of educational and training courses and projects meant that recording and evaluating them is a very difficult task. We estimate that the actual number of training and support projects may be double or even triple from what we have been able to record. Nevertheless, close scrutiny of the recorded projects shows that overall the cost per person was very high at 7, 462 Euro. None of the projects we recorded had been evaluated apart from a formal accounting audit. In addition to these projects there was also a small number of research and other projects³⁴ carried out by public or private Centres for Vocational Training.

The largest public body offering adult vocational training is the Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED)³⁵. A complete programme of Initial and Continuing Vocational Training Programmes is implemented through a network of 52 Vocational Training Units. The number of students has increased with the operation of Employment Promotion Centres in 2002 and 2003. OAED has improved, expanded and modernized its Initial Training (Technical and Vocational) programmes addressing upper secondary education graduates. These programmes are open to immigrants, however, there are still bureaucratic problems to be resolved, for instance the insistence on certificates of

²⁹ Kentra Epaggelmatikis Katartisis (KEK)

³⁰ RAXEN Database No. 3A0003, 3C0007, 3C0027, 3C0032, 3C0033, 3C0036, 3C0037, 3C0044, 3C0045, 3C0051, 3C0052, 3C0064, 3C0066, 3C0067, 3C0077.

³¹ RAXEN Database No. 3C0029, 3C0034, 3C0038, 3C0039, 3C0046, 3C0047, 3C0049, 3C0050, 3C0053, 3C0059, 3C0060, 3C0065, 3C0071, 3C0072, 3C0073, 3C0074, 3C0075, 3C0078, 3C0079, 3C0080, 3C0081, 3C0082, 3C0085, 3C0086, 3C0088, 3C0089, 3C0090, 3C0091, 3C0092, 3C0093, 3C0094, 3C0095, 3C0096, 3C0097, 3C0098.

³² RAXEN Database No. 3C0061.

³³ The Secretariat was abolished in 2002.

³⁴ RAXEN Database No. 3B0014, 3B0015, 3B0030, 3B0031.

³⁵ More information available at <http://www.oeed.gr> (25/05/2003)

secondary education that many immigrants have not or cannot ratify by Greek authorities. Information and Advisory offices operated in 2001 and 2002 as YOUTHSTART pilot projects in two cities³⁶.

³⁶ Moschato in Athens and Ioannina in Northern Greece.

5. The current legal situation – policies and initiatives

COMPETENT PUBLIC AUTHORITY

The Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs is according to the Constitution responsible for all matters concerning the education of both Greek and foreign nationals at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, public or private.

The “Integrated Administrative Section for the Education of Diaspora Greeks and Intercultural Education”³⁷ was established on the basis of ST’/11/171B/18-3-1996 Ministerial Decision implementing Law 2413/1996 to regulate the education of aliens, immigrants, Roma, religious minorities and repatriate ethnic Greek students at primary and secondary, general and technical education level. The Section, divided in two Directorates, was mandated until 2002 to collect statistical data from local Directorates of Education. Since January 2003 the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies is responsible for the collection and analysis of statistical data.

There is no single competent public authority for aliens, immigrants, Roma, religious minorities and repatriate ethnic Greek students concerning vocational or Higher Education. Vocational Training is nominally supervised by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

5.1. “DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION FOR DIASPORA GREEKS AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION”

Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs
Mitropoleos 15, Athens 10 185, Greece
Tel +30 210 3231787, fax +30 210 3246298, no e-mail

The Directorate is the competent public authority for:

- **The education of returning Greek emigrants and ethnic Greek immigrants;**
- **The education of Roma** (except Muslim Roma living in Thrace under the special Muslim minority status);
- **The education of foreign nationals resident in Greece** (including ethnic Greeks from Albania who do not normally have Greek citizenship status) in Greek schools. Since 1996 and according to Law 2413 pupils whose mother tongue is not Greek are to be assisted through the implementation of intercultural education methods in order to facilitate their integration into the education system. Such methods are reception and tutorial classes operating in mainstream schools and the establishment of intercultural schools.

³⁷ Currently (25/05/2003) headed by Special Secretary Professor Stella Priovolou.

- **The Greek Language Certificate** in co-operation with the Centre for Greek Language³⁸ which acts as the co-ordinating instrument of the Ministry of Education (in co-operation with the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture) on matters of language education and policy. In 1999 the first examinations were conducted in 13 Examination Centres with 460 candidates, in 2000 in 24 Examination Centres with 1000 candidates and in 2001 in 31 Examination Centres with 1400 candidates. The examinations (open to everyone over the age of 12) are conducted on 4 levels of linguistic proficiency: reading comprehension, writing, verbal comprehension and speaking. An official certificate of attainment in Greek is issued by the Education Ministry. Holders of Level C Certificate according to Presidential Decree 138/9-7-99 certificate may attend a Greek university. Level D Certificate allows EU citizens to apply for employment in the Greek public sector. Employers in the private sector also require a level of proficiency in the language, and the certificates serve as official proof of linguistic proficiency.

5.1.1. Intercultural Education

A school is designated by law³⁹ as “intercultural” when the number of pupils with foreign nationality “reaches or exceeds 45% of the total number of pupils”. In practice, however, although most inner city schools in the main urban centres of Athens and Thessalonica have by far exceeded this ratio they have not been designated as intercultural to avoid the increased operational costs, despite protests by both parents and educators⁴⁰.

During the school year 2002-03 26 intercultural schools (13 primary schools, 9 lower secondary and 4 higher secondary) operate, mostly concentrated in the urban centres of Athens and Thessalonica catering for the needs of returning Greek emigrants, ethnic Greek immigrants from Albania and the NIS and immigrants of other nationalities.

Intercultural schools must contain a “balanced mixture of majority and minority pupils” and follow the state curriculum with additional hours devoted mainly to language tuition. In many of these schools other activities (such as health or environmental education) may also be organised by teachers on an ad hoc basis. There is no provision for the teaching of the immigrant’s languages, history or culture.

Critics, such as teachers’ trade unions, stress that the concept of “intercultural” education implies more than gaining language skills. It involves developing positive attitudes towards others and learning interactive and cooperative skills. Also, it implies that an interactive methodology is used in the classroom that allows the voices of all pupils to be heard. Finally, intercultural education is about building bridges between communities and between individuals from diverse backgrounds. However, the “intercultural” school system in Greece fulfils none of these conditions, while the annual operation of around 400 - 500 reception classes and 500 - 700 tutorial courses in 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003 are not nearly enough to cover existing needs. Furthermore, most such classes begin in

³⁸ For more information <http://www.greeklanguage.gr> (12/10/2002)

³⁹ According to Law 2413/1996 - Greece, N. 2413/1996 (FEK 124A/17-06-1996)

⁴⁰ Professor Panayiotis Xohellis, coordinator of the Intercultural Education regional committee of Macedonia, presentation at the conference “The Education of repatriated Greeks and foreign students”, School of Philosophy, University, Aristotelian University of Thessalonica, 26/05/2003.

January, as there are not enough teachers or classrooms in the existing schools. It should be noted, though, that in both 2002 and 2003 the Ministry managed by planning well in advance to start these classes at the beginning of the school year.

Law 2413 of 1996 is the main legislative provision on the education of “Diaspora Greeks”⁴¹ and intercultural education. However, it is indicative of the importance attached by the legislator to intercultural education that from a total of 37 articles in 14 pages, only 4 on one page refer to 'intercultural education', with the remaining dealing with issues concerning the educational provisions for Diaspora Greeks. This is perhaps characteristic of the relatively lax attitude of public authorities to the numerous problems arising from the coexistence of various ethnic, religious and cultural sub-groups in a multicultural society.

The provisions of this Law have been criticised by educationalists for perpetuating implicit segregation between mainstream and “minority schools”. These provisions reject the ideas put forward by proponents of “cultural pluralism”, according to which the various value systems and modes of life of individuals are considered as of equal value and deserve the same respect in a multicultural society. Critics suggest that the intercultural education model applied in Greece on the basis of this law copies outdated educational policies implemented during the 1970s and 80s in other western European countries and eventually replaced when attention shifted from “education for foreigners” to “multicultural education”⁴². This model while retaining a mono-cultural and assimilative educational system for the majority ethnic Greek pupil population offers a “different, but separate system” for foreign pupils legitimating division and segregation through the notion of “distinctiveness”. There is therefore concern that intercultural schools may in fact reinforce segregation rather than integration.

At a conference organised in November 2001 by the Greek MEP Myrsini Zorba, Prof. Stella Prioivolou, Special Secretary for Intercultural Education, stressed that the educational system still largely disregards ethnic diversity and that the implementation of multicultural policies are limited, although efforts are being made to improve the situation. During the same conference participating teachers stressed the need for additional staff, training and resources in view of the rapidly growing foreign pupil population.

⁴¹ Greek emigrants.

⁴² Damanakis G. et al (2000) “The Education of the Repatriated and the Non-native Students in Greece - An Intercultural Approach”, Athens, Gutenberg pp. 86 - 88

5.2. “DIRECTORATE OF FOREIGN AND MINORITY SCHOOLS”

Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs
Mitropoleos 15, Athens 10 185, Greece
Tel +30 210 3238551, no fax, no e-mail

The Directorate is the competent public authority for:

- **All foreign schools operating in Greece:** There are 10 foreign schools (not following the state curriculum) operating in Greece. Until 1987 only non-Greek nationals were allowed to enrol, but now they are open to all nationalities. They are expensive private schools with the exception of the Polish School that is financed by the Polish Ministry of Education and caters specifically for the needs of Polish immigrants. One small day care centre and one nursery for Philipino immigrants operate unofficially.
- **The education of the autochthonous Muslim minority,** as defined by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. There is no official data on the Turkish minority of the islands of Rhodes and Kos, since they are not legally recognised as a minority and therefore do not have minority rights to education. According to the Annexation Treaty of the Dodecanese islands to Greece no indigenous religious (Muslim) or ethnic (Turkish) minority is recognised on the Dodecanese islands – consequently the minorities on these islands have none of the rights of the “recognised” Muslim minority in Thrace, i.e. no minority schools or provision for the teaching of their culture/religion/language in schools or positive discrimination measures for access to higher education.

5.2.1. LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY AND IMMIGRANT PUPILS

Legislation⁴³ governing the education of foreign pupils referred until 1996 mainly to returning emigrants, ethnic Greek immigrants and the operation of foreign schools in Greece. The legislation makes a clear distinction between ethnic Greeks and foreigners providing preferential treatment to the former. Legislation governing Muslim minority education refers to the Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent bilateral agreements (such as the 1968 Bilateral Cultural Protocol that contains recommendations for the exchange of school books for the use of Muslim students in Greece and Christian students in Turkey). Both countries, at least during the last decade, abide by the treaty and existing agreements to the letter in an effort to maintain good diplomatic relationships with negative consequences for the actual education of the minority, as will be shown later in our analysis.

⁴³ This is a non exhaustive collection of the most important legislative provisions. Legislation in electronic form is available to subscribers only from the National Printing Office at <http://www.et.gr> (21/10/2002)

Legal provisions in legal and chronological order:

- **The Greek Constitution of 1975/76⁴⁴** (reformed on April 6, 2001) guarantees the personal rights, dignity, respect of person and property and freedom of religion and thought, stating in Article 5, par. 2 that “All persons living within the Greek territory shall enjoy full protection of their life, honour and liberty irrespective of nationality, race or language and of religious or political beliefs.” It should be noted, though, that the constitution reserves certain social and political rights and privileges to Greeks nationals. According to the constitution special status is accorded to the Orthodox Church as the “prevailing religion”. Public education is provided free to all legal residents in Greece at all levels.
- **International Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations** (Appendix A, Article 2), Lausanne January 30, 1923.⁴⁵
- **Law 927 of 1979⁴⁶** is the only anti-racist criminal law: it states that “whoever intentionally and publicly instigates, either orally or in the press or through written texts or illustrations or through any other means, acts of activities capable of provoking discrimination, hatred or violence against persons or a group of persons, only due to their racial⁴⁷ or national origin, is punishable by imprisonment of up to two years or a fine or both.” These penalties also apply to “whoever creates or participates in organizations pursuing organized propaganda or engaging in any other activity of any kind aimed at racial discrimination.” In 1984 a new article -appended to Law 1419/84- amended the law specifying that, “discrimination on the basis of religion is also punishable”. In 2001 another amendment -appended to Law 2910/2001- allowed charges to be brought ex officio. However, as the law is very difficult to apply there has only been one attempt to enforce it, when the Greek Ombudsman asked⁴⁸ the Public Prosecutor to bring charges against the Municipality of Nea Kios for issuing a formal municipal decision barring the local Roma from entering the city.
- **Law 248 of 1936** establishes and regulates the operation of Jewish community schools. Subjects taught in the Greek language are the same as those in other private schools, while subjects taught in Hebrew (language, history and religion) are subjected to the approval of the Ministry of Educational and Religious Affairs.
- **Law 694 of 1977⁴⁹** is the basic law regulating the education of the Muslim minority. The legal nature of this regulation is mixed: there is a coexistence of legal provisions of both public and private character. Minority schools are private institutions established with the permission of the Prefecture, after a submission

⁴⁴ Greece, The Constitution of the Hellenic Republic (FEK 85A – 18/04/2001). Available in English at <http://www.hri.org/docs/syntagma/> (13/09/2002)

⁴⁵ *Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (Appendix A, Article 2), Lausanne January 30, 1923 between the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government.* English text available at <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/> (09/09/2002)

⁴⁶ Greece, N. 927/1979 (FEK 28A/10-10-1979)

⁴⁷ The term “racial discrimination” or “racism” is defined according to Article 1. 1. of the International Convention for the Eradication of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966) that was ratified by Law 494/1970. The term “race” is to be considered as a “social construction” based on personal and social characteristics of individuals including their religion, culture, nationality and ethnic origin.

⁴⁸ Office of the Ombudsman (2000), “Special report on the situation in Nea Kios” Athens, Ref No 8267, available at http://www.synigoros.gr/reports/por_8267_2000_da.doc (12/06/2002)

⁴⁹ Greece, N. 694/1977 (FEK 244A/01-09-1977)

of application to the Inspector of Minority schools on behalf of parents. The Head of Prefecture issues the permit after due approval by the Minister of Education.

- **Law 695 of 1977**⁵⁰ regulates issues concerning teaching and supervisory staff of Minority Schools and of the Special Education Academy of Thessalonica.
- **Law 2341 of 1995**⁵¹ regulates affirmative action for the Muslim minority (established by Law 1351/1983) reserving a number of places at every university department for Muslim minority students.
- **Law 2341 of 1995**⁵² regulates the status of Muslim minority teachers and the operation of the Special Pedagogical Academy of Thessalonica.
- **Law 2413 of 1996**⁵³ regulates issues of Intercultural Education (aim, content, teaching staff, designation and administration of schools) and establishes the Institute of the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies. There is a reference for the possibility of teaching the language, history and culture of foreign immigrant students, but this has not as yet been implemented.
- **Law 2621 of 1998**⁵⁴ recognises the two Islamic religious schools in Komotini and Echinus as equivalent to the Greek religious upper secondary schools.
- **Law 2740 of 1999**⁵⁵ establishes and regulates the Greek Language Certificate.
- **Law 2790 of 2000**⁵⁶ regulates issues of education and culture for ethnic Greek immigrants from the NIS.
- **Law 2817 of 2000**⁵⁷ regulates issues of education for Greeks expatriates and the Muslim minority.
- **Law 2910 of 2001**⁵⁸ is the fundamental statute regulating the entry and stay of aliens as well as the acquisition of Greek nationality by naturalisation. The law regulates issues concerning students from third countries studying at Institutions of Higher Education.
- **Presidential Decrees 155/1978, 182/1984 and 86/2001** in conjunction with **Royal Decrees 664/1969 and 585/1972**, as amended by **Presidential Decrees 182/1984 and 86/2001** regulate the status of graduates of foreign schools operating in Greece defining legal requirements and procedures for the recognition of studies and certificates of foreign schools and the integration of expatriate pupils and immigrant pupils to Greek schools through affirmative action.
- **144483/13-01-1956 Ministerial Circular** allows pupils of the protestant Christian denomination not to attend religious instruction classes.
- **16287/18-02-1978 Ministerial Decision** regulates appointments, competences and duties of Headmasters in Minority Schools.

⁵⁰ Greece, N.695/1977 (FEK 264A/16-09-1977)

⁵¹ Greece, N. 2341/1995 (FEK 208A/06-10-1995)

⁵² Greece, N. 2341/1995 (FEK 208A/06-10-1995)

⁵³ Greece, N. 2413/1996 (FEK 124A/17-06-1996)

⁵⁴ Greece, N. 2621/1998 (FEK 136A/23-06-1998)

⁵⁵ Greece, N. 2740/1999 (FEK 186A/16-09-1999)

⁵⁶ Greece, N. 2790/2000 (FEK 24A/16-2-2000)

⁵⁷ Greece, N. 2817/2000 (FEK 78A/14-03-2000)

⁵⁸ Greece, N. 2910/2001 (FEK 91A/02-05-2001) as amended by Law 3013/2002 (Greece, N. 3013/2002 – FEK 102A/01-05-2002)

- **F.815.1/38/2.1/1093/21-04-1982 Ministerial Decision** allows members of other religions to be exempt from examinations in the subject of Religious Instruction. Parents must declare in writing that they do not wish their children to follow the course on religious instruction (Christian Orthodox catechism); this practice is in violation of legislation protecting personal data and the Personal Data Protection Authority has ruled that such a declaration should not be required, but the Ministry of Education has not as yet issued a circular to school authorities to refrain from requesting such declarations.
- **C1/11/02-01-1990 Ministerial Circular** allows Jehovah's Witness pupils not to attend religious instruction classes.
- **C1/116/342/19-04-1991 Ministerial Circular** regulates the enrolment of immigrant pupils following official ratification of foreign school certificates with the exception of ethnic Greeks from Albania who cannot procure such documentation from the country of origin. Headmasters are required to refer to the Ministry foreign pupils unable to submit official proof about the level of previous studies in the country of origin, so that a respective level of the Greek educational system can be established.
- **P152/11/B3/790/28-02-1996 Ministerial Decision** determines the specific university places for Muslim minority students as 0.5% of the total number of places available with the exception of the departments of Theology, Social Theology and Pastoral and Social Theology of the Universities in Athens and Thessalonica.
- **ST/11/171B/18-03-1996 Ministerial Decision** regulates the operation of the Integrated Administrative Section for the Education of Diaspora Greeks and Intercultural Education.
- **F3/716/C1/83/01-12-1998 Ministerial Decision** defines the conditions for school enrolment of immigrant pupils who may be enrolled in primary schools only on production of a birth certificate, according to Presidential Decree 201/1998. In practice, however, headmasters enrol immigrant pupils regardless of documentation on the basis of the constitution that requires all residents of Greece to attend compulsory education.
- **F10/20/C1/708/28-09-1999⁵⁹ Ministerial Decision** establishes reception classes and tutorial courses for immigrant and Roma pupils: a one-year intensive language course in Greek should be followed by all pupils entering the educational system with a non Greek mother tongue followed by supportive language tuition in subsequent years. Schools with such pupils should run special courses 4 hours weekly after normal class. Courses on the language and culture of the country of origin are optional, but none have yet been officially implemented in schools.
- **C2/933/03-03-2000 Ministerial Decision** defines the curriculum for the three classes of the Minority upper secondary schools.
- **F12/896/C1/693/06-09-2000 Ministerial Circular** regulates intercultural education and the social integration of immigrants, refugees and repatriated ethnic Greeks.
- **F4115/C1/791/12-05-2001 Ministerial Circular** reminds teachers of legislative provisions concerning the education of immigrants.

⁵⁹ Amending Ministerial Decision (Ministry of Education F21378/C1/1124/8-12-1994)

There are currently still no specific legal provisions for the prevention or monitoring of racial, ethnic, cultural or religious harassment and discrimination in education despite the imminent transposition of Directive 2000/43/EC. The Ministries of Education, Interior and Justice have informed us that there are currently (May 25, 2003) no plans to introduce any new relevant legislative provisions. However, since the legislative process does not entail consultation with civil society, legislation may be tabled in Parliament at any time without prior notification.

6. Theoretical and methodological approach: Definitions and demographic characteristics

No public authority monitors phenomena of discrimination, racism and xenophobia in any area of social life. Furthermore, there are no specific provisions in civil or administrative law⁶⁰ prohibiting the above phenomena and thus no legal definitions. Public authorities resort therefore to the use of “common sense” definitions when applying the above terms. Available definitions concern only the legal status of specific population groups.

The Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs applies definitions adopted and used by other ministries:

- **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (competent public authority for asylum seekers, refugees and the Muslim minority) adheres to the existing international legal definitions (1951 Geneva Convention) for asylum seekers and refugees and the 1923 Lausanne Treaty for the Muslim minority of Thrace.
- **The Ministry of Interior** (competent public authority for immigrants, repatriated Greeks and Roma) applies definitions according to the relevant legislation.
- **The Ministry of Labour and Social Security**⁶¹ applies definitions in the context of policies and projects aimed at combating social exclusion. The following groups are listed⁶²:
 - Roma
 - Repatriated ethnic Greeks
 - Immigrants
 - Refugees
 - Cultural and Religious Minorities
 - Inhabitants of mountainous and remote regions
 - Single parent families
 - Prisoners and ex-prisoners
 - Juvenile delinquents
 - Addicts and ex addicts of narcotic substances
 - Disabled individuals
 - Mental patients
 - HIV positive patients

⁶⁰ For further comments and information consult the 2002 RAXEN Analytical Study on Legislation.

⁶¹ Indirectly in the sense that there is no official list, but such groups are defined as vulnerable in policies and projects aimed at combating social exclusion. Relevant information in Greek only available at <http://www.labor-ministry.gr/index.html> (22/05/2002). Also some additional information on definitions of vulnerable groups can be found in the “National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003”, prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/napincl2001el_en.pdf (21/06/2002).

⁶² In 2003 it is planned to add the group “homeless”.

For the purpose of this report we will focus on the following groups as possible victims of racism and xenophobia in education due to their ethnic, religious and/or cultural specificity:

- **Documented and undocumented immigrants (aliens)**
- **Asylum seekers and refugees (aliens)**
- **Roma (Greek citizens)**
- **Religious Minorities (Greek citizens)**
- **Ethnic Greek immigrants from the NIS (“repatriates”) and ethnic Greek immigrants from Albania (NIS repatriates acquire Greek citizenship through a special process and Albanian ethnic Greeks hold a special residence permit)⁶³**

A common feature of all the above groups is their relative social exclusion⁶⁴ from essential public social services, such as education, vocational training, social welfare, health care, other social activities and their marginal position in the labour market. The problems created by social exclusion have led many such groups to develop and rely on extensive informal aid and self-assistance networks that further alienate them from mainstream society.

Racism and discrimination experienced by vulnerable groups is part of the general social conditions under which they live. These groups are not homogenous as far as their main (attributed or acquired) social characteristics are concerned, such as nationality, ethnicity, religion, culture, education, skills, and occupation⁶⁵, because these characteristics are constantly changing through the influence of a multitude of political, economic and social factors across time and these changes influence their lifestyles, life chances, expectations and choices. Consequently, the social profile and status of these groups are constantly re-structured through the past and present organizations of social relations and practices.⁶⁶

The debate on the relationship between the social position of vulnerable groups and racism surfaced in Greece during the 1990s with the influx of considerable numbers of undocumented immigrants. However, even today the issue of discrimination and racism experienced by such groups still constitutes a marginal and “secondary” issue within a broader debate concerning the class composition and inequalities of the social structure and stratification. Therefore, primary research on the social situation of vulnerable groups is scarce, as indicated by recent reviews of the relevant research literature.⁶⁷

Findings from the few existing studies, however, seem to concur in that poverty, deprivation and social exclusion are common characteristics affecting the social life of all vulnerable groups. The situation is aggravated by the relative underdevelopment of the

⁶³ Official data concerning the number of special permits issued are not publicly available.

⁶⁴ Although formally entitled to such services, members of these groups will tend not use them either because they are intimidated by poor language skills or because of ill-treatment by officials or because they see no real benefit.

⁶⁵ OECD (2001), “The employment of foreigners: Outlook and issues in OECD countries”, p.172

⁶⁶ Petrakou, E. “Exploring the social and historical dimensions of migration in Europe with special reference to Greece”, unpublished PhD Thesis CRER, University of Warwick, UK, p. 43

⁶⁷ National Center for Social Research (1999), EuReporting Working Paper No. 8: Greece: “Contributions to Social Reporting, Institutions, Activities, Publications”, p. 2

public social services and its inadequate provisions affecting low income groups seriously. Among the vulnerable groups under consideration undocumented immigrants, asylum seekers and nomadic Roma seem to be worst off living in conditions of absolute poverty, lacking basic housing, employment of any type and even suffering from malnutrition. In contrast there seems to be a marked improvement in the living conditions, life chances and the social situation of the Muslim minority in Thrace during the past decade.⁶⁸ We can also assume, as there are still no relevant data available, that the situation of documented immigrants is improving since their legal status allows them both access to public services, better wages and living conditions.

Regrettably, the absence of regular monitoring systems and reliable statistics does not allow us to have sufficient information concerning the social situation of vulnerable groups in order to provide for a systematic analysis. Our work must rely, therefore, on existing data from existing studies and reports produced by public independent authorities⁶⁹ and other sources, such as research institutes, individual researchers, NGOs and media reports.

6.1. RESIDENT ALIENS – DOCUMENTED / UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS, ASYLUM SEEKERS & REFUGEES

Documented immigrants are foreign nationals who reside and work in Greece legally holding a residence and work permit.⁷⁰ - *Undocumented immigrants* are foreign nationals who reside and work in Greece illegally either without a residence and work permit or holding one that has expired.⁷¹

According to preliminary 2001 Census⁷² data, published in May 2002, aliens number **797,093⁷³ (7.3%)** of a total population of **10,964,080**. In the Athens Metropolitan Area aliens number **376.732 (10%)** in a total population of **3.761.810**. **However, the data is inconclusive and should be treated with caution.**

A major problem with the above data is that they refer to the total number of aliens resident during the day of the Census and thus include not only immigrants, but also tourists, students, etc. Furthermore the Census did not record immigrants who evaded the Census and an unknown number of Albanian immigrants who work periodically in Greece and were absent during the Census. We are dealing in the case of the Albanians

⁶⁸ Human Rights Watch (1999), “Greece: The Turks of Western Thrace” available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/greece/index.htm#TopOfPage> (28/08/2002) and Mekos, Z. (1999) “Thrace: Aspects of the minority problem”, Komotini: Thracian Research Association, p. 125 – partly available at http://orpheus.ee.duth.gr/Mekos/Mekos1/ENG_EDITION.HTML (10/08/2002)

⁶⁹ The National Commission for Human Rights and the Ombudsman.

⁷⁰ Greece, N. 2910/2001 (02/05/2001)

⁷¹ *ibid*

⁷² Some preliminary data concerning the number of all resident aliens are available on line in Greek only at http://www.statistics.gr/table_menu.asp?dt=0&sb=SAP_1&SSnid=Στοιχεία%20Απογραφής%20Πληθυσμού%202001 (29/05/2003). The National Statistical Service stated that more data will be available in the future.

⁷³ Including refugees and asylum seekers. In relation to economic immigrants the number of refugees and asylum seekers is very small. UNHCR data show that since 1980 and until 2001 Greece awarded refugee status to a total of 6,460 persons with a refusal rate of over 90%.

who form the majority of immigrants with a mobile immigrant population that is not properly monitored⁷⁴ or not monitored at all - concerning those that cross the borders illegally.

Another indicator of the number of foreign immigrants is the results of the two immigrant regularisations in 1998 and 2001. In 1998 **371,641**⁷⁵ immigrants registered for residence and work permits with the National Manpower and Employment Organization⁷⁶ (OAED), but the National Institute of Labour (EIE)⁷⁷ estimated that more than **150,000** did not register mostly because they could not secure the necessary documentation (minimum number of work days certified officially by social security or tax authorities) or because were prevented by their employer under threat of dismissal. Official data concerning the 2001 regularisation will become available in September 2003, but the Ministry of the Interior⁷⁸ has announced that approximately **351,000** immigrants applied for residence and work permits by the end of the deadline - some of whom may have applied unsuccessfully during the earlier period. Thus we can assume that the number of both registered (approximately **720,000**) and unregistered (200,000 – 300,000) immigrants is about **900,000** that roughly corresponds to the findings of the 2001 Census taking into account that many unregistered immigrants preferred not to participate in the Census for a variety of reasons, mainly fear of deportation. The immigrant population could thus be considered to constitute roughly **8.5% - 9%** of the total population. It should also be added that a rising number of immigrants are beginning to form families characterized by high fertility in contrast to the Greek population⁷⁹.

- **Asylum seekers** are foreign nationals and their immediate dependants (wife/husband, minor or handicapped children and parents) who apply or have applied orally or in writing to any public authority for political asylum according to the 1951 Geneva Convention as amended by the 1967 New York Protocol or have entered the country with the intention to apply for asylum according to the Dublin Convention 1990 as transposed in national legislation.⁸⁰
- **Refugees** are foreign nationals who reside and work in Greece legally having acquired the status of political refugee by the competent authorities following the

⁷⁴ Data concerning visas held by the border authorities (Ministry of Public Order) are not correlated or crosschecked with data concerning residence & work permits (Ministry of the Interior). Therefore it is not possible to have data on the number of immigrants residing in the country. Existing data refer to rough estimations.

⁷⁵ Kavounidis J. and Hatzaki L., (2000) "Alien Applications for Residence and Work Permits", Athens: National Institute of Labour, available at http://www.eie.org.gr/Greek/contents_keimena_ergasias2.htm (12/05/2002)

⁷⁶ More information mostly in Greek from www.oaed.gr (03/03/2002)

⁷⁷ More information mostly in Greek from www.eie.org.gr (13/03/2002)

⁷⁸ The Ministry of the Interior has replaced the Ministry of Labour and the National Manpower and Employment Organization as competent public authority according to Law 2910/2001.

⁷⁹ "The question of low fertility was also raised in relation to the relatively recent immigration flows into Greece. This discussion focused on the differential fertility between immigrants and nationals. The publication of the SOPEMI 1999 report, and in particular the point raised that in several countries the percentage of births in the immigrant population is higher than the percentage of immigrants within the total population, has generated further discussion on this topic. Despite the lack of reliable statistical data in Greece, it has been estimated that during 1999 30% of all live births came from immigrants. In addition, it has been argued that if the actual patterns of immigrant fertility continue for the next 20 years, 150,000 births will come from the immigrant population. For further information see the report by the European Observatory on Family Matters (2001), Bagavos Ch., "Focus Monitoring 2000: Fertility, Greece: "General context in relation to the perception and discussion of demographic trends and family needs".

⁸⁰ Greece, P. D. 61/1999 (06/04/1999)

due process prescribed by international law and transposed on national legislation.

⁸¹

Demographic data concerning asylum seekers and refugees in Greece are collected by the Ministry of Public Order, but are not publicly available. However, the UNHCR office in Greece releases such data in Greek through its website⁸².

The total number of refugees resident in Greece, as of 01 January 2002, was 6,948, of whom 60% are Turks and Poles. During the year 2001, 5,499 asylum applications were submitted, mainly by Iraqis, Turks and Afghans, 1,312 of which were examined. 147 persons were granted refugee status, while another 148 were granted residence permits for humanitarian reasons. Of the total number of applications, 306 concerned unaccompanied minors.

In 2002, 5,664 asylum requests were submitted and 9,378 were examined (a record number that including pending cases from several years). 36 persons were granted refugee status and another 64 were granted humanitarian status. The main countries of origin for asylum applications are Iraq (45.32%) and Afghanistan (21.86%). 429 asylum seekers withdrew their applications probably, because they had already remained in Greece long enough to be able to apply for a residence permit as immigrants. Greece granted refugee status to a record low of 0.3% in 2002.

In 2003 (until March) 2,912 asylum requests were submitted, 1573 were examined, refugee status was granted to 3 and humanitarian status to 19, while 1570 were rejected.

6.2. ILLEGAL ENTRY

Ministry of Public Order data concerning persons arrested for illegal entry are impressive. During 2001, 219,598 immigrants were arrested for illegal entry, 167,168 of whom by the Border Guard (constituting 76% of the total, compared with 50% in 2000) and the rest by the Police, while the Coast Guard arrested 6,864. It should be noted that Chinese nationals were for the first time among those arrested during 2001. No data are available for 2002 or 2003, but the Merchant Marine Minister stated recently that Coast Guard arrests have dropped from 6,864 to 3,945 in 2002. Data⁸³ indicate that main entrance points are the river Evros, between Turkey and Greece (22.3% of the total) and Mytilene island (21.7%), the greater area of Volos (13.3%), the island of Chios (9.71%) and Evia (8.9%).

A recent, as yet unpublished, Panteion University study on “Comparative research of the relationship between organised crime, illegal immigrants and undeclared labour”, conducted by sociology professor Constantinos Koskinas, psychology professor Stamos Papastamos and tutor of sociology George Alexias, found that, of the total number of aliens arrested for illegal entry into the EU, 24.8% were arrested entering through Greece.

⁸¹ *ibid*

⁸² Public Order Ministry data from UNHCR at <http://www.unhcr.gr/exec/greekPInewstats2.htm> (30/05/2003)

⁸³ Press statement distributed to the press and published in the newspaper “Eleftherotypia” (29/5/2002) available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_p1_text.jsp?dt=29/05/2002&c=112&id=8062760 (01/09/2002)

Most undocumented immigrants have no family with them. In general undocumented immigrant children enrol in primary schools. In 2001, when the new immigration law was tabled at the Parliament, the Primary school teachers' Federation⁸⁴ arguing on the basis of pedagogical and humanitarian values intervened asking for all children to be allowed to enrol in public primary schools regardless of their parent's residence status and for a stay of deportation for parents until their children complete obligatory education⁸⁵.

A major pull factor for economic immigrants is the large informal economy that accounts for up to 30-35% of Greece's GDP. Until 1998, when the first immigrant registration process was initiated, undocumented immigrants provided Greek industry and agriculture with the cheap labour that was essential for their survival in the emerging competitive European market. Small labour intensive enterprises in agriculture, construction and manufacturing that are still prominent in Greece tried to remain competitive through the use of the cheap labour provided by the undocumented immigrants who were willing to be both geographically *mobile* and *flexible* regarding working conditions, practices and wages.

The very low income, a part of which is in most cases sent back to the country of origin, accounts partly for the harsh conditions of life characteristic of most economic immigrants in Greece. Housing, particularly for those working in rural areas more often than not consists of makeshift huts with no heating or sanitary facilities. In urban areas the high cost leads many immigrants to rent substandard accommodation and/or to cohabit in large numbers. Welfare and social services are available to documented immigrants, but, although there are no specific data available, it is likely that discriminatory practices may exist.

Conditions of life for refugees and asylum seekers are similar. Greece formalized the administration of its main reception centre for asylum seekers, as well as certain health and welfare issues, through Presidential Decree 266/1999, assigning responsibility to the Ministry of Health and Welfare for the Lavrion Refugee Centre, the country's only government funded reception centre with a carrying capacity for 300 persons. Five more reception centres operated mostly by NGOs and located around Athens, in Lamia, Thessalonica and Evros, near the northern border with Turkey accommodate in total a maximum of 600 - 700 persons. Therefore, for most asylum seekers there is no free accommodation available and most – even during the winter – resort to sleeping in parks or public squares in Athens until they find employment that will allow them to pay for housing.

Temporary reception and accommodation facilities available to asylum seekers vary, but generally conditions are very poor. International organisations like the UN Committee against Torture⁸⁶, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT), NGOs like The Greek Council for Refugees, the Medecin sans Frontier and the Social Support Network for Immigrants and Refugees, as well as independent administrative authorities like the Ombudsman⁸⁷ and the National

⁸⁴ DOE. More information available at <http://www.doe.gr> (21/10/2002)

⁸⁵ RAXEN2 Database No. 3C004

⁸⁶ CAT (2001) 26th session, 9 May 2001, Concluding Observations on the Report by Greece available at <http://www.unhcr.ch/hurricane/hurricane.nsf/view01/48265AF463FDBC01C1256A48002E764C?opendocument> (10/09/2002)

⁸⁷ Office of the Greek Ombudsman, (2001), Report on the Conditions of Detention for asylum seekers awaiting deportation, available at <http://users.hol.gr/~diktio/reportsinigoros2001.pdf> (14/09/2002)

Commission for Human Rights⁸⁸ have repeatedly reported on the very poor conditions of detention for asylum seekers and immigrants awaiting deportation for several months, due to the lengthy bureaucratic procedures involved.

Refugees, asylum seekers with pending claims and persons granted temporary residence under the humanitarian status provisions are granted a work permit and access to health care, education and social assistance. While this theoretically facilitates legal employment, in fact their situation is very problematic given the high rate of unemployment among unskilled workers and the large number of immigrant workers competing for jobs. Although many asylum applicants hold qualifications from their home countries, they usually cannot provide proof of it and therefore their employment is usually limited to unskilled jobs either in the tourist trade or in the agricultural and construction sectors. This has led to increased competition among refugees for jobs where language skills and further qualifications are not required.⁸⁹

6.3. “REPATRIATED” ETHNIC GREEKS FROM THE NIS AND IMMIGRANT ETHNIC GREEKS FROM ALBANIA

Repatriated ethnic Greek immigrants (palinnostountes omogeneis) are residents of the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union of Greek ethnic descent who have the right to apply for the acquisition of Greek citizenship, if their nationality cannot be established by the procedures laid out by the Ankara and Lausanne Treaties. Citizenship is granted on the basis of the findings of a special committee appointed jointly by the Minister of the Interior and the Foreign Minister on the basis of an interview and examination of all or any of the following original documents: passport, birth certificate, marriage certificate, family status certificate, identity card or internal passport or any other document that can prove Greek descent.⁹⁰

Ethnic Greek immigrants (omogeneis) are Albanian citizens of ethnic Greek descent. They are entitled to a special residence and work permit of three year duration that is issued by the Aliens Department of the Greek Police after examination of all or any of the following original documents: passport, birth certificate, marriage certificate, family status certificate, identity card or internal passport or any other document that can prove Greek descent.⁹¹

There are no reliable demographic data concerning the number of repatriated ethnic Greeks from the NIS or ethnic Greeks immigrants from Albania⁹². It should be noted that the demographic situation of both groups is considered to be a politically sensitive issue. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the outbreak of violence in former socialist

⁸⁸ National Commission for Human Rights, Annual Report 2001, pp. 43 – 47, Athens: National Printing Office

⁸⁹ Mestheneou, E., (2000), EU CARE: Refugee Entrepreneurs in Greece”, p.9 available at <http://www.gcr.gr/investigations/EU-CAREReport.doc> (08/09/2002)

⁹⁰ Greece, N. 2790/2000 (FEK 24A/16-2-2000)

⁹¹ Greece, Ministerial Decision 4000/3/10-e (15/04/1998)

⁹² For example the following source quotes a far smaller number than indicated by Greek sources for repatriate Greeks from the NIS: CEMES (1998), Ethnobarometer Working Paper No. 2, Codagnone C.: “New Migration and Migration Politics in Post-Soviet Russia”, available at http://www.cemes.org/current/ethpub/ethnobar/wp2/wp2_ind.htm (13/06/2002)

republics a large number of ethnic Greeks⁹³ migrated to Greece. According to a demographic study made by the General Secretariat of Repatriated Greeks, approximately 135,000 ethnic Greeks commonly referred to as “Ellinopontioi” or – in a derogatory sense – “Rossopontioi”, a term used to implicitly question their Greek ethnic descent by describing them as Russians from Pontos entered the country since 1980.⁹⁴

A number of legal provisions were introduced to facilitate their acquisition of Greek citizenship: According to the 24755/6-4-1990 Joint Ministerial Decision (Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Defence) repatriated Greeks could enrol on the municipal registers and remain in Greece indefinitely without providing documentation. In 1993 according to Law 2130/1993 “repatriation” became a legal term and ethnic Greek immigrants were distinguished from other foreign nationals in the acquisition of Greek citizenship by a special rapid process. By 1998 more than 95,000 repatriates had acquired Greek citizenship status. A Committee of Inquiry⁹⁵ that investigated the special process of repatriate citizenship acquisition discovered several irregularities.

The issue of the exact number of ethnic Greek repatriates from the NIS and the special process of citizenship acquisition applicable especially to them has been repeatedly discussed in Parliament as both major parties have accused each other of falsely attributing citizenship status when in power in order to influence electoral results.

Official Albanian statistics put the number of ethnic Greeks at 35,000, while various Greek sources claim that 200,000 – 400,000 ethnic Greeks occupy regions of Southern Albania. Greece discourages Albanian ethnic Greeks from acquiring Greek citizenship and offers them preferential treatment vis-à-vis other foreign immigrants through a special residence and work permit of unlimited duration. In this way Greece can still claim the existence of a substantial ethnic Greek minority in Albania, although in practice most have already migrated to Greece. However, as it has been argued repeatedly in the Greek Parliament the process of issuing these special permits was flawed and many ethnic Albanians have fraudulently also acquired such permits. Official data concerning the number of these permits is not publicly available, but various estimates put it at 80,000.

Despite preferential treatment by the Greek state most repatriated ethnic Greeks⁹⁶ from the NIS who usually arrive with their families face serious difficulties integrating into mainstream Greek society. Culture shock, language problems, lack of educational

⁹³ Another smaller group from both the NIS and CECs were political refugees who had fled Greece after the civil war (1946-1949).

⁹⁴ More information available in Greek from the website of the General Secretariat of Repatriated Greeks that is part of the Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace available at <http://www.mathra.gr> (21/06/2002)

⁹⁵ Karamanlis Foundation (2001): “Findings of the Electoral Committee of Inquiry on the 2000 National Elections”, available at http://www.idkaramanlis.gr/html/arxeio/anal_eklog.html (10/09/2002)

⁹⁶ Greeks colonised Mediterranean and Black Sea coastal areas since the antiquity. Some of them did not assimilated with local populations and retained a Greek ethnic or cultural identity until modern times. Such groups were mainly to be found in the Black Sea region (Pontians). In 1922 the Greek defeat from Turkey resulted in the relocation of more than one and a half million ethnic Greeks who lived in coastal regions of Asia Minor and the Black Sea to Greece. Large numbers of ethnic Greeks also lived in the Soviet Black Sea coast. After the downfall of the Soviet Union many were forced by war or unemployment to migrate to Greece. The Greek government acknowledged them as ethnic “repatriate” Greeks and facilitated their “return” by introducing favourable legislative and other support measures including the acquisition of Greek citizenship.

qualifications, the inability to ratify existing qualifications and discriminatory practices are only some of the issues, which have not yet been systematically studied or monitored.

According to the NGO “Efxini Poli” set up by the Municipalities of Acharnon and Nea Liosia, “we have to approach with sensitivity the difficulties that this population faces in a place in which they belong, but in which they also feel strangers: limited knowledge of the Greek language which results in difficulties in communicating and transacting; limited and sometimes erroneous information regarding the functions and laws of the Greek State; differences in education/training and many times differences in work – experiences; lack of job seeking skills; limited social networking; lack of any established social integration system (i.e. housing, bureaucracy, acquisition of jobs, pensions, educational system, recognition of degrees, etc); negative stereotypes and prejudices of the majority of the population against these groups and vice-versa. All the above mentioned lead repatriated Greeks to feel insecurity, uncertainty, discouragement, social isolation and social exclusion.”⁹⁷

Ethnic Greeks from Albania settled both in rural areas working in agriculture and in urban centres reviving small labour intensive firms. Increasingly difficult to distinguish from ethnic Albanians members of this group frequently became victims of racism and xenophobia during their first years in Greece. Although they probably outnumber the repatriated Greeks from the NIS they seem to have gradually integrated and “merged” with the Greek population more successfully. A major contributing factor seems to have been precisely their attempt to escape identification with Albanians. Many retain links with their homeland mainly through relatives, the Church and political affiliation to the Albanian Greek minority party “Omonoia”. Most have by now reunited with their families in Greece and as we shall see later they seem to be integrating more successfully than the other groups at least in education.

6.3.1. Resident ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils’ education

The actual number of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils that attended public primary and secondary schools during the year 2002-03 will be made available later in the year by the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies. We were advised by the Institute to approach existing data with caution, as their own research indicates that they may not be accurate. Nevertheless, the latest available data⁹⁸ for the year 1999-00 show that ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils constitute:

- 5.2% of the total pupil population in nursery schools
- 10.7% of the total pupil population in primary schools⁹⁹
- 6.7% of the total pupil population in lower secondary schools
- 1.4% of the total pupil population in higher general education schools
- No data are available concerning secondary vocational or technical education

⁹⁷ <http://www.mitnet.gr/kepyp/English/Description.htm> (15/06/2002)

⁹⁸ RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0009, 3A0010

⁹⁹ 69.57% of the above category were aliens (of whom 82.7% Albanians) and 30.43% ethnic Greeks from the NIS

Existing evidence may be used tentatively to indicate a possible high drop out rate among ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils after primary education. Despite the fact that lower secondary education is compulsory a large number of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils does not seem to enrol.

Examining the growth in the number of immigrant and refugee pupils between 1995 and 2000 we can observe a rapid increase from 30,193 to 58,571 in primary education, from 13,900 to 27,667 in secondary education, and from 44,093 to 86,238 in its total. It is also worth noting that during this five year period (1995 – 2000), the number of Albanian pupils has quadrupled, whereas the number of other nationalities has remained relatively stable. Still the drop out rate for Albanian pupils seems to be high, while repatriates ethnic Greeks are far more likely to continue into secondary education for reasons that will be analysed later. The continuing rapid increase in the number of immigrant pupils related to their high fertility rates (see footnote 19) has initiated a public debate concerning the problems created by the co-existence of pupils from different ethnic backgrounds, different mother tongues and cultures in mono-cultural schools that are not prepared to deal with a multicultural pupil population.

The problem is most acute in Athens as there are many schools where foreign immigrants constitute up to 76% of the pupil population. According to October 2002 data from the Prefecture of Athens during the 2002/03 school year foreign nationality pupils in primary education constitute 20.75% of the total in the Athens metropolitan area¹⁰⁰.

6.3.2. Foreign schools

A number of foreign schools¹⁰¹ operate in Greece on the basis of bilateral treaties mostly catering to the needs of embassy and corporate personnel.

The Polish and the Filipino schools were created by Polish and Filipino immigrants who were the first immigrant group to arrive during the late 1980s as “guest workers”.

The Polish School¹⁰² was established in Athens in 1986, on the basis of a bilateral treaty and it is supervised by the Polish Ministry of Education. The school follows the curriculum of Polish schools and Greek is offered as a foreign language. An adequate school building is housing some 500 pupils in two shifts daily. Another 100 pupils who attend Greek schools follow supplementary classes during the weekend, while others who live away from Athens attend lessons at some weekends and via correspondence. The school is financed by the Polish State, as the Polish Constitution calls for the provision of free education for all. The school is successful in teaching the mother tongue at primary school level, but in general pupils’ performance is low and the percentage of school drop out rate high. Few students complete their secondary education studies. It seems that most students are not satisfied with an education that is not directly related to their life or future prospects in Greece and many choose to transfer to Greek schools.

¹⁰⁰ Press statement newspaper “Kathimerini”, 26/10/2002 available at http://www.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_ell_100024_26/10/2002_7 (30/10/2002)

¹⁰¹ German High School, French Lyceum, Italian High School, Iranian School, Japanese School, etc

¹⁰² RAXEN2 Database No. 3C0010

The Filipino School “Munting Nayon”¹⁰³ provides pre-school education. It operates in Athens with 125 pupils and nine teachers, in a rented old building. The daily programme last for eight school periods and three languages are taught (Filipino, Greek and English). It is financed by fees of 100 Euro monthly, which is about 30% – 40% of the rates charged by Greek private primary schools. The main aim of the school is the preservation of the mother tongue and culture through the provision of an education based on Philippine values.

Immigrants from Sierra Leone¹⁰⁴ founded in 1998 the Inter-Cultural Day Care Centre offering much needed help to some 20 African immigrant families who have very young children and cannot afford to pay for private day-care services.

6.4. ROMA

*Roma are members of a social group sharing certain common ethnic – linguistic – cultural characteristics that may differ according to their tribe or clan – **there is no official definition; the Greek state and many Roma organisations object strongly to any ethnic distinction between Roma and Greeks.***

It is virtually impossible to obtain reliable demographic data on the Roma population. There is no relevant ethnic or linguistic category recorded by the Census, many Roma will not declare them as such and many are mobile and cannot be easily recorded. The last Greek Census that contained linguistic data in 1951 recorded 7,500 individuals speaking Romani. However, several studies¹⁰⁵ indicate that the number of Roma was always far higher than that.

Existing research on selected samples in certain municipalities indicates that their number is 150,000¹⁰⁶ – 300,000¹⁰⁷. They are loosely organised in “tribes” and clans that are distinguished by features not always identifiable by the non-Roma. The demographic situation becomes even more complicated in view of the entry into the country of an unknown number of Roma from neighbouring Balkan countries especially after the Bosnian and Kosovo wars.

Until 1955 the Roma were stateless. Since then gradually until 1978 they were all granted Greek citizenship, but many still do not register with either the police in order to acquire an identity card or with a municipality in order to receive social benefits¹⁰⁸.

The problem of recording accurately the Roma population presents unique difficulties on the one hand because a significant number continues to lead a nomadic life and on the other because many settled Roma refuse to be recorded as such due to the stigma attached. In interviews with Roma representatives we were told of several cases of

¹⁰³ RAXEN2 Database No. 3C0003

¹⁰⁴ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0032

¹⁰⁵ Vaxevanoglou, A. (2001), “Greek Gypsies: Marginalised and family men”, Athens: Editions Alexandria, p. 17

¹⁰⁶ Komis, K. (1998): “Gypsies: History, Demography, Culture”, Athens: Editions Ellinika Grammata

¹⁰⁷ EETAA (2001): “Integrated Action Plan for the Greek Roma”, Athens: EETAA, p.45

¹⁰⁸ ROM Network, (2000) “Panhellenic Census Study investigating the social, housing conditions and needs of Greek Roma Citizens”, unpublished, available on request from the ROM Network <http://www.romanet.gr>

educated and settled Roma who keep their Roma identity secret for fear of losing their jobs or the respect of their colleagues and non Roma friends.

Most Roma in Greece are Christian Orthodox, while around 20.000, living mainly in Thrace are Muslims¹⁰⁹. Many members of this latter group have during the past 20 years moved to the urban centres of Athens and Thessalonica in search of employment. Studies indicate that Roma consider their religious affiliation an important part of their identity and also a means for social integration. Many speak Romani as their mother tongue, but there are also many with Greek as mother tongue. The Roma in Thrace are mostly Turkophones and some Roma in Macedonia speak Serb and also Vlach/Romanian. However, to a greater or lesser extent all Roma speak Greek (using a characteristic accent that is often ridiculed by other Greeks) and only a small number who migrated to Greece from neighbouring countries after 1990 is not able to speak the language, but manages to communicate with other Roma using the Romani language.

All studies agree that most Greek Roma suffer from social exclusion¹¹⁰. However, some studies¹¹¹ point out that there are significant differences between Roma groups as far as social stratification, life chances and social expectations are concerned. In fact some theorists¹¹² go as far as denying the definition of a “Roma community” with a unified set of social characteristics.

The Roma issue in Greece is multidimensional and complex. It is evident that there is a growing need for more primary academic research in order to understand the social characteristics and life of this social group.

The attitudes of the Greek population towards the Roma are, as in other southern European countries, mostly negative. Despite the fact that discrimination and racial prejudice against the Roma has always been widespread, no attempt has ever been made either by schools or the media to raise awareness and educate the Greek population concerning the culture, characteristics and problems of the Roma people who have come to constitute the most marginalised and socially excluded social group.

Roma are usually employed as unskilled and unregistered workers in agriculture and trade experiencing insecurity and discrimination despite the fact that they are considered to be Greek nationals¹¹³: “The chances of finding employment within an increasingly competitive labour market are virtually nonexistent. If one adds to the above the prevailing stereotypes concerning the indolence of the Roma, it will be only the ‘bravest’ employer who will ever think of employing a Roma. In the public sector, the possession

¹⁰⁹ Zeginis E. (1994) “The Muslim Gypsies of Thrace”, Thessalonica, IMXA, No. 255

¹¹⁰ For more information consult Exarchos G. (1998) “The Social Exclusion of Roma, in Kassimati K. (ed) “Social Exclusion: The Greek Experience”, Athens, Gutenberg and also Polyzos I., Vlastos Th, Karathanassi E., Terzopoulou M., Tounta F. (1995) “The phenomenon of marginalisation of minorities in the Attica region – the specificity of Roma in the urban space”, National Polytechnic, Department of Urban Planning, General Secretariat for Research and Technology

¹¹¹ Karathanassi E. (2000) “Roma life: The bio- and socio-space of Roma”, Gutenberg, Athens

¹¹² Georgiou G., Terzopoulou M. (1996) “Gypsies in Greece: History – Culture”, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs – General Secretariat of Popular Education, Athens

¹¹³ Exarchos, G. (1998), Social Exclusion of Roma, in Kassimati, K. (ed) Social Exclusion: The Greek Experience, Athens: Gutenberg

of a lower secondary graduation certificate (compulsory education) is the legal precondition for employment, thus excluding practically all the adult Roma.¹¹⁴

Roma housing conditions are also reported¹¹⁵ to be very poor particularly for the nomadic Roma who have no access to regular sanitary facilities, garbage disposal, water or electricity, while some of their camps are situated in or bordering landfill sites or heavily polluting factories. Roma wishing to rent houses are discriminated against and are refused or offered substandard accommodation at high prices. Roma purchasing houses find it very difficult to secure a mortgage, because of the nature of their employment. The absence of reliable demographic data do not allow us to have a clear picture of the number of nomadic Roma, however the ROM network suggested that they probably constitute about 20% - 30% of the total population. It is also difficult to define the nomadic Roma, as many tend to transform camp sites to semi-permanent or permanent settlements sometimes purchasing land from private individuals. Local authorities are often in conflict with groups of Roma that set up unregulated camps on public land and there are several recorded cases where they have forcibly evicted them.

In 1998, the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Greek Roma Associations (POSER) was established, around which, in time, 22 associations from around Greece, among them Turkish speaking Roma associations, coalesced. In the mid-1990s, the Rom Network was established, which was an effort by the local authorities to approach local Roma populations, to recognise their realities and problems and to propose, in co-operation with them, policies that would contribute to finding solutions. Currently the Rom Network numbers 61 members out of a total of 110 Municipalities with Roma within their boundaries. It has a consultative role to the Prime Minister's Office and has contributed to drawing the Integrated Action Plan and monitors its implementation.

Since 1996 a number of projects have been carried out in support of the Roma. However, the general evaluation of the effectiveness of these projects is clearly negative: According to the official EETAA¹¹⁶ Report: "these projects can only be evaluated empirically, since there is a total absence both of reliable and scientific appraisals of the quantitative and qualitative data concerning these projects and of official statistics concerning the Roma population."¹¹⁷

The National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003¹¹⁸ refers to the ambitious "Integrated Action Plan" for the Roma according to which 310 million Euros will be spent in the next six years to improve the social situation of the Roma population. Approximately 20% of the above sum is earmarked for various training and employment measures. However, there are serious delays in the implementation of these measures due

¹¹⁴ Statement on the Situation of the Roma in Greece by the International Romani Union Secretary General Christo Kyuchukov, 20 December 2001, available at http://www.errc.org/rr_nr1_2002/noteb5.shtml (23/05/2002)

¹¹⁵ EETAA (2001): "Integrated Action Plan for the Greek Roma", Athens: EETAA, p.57, and also several reports from the Greek Helsinki Monitor available at <http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/special-issues-roma.html> (12/09/2002)

¹¹⁶ Elliniki Etaireia Topikis Aytodioikisis (public body supporting local authorities). More information available at <http://www.eetaa.gr> (18/09/2002)

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 23

¹¹⁸ Ministry of Labour and Social Security, "National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003", available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/napincl2001el_en.pdf (21/06/2002)

both to bureaucratic inefficiencies, but also to the unwillingness of local authorities to cooperate.

6.4.1. Roma pupils in primary and secondary schools

Existing data concerning Roma enrolment are not reliable: Roma pupils are not recorded systematically in school registers and some schools have reported that they enrol simply in order to collect a €300 annual education benefit available to those with a declared annual income of less than €3,000, but do not actually attend classes. Although, there are no official statistical data on attendance and dropout rates, the Education Ministry has repeatedly stated that the implementation of the “Roma Children Education” project has reduced the dropout rate from 75% to 24%¹¹⁹.

The available official statistical data indicate that during the school year 1999 – 2000 8,500 Roma pupils were registered in primary schools, 1,500 in lower secondary and 250 in higher secondary¹²⁰ schools. It is obvious that the dropout rate is extremely high by any standards. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Roma pupils, especially in higher secondary education, may not necessarily declare themselves to avoid possible discrimination. There is no data concerning Roma in higher education.

Roma educational attainment is at very low levels: According to the final report of the 2nd Community Support Framework Project “Roma Children Education”¹²¹ and other studies¹²² approximately 60%-80% of the Roma (18-50 years old) are illiterate (they have never attended school), while around 20% are functionally illiterate by the UNESCO standard. The Roma find often that schoolmasters under pressure from parents will - illegally- refuse to enrol their children. Several such cases reached the media in 2003, but the Ministry of Education does not record these incidents since, as the National Commission for Human Rights has stressed in its 2002 Annual Report, it does not take administrative disciplinary measures to avoid conflict. On the other hand studies also suggest that many Roma will avoid sending their children to school either because they fear the loss of their Roma identity or because they see no value in education.¹²³

A recent national survey¹²⁴ on the educational level of male leaders of Roma families (average age 40), shows that: 35% has never attended school, 27% attended erratically primary school up to the 4th grade, 26% are primary school graduates and only 2% have completed compulsory education (lower secondary), while another 2% has graduated from higher secondary education.

Until two years ago a significant number of Roma children could not enrol at all due to the lack of necessary documents and proof of vaccination. Since 2000 the establishment

¹¹⁹ Stamelos G., (ed), (2002) “The Greek Educational System”, Centre for Educational Research, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, Athens, p. 238

¹²⁰ RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0010

¹²¹ As yet unpublished, but kindly released to us by Professor A. Gotovos, scientific co-ordinator of the project

¹²² Tsiokos G., Vergidis D., Nikolakopoulos I., (1998) “National study on illiteracy”, National Book Centre – Book Observatory, Athens

¹²³ *ibid*, p. 144

¹²⁴ RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0013

of the “Roma Student Card” by the Education Ministry¹²⁵ enabled Roma pupils to enrol without further formalities. However, even today after they manage to enrol, often against opposition from other parents – and on occasion teachers and local authorities –, they are faced with insurmountable difficulties, as they mostly speak only Romani and are thus largely incapable of communicating either with other children or teachers. Furthermore their socialisation and family life patterns are not compatible with the dominant norms and values of the primary school: discipline, obedience to authority and individual achievement. Public school teachers have had little, if any, training in dealing with the problems of Roma children and find it difficult to understand or empathise with the Roma culture. Unofficial teacher reports also indicate that Roma children are often met with hostility by other children and some teachers. A 1997 study has indicated that incidents of racist behaviour against Roma children by other children, parents and teachers have increased as more Roma children enrolled and started to attend school.¹²⁶

In a further effort to provide incentives to families with a declared income of less than € 3,000 annually (mainly Roma families¹²⁷) the Education Ministry established¹²⁸ an annual benefit of €300 for every child enrolled in primary education.

Still, most Roma pupils find school a hostile environment as they constitute a distinct cultural minority with a different mother tongue, customs and social norms. There are numerous media and NGO reports of parents arguing that the co-existence of their children with Roma pupils will affect their educational attainment negatively since the low educational level of Roma pupils “slows down” the progress of the entire class.

Researchers¹²⁹ have attributed poor attendance and academic performance also, partly, to Roma perceptions of the value of education: Although in surveys all Roma state that educating their children is desirable, it seems that they do not consider that education has anything to offer to the Roma in terms of improved life chances, since even well qualified Roma will not be able to find suitable employment due to employers’ prejudice. Moreover, some Roma consider that daily school attendance may even be harmful in that it “deprives children of their family” socialising them into different values and norms.¹³⁰ Roma parents seem to expect from the education provided by the school to be rather complementary to the education they provide, which, in their view, is more important for the development of life skills; thus the school is mainly expected to teach reading and writing. Most importantly, though, Roma have had no “tangible proof” that formal educational qualifications can be actually translated into improved life chances, better employment, improvement in the quality of life and their social status. In a “cost – benefit analysis” practically all Roma find that education has a very high cost and provides few and questionable benefits. Poverty, social exclusion and lack of educational qualifications create a vicious circle: deprived and socially excluded Roma find it very difficult to

¹²⁵ As proposed by the “Roma Children Education” project report.

¹²⁶ Dussas D., (1997) “Rom and racial discrimination”, Gutenberg, Athens

¹²⁷ On October 8, 2002 Vice minister of Finance Mr. Florides in Ministerial statement No 2/54424 in reply to the coordinator of Muslim minority education stated that Muslim minority and registered migrant parents are also entitled to the 300 Euro benefit.

¹²⁸ Greece, Ministerial Decision 2/37645/0020/8-7-02.

¹²⁹ Chryssakis M., (1989) “Family investment practices by the poor and non poor and educational inequalities”, *Revue of Sociological Research*, Vol. 75, p. 89 – 120

¹³⁰ Vasiladou, M, Pavli – Kore, M, 1996, “KON JANEL BUT, BUT C’RDEL” AMA ÉM “KON C’RDEL BUT, BUT JANEL”, (in Greek), Athens, Ministry of Education / General Secretariat on Popular Education

attend school, while the lack of formal educational qualifications does not allow them to improve their social status and life chances¹³¹.

6.5. RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

6.5.1. The Jewish community

There is no official definition apart from “*Greek citizens of Jewish faith*”, since they are not considered legally a minority, but a religious community. Jewish communities have existed in Greece for more than 2,000 years. The largest arrival of Jews was recorded at the end of the 15th century, when Spanish – speaking Jews fleeing from the Spanish Inquisition migrated to the Ottoman Empire¹³². During World War II, when Greece was occupied by Nazi Germany, 86% of the Greek Jews perished owing to enemy actions, extermination and execution, and in many cities where prosperous Jewish Communities existed, only a few individuals remained. Out of 77.377 Greek Jews, only 10.000 survived the Holocaust. Nowadays 9 active Jewish Communities in Athens, Thessalonica, Larissa, Chalkis, Volos, Corfu, Trikala, Ioannina and Rhodes. According to the Greek Central Jewish Board Jews are fully integrated Greek nationals. There have been few signs of anti-Semitic activity, like vandalism of the Holocaust memorial or Jewish cemeteries.

6.5.2. The education of the Jewish community

The educational needs of the Jewish community were acknowledged through Law 1623 of 1882. Nowadays, there are only 3 Jewish primary schools operating in Thessalonica, Larissa and Athens connected to the Jewish Communities (public bodies).

About 130 pupils in total attend all three schools¹³³, which follow the national curriculum and in addition are taught the Jewish religion, Hebrew and Jewish history. No problem concerning discrimination or racism has been recorded or reported concerning the Jewish schools and the education of the Jewish Communities in general by the Central Jewish Board of Greece.

6.5.3. Other religious minorities

No other religious minority has separate schools. A number of schools are run by catholic institutions, but they function as Greek private schools with their main pupil population being Orthodox. They do, however, offer Catholic religious instruction to the small number of Greek Catholic pupils.

¹³¹ Kogidou D., Tressou – Mylona E., Tsiakalos G., (1993) “Social exclusion and education – the case of linguistic minorities in western Thessalonica”, Poverty Editions -3, Thessalonica

¹³² Molho R. (2001) “The Jews of Thessalonica, 1856 – 1919”, Athens, Themelio

¹³³ RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0007 and 3A0008

6.5.4. The Muslim Minority

Muslim Greek citizens are considered to be the Muslim inhabitants of *Western Thrace* established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest.¹³⁴

The autochthonous Muslim minority of Thrace, (consisting of Turkish speaking ethnic Turks, originally Slav speaking, but increasingly Turkish speaking, ethnic Pomaks and originally Romani speaking, but increasingly Turkish speaking, Roma)¹³⁵ is the only officially recognised minority in Greece. This recognition is based on the religious character of the minority, which is treated as a homogeneous entity. Nowadays, it is estimated that 85,000 Muslims live in Thrace while more than 15,000 Thracian Muslims live elsewhere in Greece¹³⁶ (mostly in Athens). Furthermore, about 4,000 Muslims (having Turkish as their mother tongue) are believed to reside in the Dodecanese islands of Rhodes and Kos, but they are not part of the legally recognised minority. Finally, the number of Muslim immigrants is not known.

The legal status and rights of the Muslim minority in Thrace are governed by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and other subsequent bilateral agreements. According to the 1951 census, there were 92,443 Turkophones, 7,429 Gypsies, and 18,671 Pomaks, for a total of 118,533. The difference between that figure and the 112,665 Muslims total can be explained by the fact that some of the Turkish speakers were probably ethnic Greek Christian Orthodox who came to Greece from Anatolia as a result of the 1923 population exchange. After the 1951 census, the Greek National Statistical Service removed the categories national/ethnic origin, language use and religion¹³⁷. Today the Muslim minority of Thrace, depending on estimates, numbers between 80,000 -120,000, roughly the same as in 1951, which taking into account their high birth rate indicates that a significant number has left the area or the country. The Muslim minority is composed of three ethnic groups, Turks, Pomaks and Roma, but the largest group by far is constituted by ethnic Turks. It is not possible to acquire more specific demographic data concerning the ethnic composition of the Muslim minority as many Pomaks and Roma have come to identify themselves as ethnic Turks.

There are no studies concerning specifically the social situation and conditions of life of the Muslim minority in Thrace. The status of Muslims in Greece is precarious, because they represent a group that is viewed not only in religious, but more in ethnic terms as “Turks” and thus as a possible “threat”: at school children are taught that the primal national enemy is the eastern neighbour who had for centuries enslaved the nation, while stories of forced conversions to Islam and equally heroic deaths and martyrdoms in defence of Christianity abound in Greek history textbooks. Consequently racist tendencies fuelled by the rhetoric of the “Turkish threat” have rendered most Greeks

¹³⁴Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (Appendix A, Article 2), Lausanne January 30, 1923 between the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government. English text available at [http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/\(09/09/2002\)](http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/(09/09/2002))

¹³⁵ Dalegre, J., (1997) “La Thrace Grecque - populations et territoire”, L' Harmattan, Paris

¹³⁶ Trubeta, S. (1999) “Die Konstitution von Minderheiten und die Ethnisierung sozialer und politischer Konflikte - Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der im griechischen Trakien ansässigen Muslimischen Minderheit”, Peter Lang, Frankfurt

¹³⁷ Rozakis Ch. (1996), “The international protection of minorities in Greece,” in Featherstone K. and Ifantis K., (eds) “Greece in a Changing Europe: Between European Integration and Balkan disintegration?”, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 98

hostile, unresponsive to, and frequently in violation of the human rights of Muslims who are often portrayed as intolerant and uncivilised, monolithic, intolerant of pluralism and dispute, patriarchal and misogynistic, fundamentalist and potentially threatening to the Greek cultures and therefore not really deserving the rights of a free people. The human rights violations suffered by Muslims in Greece over the years under the guise of the formal, “to the letter”, application of the Lausanne Treaty have confined them to the role of second-class citizen.

The Treaty of Lausanne gives the Muslim minority the right to maintain social and charitable organizations ("wakfs"). Differences remain within the Muslim community and between segments of the community and the government over the selection of muftis (Islamic judges and religious leaders with limited, but significant civic and judicial authority). There is also controversy between the Muslim community and the government over the management and self-government of the wakfs (Muslim charitable organizations) regarding the appointment of officials as well as the degree and type of administrative control.

The Muslim minority in Thrace has generally been isolated and economically depressed for decades. However, claims of discriminatory denial of Muslim applications for business licenses, tractor ownership, or property construction have diminished greatly in recent years. Nevertheless, the development of public utilities (electricity, telephones, and paved roads) in Muslim neighbourhoods and villages continues in many cases to lag far behind that of non-Muslim areas. Muslim leaders have also complained that the government routinely withholds permission from Muslims seeking to change their legal residence, which determines where they vote, from rural to urban communities within Thrace or from elsewhere in Greece to Thrace. They said permission to change legal residency from Thrace to elsewhere in Greece was granted readily, and charged that the practice was part of a government policy to encourage Muslim emigration from the region and to prevent the urban concentration of Muslims in Thrace.

The percentage of Muslims employed in the public sector and in state-owned industries and corporations is disproportionately far lower than the percentage of Muslims in the population. In the cities of Xanthi and Komotini, while Muslims hold seats on the prefectural and town councils, there are no Muslims among regular employees of the prefecture or the police. Muslims in Thrace are hired only for lower level, part-time work. as lack of fluency in written and spoken Greek and the requirement for university degrees for higher level positions limit the number of Muslims eligible for work in public administration.

The Muslim minority has traditionally been a target for influential nationalists from both the right and the left –members of the Greek Parliament or elected representatives in Local Authorities – from all major political parties. Their rhetoric and arguments are rarely openly racist, but they will invariably put forward the argument that Muslims are “foreign” to Greece in ethnic as well as cultural terms. In their discourse the distinction between ethnicity and religion is often intentionally blurred, implicitly identifying Muslims with Turks and thus suggesting that they represent the “enemy”. Racist views and discourses against Muslims do not necessarily take the form of open verbal attacks. The message “Ausländer Raus” that could under certain conditions constitute in itself a

criminal act¹³⁸ in Greece, can easily be disguised as an “analysis” of the “dangerous consequences” of the presence of indigenous and immigrants Muslim minorities in Greek society -for instance the threat for public safety, rising unemployment, etc- that will not in itself be considered as criminal or even politically condemnable.

Several reports from national and international NGOs¹³⁹ suggest that, despite the difficulties, conditions have gradually improved during the past 15 years along a marked improvement in the relations between Greece and Turkey that have always affected the Muslim minority. A small study of the minority’s living conditions conducted in the framework of the project “Muslim Children Education” corroborates these findings. However, it is clear that the social situation of the Muslim Roma and Pomaks who mostly live in remote and relatively isolated mountainous villages in the Rodopi region of Thrace is far worse compared to that of others living in the cities.

The relative lack of evidence led us to arrange a series of formal interviews with representatives of the Muslim minority. They did not report any problems concerning the exercise of religious duties or institutional discrimination¹⁴⁰ and suggested that Muslims face similar social and economic problems to the Christian population. The problems that were singled out were: Control exercised by the state on the religious educational establishments, the heavy taxes imposed on Muslim communal property (Wakf) in response to similar taxation on Greek property in Turkey¹⁴¹ and delays in the reattribution of citizenship to all members of the minority that were deprived of it in past years¹⁴². Community leaders expressed their concern over the harsh conditions of life in mountainous villages and the serious economic difficulties faced by local farmers both Muslim and Christian.

6.5.5. The education of the Muslim Minority

Official statistics concerning Muslim minority education¹⁴³ are not easily accessible, because minority education is a politically sensitive issue affecting bilateral relations – in the past any such data were classified as state secrets. Education is provided to the Muslim minority at segregated, primary and secondary minority schools, regulated strictly by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent bilateral agreements between Greece and Turkey. Under a 1952 educational protocol, Greece and Turkey may exchange annually 35 teachers on a reciprocal basis. Teachers serve in Istanbul and Western Thrace, respectively, but in recent years the Greek side limited exchanges to 16 teachers due to the dwindling needs of the small and aging Greek population in Turkey.

¹³⁸ According to article 1 of the 927/1979 Law “...any public incitement to acts that could cause discrimination against persons or groups because of their race, national origin, or religion is a criminal act punishable with imprisonment and a fine.”

¹³⁹ Human Rights Watch (1999), “Positive steps by the Greek State”, update to the Report: “The Turks of Western Thrace”, available at http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/greece/Greec991-05.htm#P196_32031 (10/09/2002)

¹⁴⁰ For instance difficulties in the acquisition of driving licenses or the sale and purchase of land, etc

¹⁴¹ The problem is being resolved as both countries have agreed to bilaterally suspend these property taxes.

¹⁴² Article 19 of the Greek Citizenship Code (Law 3370/1955): “A person of non-Greek national origin leaving Greece without intention of returning may be declared as having lost Greek citizenship”. The Article was abolished in 1998. According to the then Minister of the Interior, A. Papadopoulos, since the article’s introduction in 1955, 60,000 Greek citizens, mostly Muslims had lost their Greek citizenship.

¹⁴³ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0012 and 3C006

Most Muslim children attend the minority primary public schools, but many attend upper secondary schools in Turkey, as they seek to continue their education in Turkish Universities due largely to insufficient knowledge of the Greek language. Recent initiatives (including the “Muslim Children Education” project) are expected to reverse the situation by improving language skills. Furthermore, reserving 0.5% of all higher education places (or at least one per department) for Muslim minority students led 178 to enrol in 2002/03. However, the participation of minority students in Higher Education remains relatively small.

The number of Muslim pupils in minority schools has been dwindling. Main reason for this decrease is the internal immigration of members of the Muslim minority to the cities, where according to the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty they can enjoy none of the minority rights. The educational needs of Turkish speakers in Greece were acknowledged for the first time, before the annexation of Western Thrace by Law 1623 of 1882 on Turkish and Jewish schools in reference to the terms of the Treaty of Constantinople of 1881. Turkish schools in Thrace functioned before the annexation on the basis of the Ottoman educational system, which was founded on the millet¹⁴⁴ approach: each religious community controlled its own schooling. In the 1920’s, these pre-existing Muslim/Turkish schools were integrated into the Greek national educational system as “minority schools” under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923¹⁴⁵.

The Treaty of Lausanne ratified by Greece in 1923 constitutes the legal basis of the minority education system. Articles 40 and 41 give the minority the right to establish private and public schools but in practice this division between public and private schooling is not implemented. Actually, the legal status of minority schools combines elements of private and public education. In effect, minority schools are registered as private schools, but are under the direct control of the state, while a complex system of legal provisions governs their establishment and operation. Furthermore, the Greek-Turkish Cultural Protocol of 1968 regulates the co-operation between the two states for the technical assistance of their mutual minority education¹⁴⁶. Further binding legal instruments concerning the education on the minority mother tongue are also provided by international human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (article 27), ratified in 1997 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 30), ratified in 1992¹⁴⁷.

All the above provisions do not affect other Muslims in Greece, like immigrants or the autochthonous Muslims in Kos and Rhodes, since at the time of the Lausanne Treaty the Dodecanese islands belonged to Italy. In Rhodes and Kos the teaching of the Turkish was *de facto* abolished in 1974¹⁴⁸ after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. It is worth noting that in the village Platani (Turkish name, Kermetes) in Kos, Muslim pupils attending the public primary school, were obliged, despite their parents objections to attend Christian religious classes. This practice was stopped in 2001, after the formal intervention of the Ombudsman¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁴ Religious community: ethnic communities were not recognized by the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁴⁵ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0011 and 3B0012

¹⁴⁶ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0012

¹⁴⁷ For an extensive analysis of the legal aspects of minority education refer to Baltsiotis L. & K. Tsitselikis (2001) “The Education of the minority in Western Thrace”, A.N. Sakkoulas, Athens-Komotini

¹⁴⁸ Chiotakis, S. (1997) “School education and social integration of the Muslims in Rhodes”, *Synhrona Themata*, 63/1997, pp. 79 - 83

¹⁴⁹ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0023

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education are jointly responsible for minority education, as it is considered that minority education stems from Greece's international obligations in reciprocity with Turkey's relevant obligations regarding the Christian Orthodox minority in Turkey¹⁵⁰.

6.5.5.1. Pre-school education

All Muslim minority pre-school children have the right to attend public nurseries. No official statistical data are available, but it is estimated that in 2000 about 300 minority children received pre-school education. The limited attendance could be attributed to the nature of family relationships in the minority society (mainly agricultural and traditional) and also to the fear of some parents that the long-term stay of their children, at that age, in a Greek speaking and Christian environment, might threaten their ethnic and religious identity. During 2001 we recorded a pilot project, implemented by the French organisation ACEPP¹⁵¹, aiming to facilitate the attendance of minority infants of mountainous villages in kinder-gardens¹⁵². In 2003 the project "Muslim Children Education" is making special efforts to attract more pupils to pre-school education.

6.5.5.2. Primary education

All Muslim minority children have the right to attend either Greek or minority public primary schools, but most choose to attend minority schools. In primary and secondary minority education in Thrace standard Turkish and Greek are used equally for language courses as well as for the other subjects. All minority schools follow a bilingual – half Greek half Turkish – curriculum. Turkish subjects: Turkish language, Islamic Religion, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Arts and Physical Education. Greek subjects: Greek language, History, Geography, Environmental Studies and Civic Education.

The textbooks used by the minority schools for the subjects of the Greek part of the curriculum, take into consideration the religious culture of the community and the fact that Greek is used as a second language. Textbooks are printed and distributed gratis by the Education Ministry. Textbooks used for the subjects of the Turkish part of the curriculum, are written, edited and printed in Turkey especially for the minority pupils of Thrace and are imported and distributed after approval of the Greek Education Ministry¹⁵³. Minority schools follow the annual programme of the public elementary schools, with some extra holidays for Islamic religious celebrations.

Currently (2001-2002), 223 primary minority schools operate with approximately 7,000 pupils and 900 teachers¹⁵⁴. The dropout rate is very high¹⁵⁵: From 1985 – 1995 the average dropout rate was 23.5% in the minority primary schools with the national average

¹⁵⁰ RAXEN2 Database No. B0025

¹⁵¹ More information available at <http://www.acepp.asso.fr/> (27/10/2002)

¹⁵² RAXEN2 Database No. 3C0062

¹⁵³ During the 1990s the Greek Education Ministry published Turkish language textbooks for minority primary schools that were not acceptable to the minority and in some cases there were serious problems with schools and communities that refused to accept the books with subsequent court convictions of minority members. See Stathi, P. (1997) "The Turkish textbooks in Thrace", *Synchrone Themata*, 63/1997, pp. 65 – 68 and Aarbakke, V. (2000), "The Muslim minority of Greek Thrace", PhD Thesis, Univ. of Bergen, Norway

¹⁵⁴ RAXEN2 Database No. A0004

¹⁵⁵ Tressou E. (1997): "Minority education in Thrace : reasons of failure", *Synchrone Themata*, 63/1997, pp. 49-53

primary school dropout rate for the same period to be about 1.2%). This high dropout rate is largely attributed to the socio-economic status of Muslim minority families, and the very low level of labour market integration.

Turkish is taught only in the minority schools and is not offered, even as a foreign language, in Greek public schools in Thrace, where many minority children prefer to study. On the other hand most Muslim pupils attending minority schools have a poor knowledge of Greek, as several studies indicate¹⁵⁶. This is attributed to the low quality of the educational system followed by the minority schools¹⁵⁷, the constant and exclusive use of Turkish in the family and the immediate social environment, the socio-economic inequalities within the minority, the unequal status of the two languages and nationalism¹⁵⁸.

6.5.5.3. Secondary education

All minority children can enrol in public secondary schools. One minority lower secondary and one higher secondary school operate in Komotini and Xanthi as private schools, but in practice there are no fees and both are controlled by the state having a similar legal status to minority primary schools. Furthermore, two “Islamic Seminars” (*medrese*) operate since 1999 following the system of Greek ecclesiastical secondary schools; one is located in Komotini and the other in the village of Ehinou, in the mountainous area of Xanthi¹⁵⁹. Girls were allowed to enrol in these for the first time in 2000.

In addition to the two minority secondary schools, in the mountainous areas, there are also five public Greek secondary schools, but as they are attended exclusively by minority pupils the Greek curriculum is enriched with a Turkish language course on Islam.

In secondary minority schools the curriculum is divided into the Turkish and the Greek part: The subjects Religion, Turkish, Physics, Mathematics, French or English, Drawing and Music are taught in Turkish, while the subjects Greek (modern and ancient), History, Civic Education and Geography are taught in Greek. The two Islamic Seminars follow a different pattern: Turkish, Arabic, Islamic History and various subjects connected with the teaching of religion are taught in Turkish and all other subjects are taught in Greek.

The policy for secondary school textbooks is the same as for primary schools. Some religious books are donated by Islamic Foundations. In 2001-02 minority secondary schools had a total of 1,150 pupils and 100 teachers. It should be noted, though, that more

¹⁵⁶ For more information consult: Dimoulas, I. (1992) “Written communication and expression of Christian and Muslim pupils of primary schools in Rodopi”, published by the author, Komotini; Kanakidou, E. (1994) “The Education of the Muslim Minority on Western Thrace”, Ellinika Grammata, Athens; Sarvanakis Th. (1987) “Factors affecting Muslim children in learning the Greek language”, published by the author, Alexandroupolis; Panayotides N. (1995) “Muslim minority and national identity”, TEDK Evros, Alexandroupoli; Moustafa, M. (1999) “Educational support and social participation: The case of the Turkish minority in Thrace”, in Spanou El. (ed.) “Human dignity and social exclusion—Educational policy in Europe”, Ellinika Grammata – Eteria Politikou Provlitismou Nikos Poulantzas, Athens, pp. 223 – 228

¹⁵⁷ Onounoglou, Ib. (1997) “Criticism on the minority education: through the view on a member of the minority”, *Synchrona Themata*, 63/1997, pp. 61 – 64

¹⁵⁸ Mavrommatis G. (2001) “Why little Mehmet does not learn Greek”, in Tressou E. & Mitakidou S. (eds) “The Education of linguistic minorities”, Paratiritis, Thessalonica, pp. 394-401

¹⁵⁹ Panayotides N. (1995) “Muslim minority and national identity”, TEDK Evros, Alexandroupoli, p. 122

than 1,500 Muslim pupils chose in 2002 to attend Greek upper secondary schools in Thrace¹⁶⁰.

6.5.5.4. Vocational training

No official statistical data is available concerning the participation of the minority in vocational training. As Greek citizens they can participate in any vocational training courses offered after completing the 9-year compulsory education. However, since Turkish is not the medium of instruction, minority members who wish to attend them face language problems.

The Association of Minority Scientists operating in Komotini, offers, every year, lessons in sewing and embroidery to about 50 Muslim girls from rural areas that have not necessarily completed compulsory education using Turkish as the medium of instruction¹⁶¹.

6.5.5.5. Higher education

The first minority students were enrolled in Greek universities in 1996 using Law 2341 of 1995 providing easier access for university studies in Greece to minority students as a measure of positive discrimination. The law sets aside 300 student places (0.5% of the total and at least one in every university department) for Muslim minority students allowing thus any minority higher secondary school graduate to enrol at a Greek university¹⁶². In 2001-02, 138 Muslim minority students from Thrace enrolled at Greek universities and in 2002-03 178. Until 1996 the small number of academically proficient minority students preferred, due to their limited knowledge of Greek and the difficulty of the national university entrance examinations, to attend Turkish Universities where they received preferential treatment in placement.

Teachers of the Turkish curriculum of the minority primary schools are educated at the Special Pedagogical Academy of Thessalonica (EPATH)¹⁶³. 30 minority higher secondary school and Islamic Seminar graduates may enrol annually¹⁶⁴. Studies last for 2 years and all subjects are taught in Greek. Students are offered only one 2 hours per week course in Turkish Literature, but, since they are considered “native speakers”, no further instruction in Turkish subject terminology, teaching methods or pedagogy. This is the only category of teachers that does not need to complete a four year degree course, but the government as announced that EPATH will be upgraded to a University Department¹⁶⁵.

6.5.5.6. Adult education

In recent years several projects were implemented by NELE¹⁶⁶ (Prefectural Committee for Popular Education) and private as well as public KEK (Vocational Training Centres)

¹⁶⁰ RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0005

¹⁶¹ RAXEN2 Database No. 3C0041

¹⁶² RAXEN2 Database No. 3A0006

¹⁶³ Eidiki Paidagogiki Akadimia Thessalonikis

¹⁶⁴ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0028

¹⁶⁵ RAXEN2 Database No. 3B0025

¹⁶⁶ Nomarchiaki Epitropi Laikis Epimorphosis

financed by national and EU funds addressed to both Muslim and Christian¹⁶⁷. Turkish is not used in any of these projects either as a subject or as a medium of instruction.

A number of vocational training courses for both Muslim and Christians¹⁶⁸ and one exclusively for Muslim Pomaks¹⁶⁹ have been recorded in the RAXEN database¹⁷⁰. There is a growing demand among the minority for language and vocational training courses.

¹⁶⁷ RAXEN2 Database No.3C0054 and 3C0055

¹⁶⁸ RAXEN2 Database No.3C0054 and 3C0055

¹⁶⁹ RAXEN2 Database No.3C0083

¹⁷⁰ RAXEN2 Database No.3C0063

7. Description and analysis of existing and non-existing data and sources

7.1. DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY & PROBLEMS

7.1.1. Data collection process

Data collection and research relating to racism and discrimination generally and education specifically is still in its infancy in Greece. The lack of relevant data and studies led us therefore to a more qualitative approach scrutinising all available evidence in our attempt to analyse the current situation.

Our findings rely primarily on data collected in the context of the RAXEN1 (Mapping exercise) and the RAXEN2, RAXEN3 and RAXEN4 (up to May¹⁷¹) data collection activities. We would like at this point to stress that the collection of data is carried out mostly through personal interviews and visits.

The only available official statistical data concerning discrimination, racism and xenophobia in Greek education are student records compiled into statistical data by the Education Ministry¹⁷² and published at different times (not annually). In February 2003 the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies announced that it will publish reliable statistical data and analyses concerning both the number and school performance of immigrant students in the summer of 2003. However, no quantitative or qualitative data exists or is planned to be collected on phenomena of racism and xenophobia in education by public authorities.

A small number of surveys are also available, but their sampling methodology does not allow conclusions to be drawn concerning national trends. Nevertheless, racial incidents in schools do happen, especially concerning Albanian and Roma pupils and have been reported by the media and recorded in the RAXEN database. Teachers' unions have also mentioned racial "stress" particularly in inner city schools. It is therefore essential for research institutions, universities and public authorities to initiate urgently research that would allow these phenomena to be studied in depth.

Data were collected from:

- **Existing official statistics** on education, the regularization process for immigrants and the number of refugees and asylum seekers from both national and international sources,
- **Studies** on education, immigration issues, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, religious minorities, the Roma, etc.,
- **Ad hoc reports by** NGOs on cases of discrimination,

¹⁷¹ Essentially this means that enrolment data for the schoolyear 2003/04 will be available later.

¹⁷² RAXEN Database No3A0005, No3A0006, No3A0007, No3A0008, No3A0009, No3A0010, No3A0011, No3A0012, No3A0013, No3A0014

- **Projects, programmes, initiatives and action plans** by public and private bodies,
- **Conferences, workshops and meetings** by public bodies and NGOs
- **Unstructured and semi-structured interviews** (formal and informal) that took place during the ongoing Mapping exercise, the RAXEN2 and RAXEN3 data collections involving teachers, relevant (immigrant, refugee, minority, Roma) associations, NGOs and public authorities (local and national).
- **Media reports** of incidents of racism in schools.
- **Press statements** by the Ministry of Education and other public authorities¹⁷³.

7.1.2. Data collection sources

- **Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs**¹⁷⁴. The Ministry provided us with the available official statistics (that were published¹⁷⁵ for the first time a month later in a yearbook). In 2003 we were informed by the Ministry that all statistical information concerning immigrant (ethnic Greek and foreign pupils) will now be collected by the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies.
- **Research establishments**
- The Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies, The Pedagogical Institute, the Centre for Educational Research, The Centre for Intercultural Education of the Athens University and the National Centre for Social Research are the main research establishments with very little relevant data that were made available to us.
- **Directorates and Bureaus of Education in Prefectures**
- Local Directorates of Primary and Secondary Education informed us that statistical data is only available centrally from the Ministry of Education. However, some were interviewed by us offering an important insight into problems faced locally.
- **Teachers Confederations** (Primary and Secondary Education)
- Trade unions have no data concerning discrimination, racism and xenophobia. In interviews they referred to the need for training in intercultural education and diversity management and informed us of the problems faced by teachers in schools with large numbers of immigrant students. The Research Centre (KEMETE¹⁷⁶) of the Teachers Trade Union in Secondary Public Education (OLME¹⁷⁷) has conducted certain activities that have been recorded in the RAXEN database.

¹⁷³ Greek public authorities frequently publish ad hoc in press statements data that are not released to researchers.

¹⁷⁴ Information available in Greek mostly and some in English at <http://www.ypepth.gr> (23/10/2002)

¹⁷⁵ Stamelos G., (ed), (2002) "The Greek Educational System", Centre for Educational Research, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, Athens

¹⁷⁶ More information available from <http://www.kemete.gr> (12/01/2003)

¹⁷⁷ More information available from <http://www.olme.gr> (12/01/2003)

- **“Intercultural” and “Minority” schools**
- School records are not publicly available since they contain sensitive private data. Statistical data are sent to the Education Ministry. Teachers were helpful and spoke to us in length about their experiences and problems.
- **Departments of Education in Universities**
- Departments of Education, particularly the Departments of Education at the Universities of Thessalonica (REDS Group), Ioannina (“Roma Children Education Programme”) and Athens (“Muslim Children Education Programme”) have carried out some studies and several dissertations on institutional racism and social exclusion in education.
- **Partner Organisations**
- Our partner organisations, especially the Department of Preschool Education at the University of Thessalonica, the Research Centre for Minority Languages and the Network for Support of Immigrants and Refugees have assisted in the collection of data. We have also contacted all¹⁷⁸ NGOs and immigrant organisations active in the field.
- **Media**
- Media reports and press statements by Ministries were verified and included in the RAXEN database.

7.1.3. **Difficulties and problems encountered – unreliable and non existing data**

- A major difficulty of data collection in Greece concerns the unwillingness of public bodies to give out any information without prior application in person requiring time consuming visits that both delay and increase the cost of the data collection activities. Furthermore, most other organisations will not complete questionnaires by themselves and expect to be interviewed adding further to the cost of the operation, especially, as is usually the case, if they require the physical presence of the interviewer.
- **Inadequacy of official statistical data:** the only available data refer simply to the number of immigrant students and students in the officially designated “Minority Schools” in Thrace. There are no statistical data on Muslims or Roma¹⁷⁹ in other schools or areas that could be made available to us by the Education Ministry. Furthermore, there are no official data concerning incidents of discrimination or racism in education since no one is mandated to record and collect such data.

¹⁷⁸ An exhaustive list is provided in the RAXEN1 database available at the EUMC.

¹⁷⁹ It should be noted that in our in depth interview with the Director of Education of Argolis (Prefecture of Argolis, Peloponnese) in October 2002 he revealed that “unofficial data” concerning the number of Roma students in primary schools were sent to the Education Ministry, but since Roma are not recorded as a separate category in the official school register (‘Mathitologio’), such data cannot be made publicly available. However, the Education Ministry has released such data to the Press on occasion in reply to criticism concerning the educational provisions for the Roma; the reliability of such data cannot be evaluated, since sources or collection methods are not publicized. The situation concerning data availability is thus still confusing.

- **Unreliability of official statistical data:** many of the statistical data that were made available to us by the Education Ministry during the RAXEN2 data collection in 2001 seem to have been subsequently changed in 2002: thus data presented by the Ministry's Centre for Educational Research in 2002¹⁸⁰ were different. Furthermore, our own research indicates that some schools do not operate reception classes or tutorial courses, but nevertheless report as doing so. Our evidence suggests that this occurs mostly because of the lack of necessary facilities (i.e. there are not enough classrooms or teachers available for the extra "reception" or "support" classes) and also pressure by parents to use school time and space more "productively" by offering students extra tuition in English or IT (Information Technology). Furthermore, the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies has informed us that the forthcoming results of its own study shows that past official statistical data collection cannot be considered reliable.
- **Non – existent official statistical data:** There is confusion concerning the existence and/or availability of official data on Roma. The Education Ministry on the one hand denies that data are collected on the Roma, since as Greek citizens, they are not separately recorded in school registers, but on the other hand it provides data for the increase of Roma school enrolment as a result of its actions. Furthermore, there are no statistical data on school dropout rates, school performance or transition to employment for any socially vulnerable groups (such information may be inferred from enrolment data, but not reliably). Finally, there is no monitoring of incidents of discrimination, racism or xenophobia and consequently no data.
- **In cooperation with the Liaison Officer we have already compiled a short report with recommendations for the improvement of data collection that will be forwarded officially to the competent public authorities.**
- There are very few academic studies involving primary research on immigrants and minorities in education and no study on racism and/or xenophobia in schools per se.
- Problems with the quality of the data provided by NGOs, as their level of organisation and mode of operation do not allow them to record verifiable and consistent information.
- The need to rely on media for reports of racial incidents in schools, due to the absence of monitoring mechanisms; these reports were verified, but the process proved to be extremely time consuming.

The present report refers to data collected in 2001, 2002 and 2003 up to May.

¹⁸⁰ Stamelos G., (ed), (2002) "The Greek Educational System", Centre for Educational Research, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, Athens

7.2. EVIDENCE FOR RACISM & XENOPHOBIA IN GREEK EDUCATION

7.2.1. Ethnic Greek and other immigrants

Despite the rising number of ethnic Greek and immigrant pupils in inner city schools and the problems associated with the lack of provisions for intercultural education, few racist incidents have been recorded in schools, despite the existence of a variety of forms of direct and indirect institutional discrimination.

7.2.2. Roma

Severe criticism by international organisations, such as the OECD and the Council of Europe coupled with mobilization by NGOs within the country concerning the Roma have led, public authorities to take some steps in improving the education of the Roma. Nevertheless, the situation is still far from satisfactory and allegations of racist incidents especially concerning the unwillingness of primary schools to enrol Roma pupils are frequent.

7.2.3. Religious minorities

Minority education has gradually improved, as far as this is possible given the narrow legal confines of the Lausanne Treaty. No problems of racism concerning the Muslim minority in Thrace have been recorded, but a serious problem continues to be the non availability of minority education in areas outside Thrace with a significant Muslim minority population.

7.2.3.1. Attitude surveys and studies

The surveys and studies referred to below have not been released to us and have therefore not been evaluated concerning reliability or validity. Information was released in the form of press statements.

An attitude survey conducted in March 2001 in Athens and Thessalonica by the private research firm "Kappa Research" on behalf of the Greek branch of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in March 2001 produced interesting results concerning pupils attitudes towards immigrant children from different nationalities: 75.6% of Greek schoolchildren are friends with a immigrant peer, while an overwhelming 90% thought positively about immigrants at their school. However, more than 51.7% of their parents said they are "concerned" about the presence of immigrant pupils, while almost 30% believe that the co-existence of immigrant and Greek pupils exerts a "negative" influence on their children. It also found that many educators feel ill equipped to teach immigrant pupils that require more support and language tuition than their Greek counterparts. Although there are no actual statistical data concerning racist episodes in schools 33.9%

The final report of the EU funded CONNECT Initiative project “Tackling Violence in Schools“, suggests that, “...measures have to be taken to help minority students whose numbers are steadily increasing deal with difficulties in adjusting to school. Experienced problems may lead to the possibility of intercultural conflict, which might pave the way to an escalation of alienation and racism. Schools need to develop beyond the oppressive homogenisation, which characterises them today to respect of heterogeneity of the background interests and abilities of students, of Greek and non-Greek origin alike¹⁸⁴ .

A survey conducted in December 2001 by the Research and Support Centre for Victims of Abuse and Social Exclusion found that 50% of Greek students are xenophobic, while 60% have ethnocentric attitudes. Although 90% believe that Greek immigrants in Germany and Australia should enjoy the same rights as their fellow citizens, only 30% feel that immigrants in Greece should also have equal rights. According to the findings of the survey 87% of lower secondary school students would gladly extend hospitality to a peer from Yugoslavia, but only 49% would do the same for an Albanian. Nearly 80% of secondary school students said that they would not mind having an Asian as a good friend, but 9.3% feared the presence of Asians in classrooms would cause problems at their school. These findings are comparable to a study conducted by the private research firm “Metron Analysis” in 1999, which found that 50% of Greek secondary school students would consider having an Albanian as a friend.¹⁸⁵

In the context of a poll of pupils' attitudes commissioned by the Education Ministry and conducted under the aegis of the Institute for Political Sociology of the National Centre for Social Research from March to May 1999, 85% of higher secondary school pupils do not trust the educational system, while 50% of lower secondary school pupils admitted to xenophobia, the viewpoint rising to 60% among higher secondary school pupils. On the other hand 64% percent of lower secondary school pupils believed that the presence of foreigners in Greek society "gives us an opportunity to learn about their cultures", although 35% percent thought that the presence of many foreigners in a residential area downgrades it.¹⁸⁶

Two sociolinguistic analyses of the discourse of higher secondary school and primary school pupils conducted by the Aristotelian University of Thessalonica showed that most Greek pupils have a very negative image of Turks considering them as “a wild and warlike people”. Although almost half primary school pupils stress the need for peace between the two countries, higher secondary school pupils define Turks as the “enemy” with 79% expressing a highly negative opinion about them. Most pupils make justify their opinion by reference to specific historical events (wars, massacres, ethnic cleansing) that are taught in school.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Houndoumadi A., Pateraki L. & Ioannidou M. with the assistance of Laskaritou P. (2001) “Tackling Violence in Schools: A Report from Greece” DG Education and Culture, “CONNECT Initiative”, Project UK-001 available at <http://www.gold.ac.uk/connect/reportgreece.html> (13/10/2002)

¹⁸⁵ Athens News, 09/02/2001, page: A04 Article code: C12873A041

¹⁸⁶ Athens News, 09/12/2000, page: A02 Article code: C12824A023

¹⁸⁷ To Vima, 09-12-2001 Article code: B13438A541

7.2.3.2. **Racist and xenophobic incidents**

The following are examples of several racist incidents reported by the press and recorded in the RAXEN database. The Education Ministry may at its discretion instigate administrative proceedings or ask the Prosecutor General to instigate criminal proceedings in cases it deems necessary, but no such action has as yet been taken in any instance.

In November 2000 the Parents Association of the Halastra Public School in Thessalonica closed the school protesting against the enrolment of 32 Roma children from the neighbouring “Aghia Sophia” Roma settlement in addition to 27 that had already enrolled. Parents argued that the school was already functioning at full capacity and overcrowding would occur through the enrolment of more pupils. The Roma pupils were sent to this school on the order of the Prefect of Thessalonica following a written suggestion and recommendation by the local Directorate of Primary Education.¹⁸⁸

In October 2001 Albanian schoolboy Ohdise Qena unwillingly sparked a heated public debate on racism in schools after being forced by the school authorities in a public school in Thessalonica to withdraw from his flag carrying position at the official school parade as best student¹⁸⁹. Parents objected to him carrying the Greek flag although he was entitled to the honour as he had received the highest marks in his school. What started as a schoolyard row grew swiftly into a national dispute over whether immigrants should be allowed to assimilate. Opinion leaders supported the pupil and even the President of the Greek Republic defended the boy, while all political parties warned against dividing school pupils on ethnic grounds.

Similar events that did not attract much media attention occurred in 2003.

In November 2002 groups of Albanian and Greek higher secondary education pupils created a violent episode outside their school. However, there seems to have been no direct racist motivation. The Ministry of Education has taken no action.

¹⁸⁸ DROM Network for Gypsy Social Rights (NGO), Press Release, 15-11-2000

¹⁸⁹ Athens News, 31/10/2000, page: A03 Article code: C12790A031

8. Strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racism and supporting diversity

8.1. MAJOR INITIATIVES AND ACTIONS COMBATING DISCRIMINATION, RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The number of projects combating discrimination, racism and xenophobia in education that were implemented in past years is small due largely to lack of funding.

Major anti-discrimination projects carried out since 1997 are the following three:

1. “Muslim Children Education”¹⁹⁰: The project was launched in 1997 under the auspices of the Ministry's Special Secretariat of Intercultural Education and continues in its second (2002-2004) phase funded partly the Community Support Framework (currently the 3rd CSF – 60 million €, national funding 25%). The aim is the improvement of Muslim minority education. The main objectives of the project are:

- To study the causes for the Muslim minority's massive educational underachievement.
- To produce textbooks and educational materials for the teaching of Greek language and the subjects taught according to the Greek curriculum (i.e. history, geography, environmental studies and civic education).
- To provide adequate in-service training of the teachers in the principles of anti-racist education, in new pedagogical techniques and in the use of the new materials produced.
- The specific objectives of the in-service teacher training were to:
 - instigate a dialogue between minority and majority teachers who alternate in the minority school classes, and establish the notion that collaboration between teachers is not only necessary but inevitable;
 - cultivate the idea that respect for a different religion, culture and language, and the integration of minority children into society is to the benefit not only of the minority, but of the entire population;
 - introduce conflict resolution techniques;
 - introduce bilingualism and give the teachers evidence that a different maternal language is not a barrier for the acquisition of a second language, and that a new method of teaching Greek as a second language is required;

The project is implemented by an interdisciplinary team of 120 experts under the direction of Professor A. Frangoudaki (Department of Preschool Education of the University of Athens).

The project was on the whole well received. However, there was criticism concerning its implementation that was flawed by the strict interpretation of the Lausanne Treaty and later bilateral agreements that the Greek government insisted on which meant that the project was not allowed to “intervene” in the Turkish curriculum resulting in a rather

¹⁹⁰ RAXEN Database No 3B0022. More information available at <http://www.ecd.uoa.gr/museduc> (28/05/2003).

schizophrenic approach whereby pupils follow a modern, state of the art, curriculum in the subjects of Greek Language, History, Geography, Environmental Studies and Civic Education that belong to the “Greek Curriculum”, while the subjects that belong to the “Turkish Curriculum” Turkish Language, Religion, Mathematics, Physics, Music and Physical Education follow a different, outdated, pedagogical approach . Nevertheless the reform of the Greek part of the curriculum provided seems to have set in motion the other side as well. There is no impact evaluation publicly available.

In its second stage the project continues its interventions with emphasis on the integration of Muslim pupils especially through the improvement of Greek language skills in order to enhance their future position in the labour market. The project also aims to reduce the school drop out rate as much as possible and conduct awareness raising and information activities concerning the importance of education. According to the project’s mission statement “educators, administrators, pupils, parents, minority representatives and the community of Thrace as a whole should realize the significance of education and especially pre-school education for the future welfare both of the minority and the majority populations in Thrace, Greece and the EU.

In this context two Project Support Centres¹⁹¹ were set up in the cities of Komotini and Xanthi during 2002 aiming at informing parents systematically, providing counseling to both teachers and parents, linking the project to local education administrators, local authorities and teachers’ trade unions, developing contact and dialogue with the local communities and the media.

2. “Roma Children Education”¹⁹²: The project was launched in 1997 under the auspices of the Ministry's Special Secretariat of Intercultural Education and continues in its second (2002-2006) phase funded partly the Community Support Framework (currently the 3rd CSF). The project aims to improve the education provided to Greek Roma (excluding Roma living in Thrace and enjoying official Muslim minority status). The main objectives are:

- The study of the living conditions of Greek Roma and the causes of their educational underachievement.
- The development of the appropriate curricula, syllabi and educational material as well as the appropriate means for the integration of Roma children to the educational system.
- The implementation of new curricula to selected schools
- The development of innovative strategies for the school enrolment of nomadic Roma.

The project was implemented by the Department of Education, Faculty of Philosophy, Psychology and Education of the University of Ioannina by an interdisciplinary team of experts under the direction of Professor A. Gotovos during its first phase and under

¹⁹¹ An interactive excellent internet site was developed to further support the project and the operation of the Centers available at <http://www.kleidiakaiaantikleidia.net/#> (29/05/2003)

¹⁹² More information only concerning the first phase of the project is available at <http://www.uoi.gr/services/epeaek/ypoprogram1.html> (28/05/2003); Information for the second phase is expected in 2004.

Professor P. Papakostantinou in its current second phase that is expected to produce results in 2004.

The project was generally considered successful in producing textbooks, syllabi and other educational material adapted to the special needs of Roma pupils. However, the actual implementation of the Roma education programme in schools was met in most cases with resistance by local authorities and parents. There was an insistence on segregation, which would undermine the main objectives and the philosophy, and therefore the implementation is still limited to a very small number of schools that alternate every year. Nevertheless the programme succeeded in establishing the “Roma Pupil Identity Card”, namely an official document that allows nomadic Roma to enrol and follow classes in any school of the area in which they temporarily reside for any amount of time. This provides them with the desired flexibility to continue their way of life and receive the benefit of state education. In practice this card also allows permanently settled Roma to avoid various bureaucratic formalities when enrolling their children. According to the Education Ministry the project was instrumental in raising Roma enrolment in the educational system at primary school level from 25% to 75% and reducing the drop out rate. However, critics point out though, that the actual participation of Roma children in the Greek educational system is still low and more efforts must be made by the state especially in employment and housing to improve the situation in education. The National Commission for Human Rights points in its Annual Report 2002¹⁹³ states that despite the efforts of the project organisers there have been many incidents of Roma exclusion from education, while the state has taken no action against such incidents, because the philosophy of the project has been avoidance of confrontation and conflict. There is no project impact evaluation publicly available.

3. “Education of Repatriate Ethnic Greek and Foreign students”¹⁹⁴: The project was launched in 1997 by the Centre for Intercultural Education (KEDA) of the University of Athens. The aim was to develop intercultural education syllabi, curricula and educational material for repatriated ethnic Greek and foreign immigrants in the context of a “multicultural classroom”. It is not yet known, if the project will continue in a second phase as its competences have been transferred to the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies. The main objectives of the project were:

- The study and development of appropriate educational and administrative structures for the integration of repatriate Greeks and foreign immigrants to Greek society;
- The development of appropriate curricula, syllabi and educational material for intercultural education;
- The implementation of the above in selected schools;
- The development of counselling support structures;
- Public awareness raising concerning intercultural education and the special needs of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant students;
- The fight against racism, xenophobia and social exclusion in education.

¹⁹³ National Commission for Human Rights, Annual Report 2002, p. 200, Athens: National Printing Office

¹⁹⁴ More information available at <http://www.keda.gr> (12/05/2002) – at the moment under construction

The project: was implemented by the Centre of Intercultural Education under the direction of Professor G. Markou who currently heads the Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies.

The project assisted in the development of intercultural education structures in schools. In a relatively brief period of time its achievements are remarkable given the very limited resources put at its disposal by the Greek Ministry of Education. As intercultural education is a prime means for combating racism and xenophobia it should be more actively promoted and supported by the state. Academics and NGOs have repeatedly stressed the need for more resources, namely teachers, training and classrooms in order to implement intercultural education properly. There is no published evaluation of the project's impact.

8.1.1. Other projects and activities

The projects have been recorded in the RAXEN Education database which is continuously updated. The following are an indicative selection:

Greek Universities have carried out some studies and projects. The most significant contribution has been made by the **REDS**¹⁹⁵ (Research group on Exclusion and Dominance Structures) at the Department of Primary Education of the Aristotle University of Thessalonica under the direction of Professor G. Tsiakalos. Since 1989 several projects have been and are being implemented in the strands: POVERTY 3, HORIZON, ECOS-OUVERTURE, The city beneath the city, Combat against social exclusion, Promoting Research Potential in the Human Sciences and “Internationales Lernen” with target groups: Immigrants, Roma, single-parent families, repatriate ethnic Greeks, inhabitants of isolated distant regions, groups with particular cultural/linguistic characteristics, juvenile offenders, recently released prisoners, etc. The REDS team uses the structures, resources and facilities of the Aristotle University of Thessalonica, while its research activities are mainly EU funded. The team members are staff of the University, candidate lecturers, independent researchers, as well as researchers in other Greek and European Universities.

The 87th Primary School of Athens is an experimental implementation of new methods of intercultural education. The school is located in a very poor district of Athens, more than 50% of its pupils are Turkish speakers from Thrace, Roma, etc. The school was adopted as a pilot project on intercultural education and research on xenophobia by the Athens University Department of Education. The project aimed at creating a different environment for minority children who were not treated as disadvantaged. Their knowledge of different languages and cultures and the survival techniques they have developed were considered as an advantage over Greek children. The project developed a holistic approach using parental involvement and an individualistic treatment for the students giving psychological and social support. Lunch was offered at school and an after school club was organised at the schools premises. The University organised a weekly teacher training and supervision programme. Over the two years of the project, the school became very popular and the number of students increased. Since 2002 there

¹⁹⁵ More information available at <http://www.eled.auth.gr/reds> (21/10/2002)

are three more schools supported by the Athens University Department of Education in the region of Thrace, close to the border with Bulgaria.¹⁹⁶

The National Youth Foundation (E.I.N.) under the leadership of Professor Maria Tzanni of the University of Athens conducted a project¹⁹⁷ providing Greek language courses aiming "to facilitate the adaptation of Muslim minority pupils to the Greek educational system and alleviate the cost of education for families in need by providing free supplementary education". In 1996 there were 91 classes with 61 teachers and 685 pupils. In 1997, there were 137 classes with 116 teachers and 1145 pupils. In 1998, there were 356 classes with 318 teachers and 3922 pupils. In year 1999, there were 363 classes with 348 teachers and 4680 pupils of primary and secondary education. There has been no evaluation of the project results or impact. Critics have considered that the project was ethnocentric – despite the title “intercultural”.

Comenius (SOCRATES) project: "Me and the Other: a voyage of discovery in game form"¹⁹⁸ was developed in 1997 as a teaching tool for primary school teachers and pupils offering an alternative way of seeing Greece and the world from the prevailing stereotypes. The game, presented as a teaching package, is offered to pupils (aged between 9 and 12) and teachers. The main theme is travel. The participants make imaginary trips around the world and retrace the routes of their ancestors. At the end, they realise that the movement of people, ideas and objects has always shaped the course of history. With maps, documents and photos, pupils first reconstruct the routes followed by different immigrant families throughout the world. The examples, which are fictitious, enable the pupils to launch themselves into an imaginary story and to discover, with the teacher's help, the similarities and differences between cultures and histories. During the second stage pupils are urged to ask their parents and grandparents where they have come from. The following day, maps of the world and of Greece are unfolded in class. Using coloured threads, the pupils trace the routes of their respective families and compare them with the routes followed by their fictitious heroes. The journeys criss-cross and overlap all over the globe. This vivid depiction of movement helps the children to link their family history to world history. All of them will realise that, for Greeks and non-Greeks alike, movement and exchange have taken place in all their families. This perception builds the collective memory of the class and explains the presence of their peers. The project was tested in several schools in Athens and was adopted by the Education Ministry.

¹⁹⁶ More information in English may be found in the “Draft Minutes of the Madrid regional expert meeting on education for refugees” available at http://www.refugeenet.org/pdf/education_madrid.pdf (22/09/2002)

¹⁹⁷ RAXEN2 Database No. B0024 and 3B0028 (PhD thesis based on the project)

¹⁹⁸ More information from Ms. Alexandra Androussou, Themelio Ltd, Solonos 84, GR-106 80 ATHENS, Tel: +30 1 360 8180 Fax: +30 1 361 2092

9. SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

The root of racism is embedded both in the economic structures and the prevailing attitudes and values within society. Prejudice acquisition is a socially determined and constructed process of acculturation or socialisation primarily from the family, peer groups, school and the media; if this is the case then it should be possible also to deconstruct it with the right interventions by the same major agents of socialisation that give rise to it in the first place; in this process education has a pivotal role to play.

Most national educational systems in the EU still support a “traditional concept of national identity which is derived from the belief in an entitlement on the basis of ancestry and a shared historical and cultural past”¹⁹⁹. Should we therefore abandon a political socialisation based on the construction of a national identity? Should we and can we redefine national identity? What should be the role of schools in the mechanisms and processes essential in the construction of individual and group identities that may promote, condone or prevent racism and xenophobia?

None of these questions can be answered lightly and the process of developing a tolerant multicultural educational system can only be a process of learning by doing. However, the contribution of education to the formation of a truly multi-cultural society is crucial and therefore the incorporation of the “shifting and kaleidoscopic nature of ethnic differentiations and identities and their divisions of class and gender”²⁰⁰ is unavoidable.

The social space where culture and ideology are communicated through “interaction between individuals on the one hand, and the communities resulting from this activity on the other”²⁰¹ is the school and, as such, it is the main vehicle through which we can promote young people’s understanding and acceptance of “others” by making “processes of communication and interaction between members of different groups key components in the learning programme”²⁰².

Greece has not as yet witnessed serious racist or xenophobic incidents in education. However, many aspects of mainly institutional discrimination persist and may in the future lead to conflict fuelled by racist prejudice and intolerance. Our ongoing investigation reveals many aspects of the educational system that need to be carefully examined in order to avoid the social exclusion of socially vulnerable groups and especially the Roma who continue to constitute the most disadvantaged social group suffering from direct and indirect discrimination and racist harassment in every sphere of social life. The social integration of both ethnic Greek and foreign migrant pupils is also an issue of concern as existing provisions and practices for intercultural education seem inadequate and oriented more towards assimilation rather than integration. Admittedly it

¹⁹⁹ Jones M. (2000), “National Identity – Bestowed or developed? Do we need curriculum for intercultural learning?”, Edge Hill College of H.E. available at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/conference2000/papers/pde/papers/jones.html> p.2

²⁰⁰ Rattansi, A. (1992) “Changing the subject? Racism, culture and education” in Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. (eds.) *Race, Culture and Difference*, Open University Press, p. 39

²⁰¹ Kaikkonen, P. (1997) “Learning a culture and a foreign language at school — aspects of intercultural learning” *Language Learning Journal*, March 1997, No 15, pp. 48

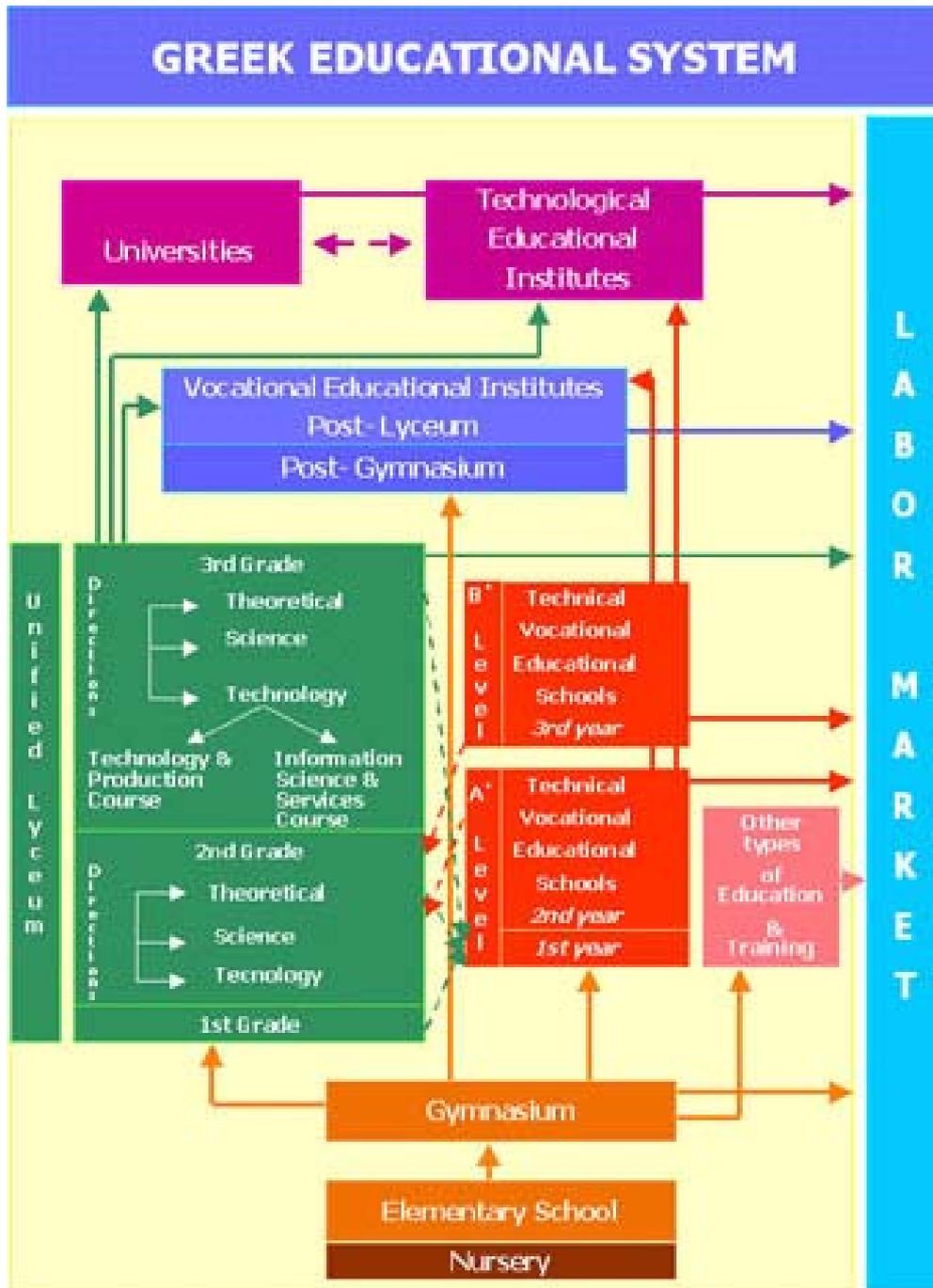
²⁰² Jones M. (2000), “National Identity – Bestowed or developed? Do we need curriculum for intercultural learning?”, available at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/conference2000/papers/pde/papers/jones.html> p.7

is very difficult to introduce changes in support of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in an educational system that has traditionally focused on the development of a single ethnic and religious identity and it is therefore evident that more time will be required to change attitudes as well as structures and practices.

In the past 15 years Greek education has experienced significant structural changes, as is evident both by the 1997 educational reform and other continuous legislative, curricular and organisational changes in its effort to adapt to the changing global reality. These structural changes, however, have only marginally affected socially vulnerable groups. The multiethnic and multicultural reality of Greek education is still not adequately served by the existing educational structures, although serious, but inadequately funded and not always effective, efforts are made by the state. Therefore, combating discrimination, racism, xenophobia and intolerance, improving the situation of socially vulnerable groups and facilitating communication between the different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups in education must become a major priority for policy makers.

In order to facilitate such an approach it is essential to set in place more flexible administrative structures and grant more autonomy to the educational practitioners at the level of the school. This will require not only legislative reforms, but more importantly a change in policy makers' attitudes.

10. Annex I: Overview of the Educational System



11. Annex II: Bibliography

NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper “Athens News” (all articles are available in English from <http://www.dolnet.gr>)

Newspaper “Eleftherotypia” (all articles are available in Greek from <http://www.enet.gr>)

Newspaper “Kathimerini” (all articles are available in Greek from <http://www.kathimerini.gr>)

Newspaper “Ta Nea” (all articles are available in Greek from <http://www.dolnet.gr>)

ARTICLES - DISSERTATIONS

Aarbakke, V. (2000), “The Muslim minority of Greek Thrace”, PhD Thesis, Univ.of Bergen, Norway

CEMES (1998), Ethnobarometer Working Paper No. 2, Codagnone C.: “New Migration and Migration Politics in Post-Soviet Russia”, available at http://www.cemes.org/current/ethpub/ethnobar/wp2/wp2_ind.htm

Chiotakis, S. (1997) “School education and social integration of the Muslims in Rhodes”, *Synhrona Themata*, 63/1997

Chryssakis M., (1989) “Family investment practices by the poor and non poor and educational inequalities”, *Revue of Sociological Research*, Vol. 75

Dalton, R. (1990) “Germany Transformed: Public Opinion and German Studies.” *German Studies Review*, vol. 3, no 2

Houndoumadi A., Pateraki L. & Ioannidou M. with the assistance of Laskaratou P. (2001) “Tackling Violence in Schools: A Report from Greece” DG Education and Culture, “CONNECT Initiative”, Project UK-001 available at <http://www.gold.ac.uk/connect/reportgreece.html>

Jones M. (2000), “National Identity – Bestowed or developed? Do we need curriculum for intercultural learning?”, Edge Hill College of H.E. available at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/conference2000/papers/pde/papers/jones.html>

Kaikkonen, P. (1997) “Learning a culture and a foreign language at school — aspects of intercultural learning” *Language Learning Journal*, March 1997, No 15

Karakatsani D. (2000), “Civic Education and socio-political changes: The case of the Greek educational system”, paper available at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/conference2000/papers/epsd/papers/karakatsani.html>

Kavounidis J. and Hatzaki L., (2000) "Alien Applications for Residence and Work Permits", Athens: National Institute of Labour, available at http://www.eie.org.gr/Greek/contents_keimena_ergasias2.htm

Mestheneou, E., (2000), EU CARE: Refugee Entrepreneurs in Greece", p.9 available at <http://www.gcr.gr/investigations/EU-CAREReport.doc>

Modood T., Beishon S. and Virdee S. (1994), Changing Ethnic Identities, Policy Studies Institute available at <http://www.psi.org.uk/publications/ETHNIC/identity.htm>

National Center for Social Research (1999), EuReporting Working Paper No. 8: Greece: "Contributions to Social Reporting, Institutions, Activities, Publications", Athens: EKKE

Onsounoglou, Ib. (1997) "Criticism on the minority education: through the view on a member of the minority", *Synchrona Themata*, 63/1997

Petrakou, E. "Exploring the social and historical dimensions of migration in Europe with special reference to Greece", unpublished PhD Thesis CRER, University of Warwick, UK

Professor Panayiotis Xohellis, coordinator of the Intercultural Education regional committee of Macedonia, presentation at the conference "The Education of repatriated Greeks and foreign students", School of Philosophy, University, Aristotelian University of Thessalonica, 26/05/2003

Saxton G. (2001) "The Origins of Socially and Politically Hostile Attitudes to Immigrants and Out groups: Economics, Ideology, or National Context?", available at <http://www.acs.brockport.edu/~gsaxton/Politics&Policy.pdf>

Stathi, P. (1997) "The Turkish textbooks in Thrace", *Synchrona Themata*, 63/1997

Tressou E. (1997): "Minority education in Thrace : reasons of failure", *Synchrona Themata*, 63/1997

Triandafyllidou, A., Calloni, M. and Mikrakis, A. (1997) 'New Greek Nationalism', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 2, no 1

Zeginis E. (1994) "The Muslim Gypsies of Thrace", Thessalonica, IMXA, No. 25

BOOKS

Baltsiotis L. & K. Tsitselikis (2001) "The Education of the minority in Western Thrace", Athens-Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas

Dalegre, J., (1997) "La Thrace Grecque - populations et territoire", Paris: L' Harmattan

Damanakis G. et al (2000) "The Education of the Repatriated and the Non-native Students in Greece - An Intercultural Approach", Athens: Gutenberg

- Dimoulas, I. (1992) "Written communication and expression of Christian and Muslim pupils of primary schools in Rodopi", Komotini: published by the author
- Dussas D., (1997) "Rom and racial discrimination", Athens: Gutenberg
- EETAA (2001): "Integrated Action Plan for the Greek Roma", Athens: EETAA
- Exarchos, G. (1998), Social Exclusion of Roma, in Kassimati, K. (ed) Social Exclusion: The Greek Experience, Athens: Gutenberg
- Featherstone K. and Ifantis K., (eds) "Greece in a Changing Europe: Between European Integration and Balkan disintegration?", Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Georgiou G., Terzopoulou M. (1996) "Gypsies in Greece: History – Culture", Athens: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs – General Secretariat of Popular Education
- Kanakidou, E. (1994) "The Education of the Muslim Minority on Western Thrace", Athens: Ellinika Grammata
- Karathanassi E. (2000) "Roma life: The bio- and socio-space of Roma", Athens: Gutenberg
- Kassimati K. (ed) "Social Exclusion: The Greek Experience", Athens, Gutenberg
- Kogidou D., Tressou – Mylona E., Tsiakalos G., (1993) "Social exclusion and education – the case of linguistic minorities in western Thessalonica", Thessalonica: Poverty Editions -3
- Komis, K. (1998): "Gypsies: History, Demography, Culture", Athens: Editions Ellinika Grammata
- Marvakis, A., Pavlou M., & Parsanoglou D. (eds), (2001) "Immigrants in Greece", Athens: Ellinika Grammata
- Mekos, Z. (1999) "Thrace: Aspects of the minority problem", Komotini: Thracian Research Association
- Molho R. (2001) "The Jews of Thessalonica, 1856 – 1919", Athens: Themelio
- Mouzelis, N. (1978) "Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment", New York: Holmes & Meier
- Panayotides N. (1995) "Muslim minority and national identity", Alexandroupolis: TEDK Evros
- Polyzos I., Vlastos Th, Karathanassi E., Terzopoulou M., Tounta F. (1995) "The phenomenon of marginalisation of minorities in the Attica region – the specificity of Roma in the urban space", Athens: National Polytechnic, Department of Urban Planning, General Secretariat for Research and Technology

Rattansi, A. (1992) "Changing the subject? Racism, culture and education" in Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. (eds.) *Race, Culture and Difference*, Open University Press

Sarvanakis Th. (1987) "Factors affecting Muslim children in learning the Greek language", Alexandroupolis: published by the author

Spanou El. (ed.) "Human dignity and social exclusion—Educational policy in Europe", Athens: Ellinika Grammata – Eteria Politikou Provlitismou Nikos Poulantzas

Stamelos G., (ed), (2002) "The Greek Educational System", Athens: Centre for Educational Research, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs

Tressou E. & Mitakidou S. (eds) "The Education of linguistic minorities", Thessalonica: Paratiritis

Trubeta, S. (1999) "Die Konstitution von Minderheiten und die Ethnisierung sozialer und politischer Konflikte - Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der im griechischen Trakien ansässigen Muslimischen Minderheit", Frankfurt: Peter Lang

Tsiokos G., Vergidis D., Nikolakopoulos I., (1998) "National study on illiteracy", Athens: National Book Centre – Book Observatory

Tsoukalas, K. (1992) "Dependence and reproduction: The role of educational mechanisms in Greece 1830 – 1922", Athens: Themelio Editions

Vasiliadou, M, Pavli – Kore, M, 1996, "KON JANEL BUT, BUT C'RDEL" AMA ÉM "KON C'RDEL BUT, BUT JANEL", (in Greek), Athens: Ministry of Education / General Secretariat on Popular Education

Vaxevanoglou, A. (2001), "Greek Gypsies: Marginalised and family men", Athens: Editions Alexandraia

REPORTS AND OTHER TEXTS

The Constitution of the Hellenic Republic (FEK 85A – 18/04/2001). Available in English at <http://www.hri.org/docs/syntagma/>

Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (Appendix A, Article 2), Lausanne January 30, 1923 between the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government. English text available at <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/>

Office of the Ombudsman (2000), "Special report on the situation in Nea Kios" Athens, Ref No 8267, available at http://www.synigoros.gr/reports/por_8267_2000_da.doc

Office of the Ombudsman, (2001), Report on the Conditions of Detention for asylum seekers awaiting deportation, available at <http://users.hol.gr/~diktio/reportsinigoros2001.pdf>

Office of the Ombudsman, Annual Report 2001, Athens: Office of the Ombudsman, available in Greek at <http://www.synigoros.gr>

Office of the Ombudsman, Annual Report 2002, Athens: Office of the Ombudsman, available in Greek at <http://www.synigoros.gr>

“National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003”, prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/napincl2001el_en.pdf

Human Rights Watch Report (1999), “Positive steps by the Greek State”, update to the Report: “The Turks of Western Thrace”, available at http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/greece/Greec991-05.htm#P196_32031

Human Rights Watch Report (1999), “Greece: The Turks of Western Thrace” available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/greece/index.htm#TopOfPage>

Report by the European Observatory on Family Matters (2001), Bagavos Ch., “Focus Monitoring 2000: Fertility, Greece:” General context in relation to the perception and discussion of demographic trends and family needs”

OECD Report (2001), “The employment of foreigners: Outlook and issues in OECD countries”

CAT (2001) 26th session, 9 May 2001, Concluding Observations on the Report by Greece available at <http://www.unhchr.ch/hurricane/hurricane.nsf/view01/48265AF463FDBC01C1256A48002E764C?opendocument>

National Commission for Human Rights, Annual Report 2001, Athens: National Printing Office

National Commission for Human Rights, Annual Report 2002, Athens: National Printing Office

Karamanlis Foundation (2001): “Findings of the Electoral Committee of Inquiry on the 2000 National Elections”, available at http://www.idkaramanlis.gr/html/arxeio/anal_eklog.html

ROM Network, (2000) “Panhellenic Census Study investigating the social, housing conditions and needs of Greek Roma Citizens”, unpublished, available on request from the ROM Network <http://www.romanet.gr>