Tackling racist conflicts in Greek primary schools through drama

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‘Art does not change the world: it structures our feelings and our perceptions. The true structuring of our feelings and our perceptions positions us to change the world or, at the very least, to live in it knowingly as human beings’ (Gillham, 1997).

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents for their priceless support in every moment of my life.
Mom, dad, this is the end now. I'm getting a life.

December, 2012
Greece

ABSTRACT

The recent transformation of Greece from a homogenous country into one that is a receptacle for people from different cultures occurred in a society unprepared for such change, resulting in severe cases of racism, inside and outside school. The purpose of this study was to explore for the first time in the Greek setting the response of young children who had displayed prejudiced behaviour to a series of drama lessons. It also examines the efficacy of process drama in the hands of a novice in this approach drama teacher. The project was based in antiracist education theory, combining elements from multicultural education, and applying conventions of drama approaches with those prevailing in process drama/drama in education.

This was a multiple case study research drawing also upon action research methodology. It consists of two pilots and three applications in different primary school classrooms of seven- to eight-year-olds. Preliminary research identified the sample through anonymous questionnaires and the main field work consisted of a series of drama sessions; semi-structured interviews and participant observation took place before and after each class application.

The setting was found to be extremely monocultural, with traditional teaching methods still being prevalent and racist views present among both children and teachers. The results from the drama were encouraging, proving that, even in the hands of a beginner, drama can inspire empathy to pupils through deep emotional experiences which contain the potential for changing beliefs.

Keywords: racism, process drama, drama in education, prejudices, inequality

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

And don't you ever forget: There's no space in Greece for Albanians!
Elias[1], 11 years old

The above cry has left an indelible mark to my mind, even many years after the time I was teaching in that school in a small village in northern Greece. The quoted sentence belongs to a Greek boy who, along with his friends, was consistently harassing his eight-year-old Albanian schoolmate. The latter had to endure exclusion, name calling, threats, bullying and physical assaults almost every day. Trying to defend himself he was responding violently to his perpetrators, which made teachers concerned about 'the violent behaviour of the Albanian boy.' This is just one example of the consequences of a big change in Greek society in recent years: in the past Greece has sent considerable numbers of emigrants all over the world, yet the first immigrants to the country in the beginning of the 1990s encountered xenophobia if not hostility. School children acted accordingly. Persistent incidents of racism show that the situation deteriorates year by year as there is a constant flow of new moving populations which the country is unable to handle.

Being a drama teacher in Greek schools for four years and having witnessed hostility towards non-Greek pupils several times inside the classroom, I decided to explore the potential influence of drama on pupils' racist attitudes. Prior to this venture, the prevailing approach in my teaching was drama aiming at the promotion of self-expression, enhancement of self-esteem and improvement of the children's ability to work co-operatively through games, exercises, improvisation and drama conventions, which is the teaching method used by the majority of Greek drama teachers. However, during my M.Ed. studies, I came across English literature in drama in education[2] that offered me new insights. I was introduced to a drama that was going deeper into meaning, exploring social, moral and ethical issues or dilemmas, which could be proved useful in challenging racial[3] prejudices among children in schools. With this as a starting point, I embarked on this study.

However, it was not at all an easy undertaking, as I did not consider myself an expert in racism or in process drama. Having a bachelor degree in theatre studies and an M.Ed. in pedagogy qualified me as a drama teacher in Greece, but this was not enough to enable me to apply the - completely new for me - drama approaches I encountered in UK. Many problems that occurred during planning and implementing my drama project stemmed from my inexperience. At the same time this was a big challenge and an opportunity to expand my knowledge; mainly in drama but also in antiracist education. Although I knew this was a leap into the dark, I was certain that such a research would provide significant evidence of the positive affect of drama on racism in Greek schools. My motive was to enrich the ammunition of Greek drama teachers who show interest to discover the new – and not so

[1] A pseudonym.
[2] In this thesis, the terms drama in education and process drama are used interchangeably. For a more detailed definition of drama, see p. 38, 'Making sense of drama in education approach'.
[3] Of or relating to race. For a definition of 'race' and its use in this thesis, see p. 25.

new – tendencies in their field, utilising intercultural education. As the majority of teachers in Greece would be newcomers to the field, regardless of their previous experience, this first encounter of mine with drama in education offered me a golden opportunity: through my experiences when dealing with this new technique, I could point out any errors and common mistakes, clarify misunderstandings and examine problems a newcomer in this field could face when apply it in practice.

The present thesis consists of six chapters. It begins with an outline of the Greek education setting both in terms of racism and drama; a detailed review of the theoretical approaches on antiracist and drama education follows. In the methodology chapter the research methods and tools used in this study are examined. Chapter 4 describes the planning process and the choices made during it. The findings and analysis chapter (Chapter 5) starts with the preliminary research conducted; pilots and the applications follow. In the conclusions, an extra section was added, prior to the final reflection: some lessons of drama practice that can be proved useful to a drama teacher with little or no experience in process drama.

The idea for this experiential drama emerged after reviewing the literature (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). The chosen story promoted identification and empathy with refugees – and by extension immigrants of any kind – through the devised story of an imaginary community forced to flee in the neighbouring country and endure racism. Its key findings showed that there were important indications of progress recorded in the attitudes of the participant pupils. The children were given the opportunity to challenge their own beliefs and prejudices, define problems, make connections with real life situations, develop their own perspective from which to see the world, increase tolerance and make small steps in developing symbolic and critical thinking, social morality and an awareness of the role of power in human relations.

It would be a naivety to hold certain that children would change their prejudiced beliefs after only one series of drama lessons. However, envisaging a world free of injustice, I am positive that school is the first place where someone can work towards this vision. The construction of an equitable and just world is a task for all educators. Nevertheless, being realistic, I am aware that there is no magic or at least immediate cure to issues of racism. Racism is dispersed around our society and its causes are interwoven with social and political structures, hence the suggested solutions need to be holistic, affecting and emerging out of the entire society.

CHAPTER 1 THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

The first chapter gives a short description of the setting where this research took place, concerning the two issues pertaining to it: racism and drama. In the first part, the change of Greece into a multicultural society is analysed, along with the impact this had on Greek society. The second part of the chapter explores the place of drama in the Greek education system which still struggles to find its identity, providing the reader with information about drama as a curriculum subject in Greek education.

THE GREEK POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

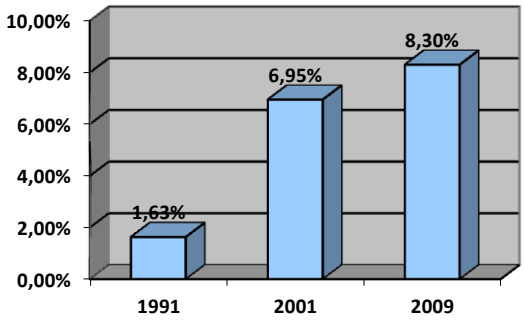
Greek society which turned in a few years from a homogenous into a multicultural one is not particularly friendly towards non-Greeks, who have to cope daily with xenophobia and racism. This applies also to an educational context. Children and teachers express racial[4] prejudice and a mono-cultural teaching approach does not leave space for differentialities inside schools. My data comes mainly from the period before the beginning of this project. However, since then (2008) the situation in Greece has changed massively because of the economic crisis. Racist ideas gain ground dangerously reaching even the parliament of the country itself (see below, pp. 13 and 14).

From a homogenous to a multicultural society

In the past, Greece was renowned for its scale of emigration to countries worldwide. For many years before 1990, Greece could be characterised as a country mainly sending emigrants for political, social but mostly economic reasons until the 1970s. Until the early 1990s Greece could be characterised as a 'pure' ethnic nation (Mazower, 2002; Triantafillou & Ioakimoglou, 2007) consisting almost exclusively of citizens of Greek nationality and of Orthodox religion. Following the collapse of the communist regimes and general agitation in the Balkan Peninsula in the 1990s Greece found itself encountering several waves of immigrants, mainly from neighbouring Albania. During recent years immigrants from Asian and African countries have migrated into Greece (Kasimis, 2012), mostly bound for other European countries but becoming trapped in Greece owing to the EU regulation "Dublin II" (Council Regulation, 2003). According to the regulation, Greece, as the first country of entry, is the only one responsible for providing an asylum to undocumented refugees (even though the state is unwilling to accept the applications). Until then, they cannot travel outside the country.

[4] For a definition of 'race' and its use in this thesis, see p. 25.

Unfortunately, the data from the 2011 census had not yet been released (Kasimis, 2012) when this work was being written so recent statistics were not available. However, the increase is evident in Graph 1: immigrants at the beginning of the 1990s account for 1.63% of the total population (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2003) increasing to 6.95% of the total population in 2001; the predominant group was that of the Albanians. In 2009, the percentage of immigrants rose to 8.3% (Theodoridis, 2010).



Graph 1 Immigrant population increase

In Table 1 one can follow the increase of the immigrant population originating from Eastern European countries (Albania included) according to the last two censuses (Alvanides & Kotzamanis, 2005).

Immigrants from	1991	2001
EU & Cyprus	49,955 (29.9%)	64,295 (8.4%)
Eastern Europe	49,797 (29.8%)	**532,193 (69.8%)**
Rest of Europe	1,363 (0.8%)	21,664 (2.8%)
Rest of World	64,916 (38.8%)	143,231 (18.8%)
Unknown Nationality	1,245 (0.7%)	808 (0.1%)
Total (100%)	167,276	762,191

Table 1 Immigrant population distribution in the last two censuses (source: Alvanides & Kotzamanis 2005)

This study focuses mainly on the Albanian population, whose prevalence is obvious in Table 2, which presents the numbers of residence permits holders in 2007 when this study started. The first five of the most numerous countries of origin are listed; Albanians represent 63% (303.225) of the sample (Theodoridis, 2007).

Country of origin	Residence permits holders
Albania	**303,225**
Bulgaria	27,182
Ukraine	19,005
Romany	15,884
Georgia	12,990
…	…
Total	481,501

Table 2 Residence permits holders in October 2007 – first 5 countries (source: Theodoridis, 2007)

The Greek response

The first immigrant movements suddenly altered the situation in the country and a new concept rushed into Greeks' lives: the 'other', the 'different'. The studies on the attitude toward foreigners are limited and often contradicting. VPRC research (2007) displays latent xenophobia in Greek society: in contrast to the respondents' belief that immigrants' presence in the country is positive, 9 out of 10 provided statements promoted by the mainstream mass media, like "Greece has reached the limit of immigrants' reception", and 39% stated that immigrants should go back to their countries (*ibid.*). It has been shown that Albanians are the group perceived most negatively by Greeks in comparison to others such as western Europeans or Filipinos (Hantzi in Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003). Severe racist incidents arise every day, and the situation seems to deteriorate in line with the economic crisis and austerity measures which allow the far right and racist ideas to gain power (Nesfige & Arapoglou, 2009; Nadeu, 2012).

Racist incidents

Taking into consideration the above it is obvious that a major part of Greece's population is deeply conservative. Unfortunately, the indicative list that follows shows clearly that it is not only prejudice or xenophobia which are present, but overt racism[5].

- One of the first severe racist incidents took place in 1998 when a small community, imposed an overnight curfew on the Albanian immigrants, allegedly in order to combat delinquency (BBC, 1998).

- Official school marches take place every national holiday as part of the national celebration. A critical situation developed in 2000, when an Albanian student was not allowed to hold the Greek flag during such a march (Kostopoulos et al., 2000; Baldwin-Edwards, 2003). The then prefect of the area had blatantly declared: 'You can only be *born* a Greek, not *become* one' (Eleftherotipia, 2003). Since then, similar incidents occur often in national days (Bitsika, 2009).

- On 4 September 2004 the victory of the National Albanian football team over the Greek one was considered a provocation by some of the Greek team supporters. Extended and harsh riots resulted in the killing of Albanian Gkramoz Palusi (Gkolfinopoulos, 2007).

- In February 2006 an 11-year-old Georgian boy was harassed and beaten to death by five of his fellow students. His body has not been found yet and it was deemed to be a racially motivated crime (Kantouris, 2006; Kathimerini, 2009).

- A 16-year-old girl originally from Bulgaria accused four of her Greek schoolmates of raping her inside their school. It was claimed to be a racially motivated incident. The action

[5] For a definition of racism see p. 25.

was recorded, but the video never reached the court. The local community exerted pressure on the victim's family who were forced to flee the small town. Four years later, the defendants were cleared of charges (Moustaka, 2006; TVXS, 2010a).

- A brutal police operation took place in January 2008 dismantling the unofficial makeshift refugee camp in the city of Patras. The camp housed over 2000 Afghan, Iraqi and other refugees. The operation ended in fire, leaving homeless hundreds of people (Sky news, 2009).

- In June 2009 a playground in Athens was sealed by a group of citizens to prevent immigrants' children playing in it. Even now, this area is considered to be inaccessible to non-Greeks, controlled by far right gangs (Apogevmatini, 2009; Ethnos online, 2009).

- The principal of a primary school was suspended and finally stood trial for giving permission for foreign mother tongues to be taught to the pupils inside school. A large wave of opposition was expressed by the educational community and the teacher was finally exonerated, after two trials, in January 2010 (Eleftherotipia, 2010a). A detailed description of this incident can be found in pp. 18-19, since it is believed to pertain to important education issues.

- Cases of immigrants mistreated in police departments all over the country, sometimes beaten to death, are often revealed in the newspapers (In.gr, 2007; Louka, 2009). A recent report confirms such brutalities (Amnesty International, 2012).

- During the Independence Day march in 2010, racist, life-threatening chants were sung by Greek marching soldiers, severely insulting Albanians and Macedonians (FYROM[6]) (Indymedia Ireland, 2010).

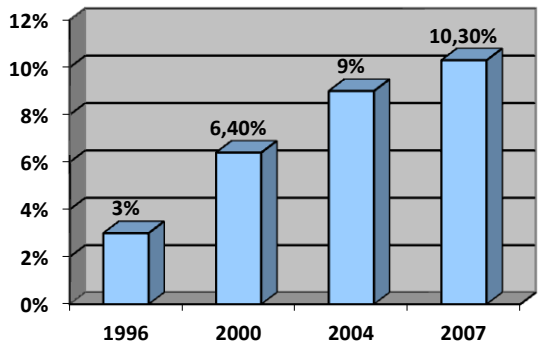
Many more examples could be presented such as tying immigrants to scooters and dragging them along (TVXS, 2009), engraving a swastika on a teacher's arm (TVXS, 2010b), setting fire in a makeshift Mosque (Kathimerini, 2010; Dama, 2010) or an immigrants' house (Eleftherotipia, 2010b), creating an iron fence next to the Turkish border to keep immigrants away from the country (BBC, 2011), all showing overtly that over the last years, hate continues to grow. As the economic crisis is getting deeper, there seems to be a significant rise of racist attacks across the country, facilitated by the newly elected far right gang in the parliament ,'Golden Dawn' (Nadeu, 2012), whose members seem to be involved in serious crimes (BBC, 2013a). Recently (December 2011) the European Court of Justice claimed that asylum seekers in Greece are in risk of being subjected to "inhuman or degrading treatment" due to racist attacks (Lucht, 2011; Grant, 2011).

[6] FYROM stands for Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the name of the neighbouring Republic of Macedonia officially used in Greece, due to the dispute of the two countries over the former's name. Although the term FYROMacedonian referring both to FYROM's population and language is also known because of the Greek–FYROM dispute, in this thesis 'Macedonian' is preferred in order to facilitate the reader.

Immigrant population in Greek schools

Greek legislation defines as a 'foreigner[7]' everyone without Greek citizenship, irrespective of his/her country of birth (Trantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). In 2010 a new legislation accredited citizenship more easily to second generation immigrants, but the government took this law back recently. Consequently, the above term is still used widely to describe both first and other generation immigrants. A considerable proportion of immigrant students have attended Greek schools since the 1990s, and the number increases every year. A new reality is being formed in education and Greek schools are becoming multicultural. Data collection on immigrant pupils officially started in 2000 and their proportion is estimated to be around 10% (10.3%), with 72% of the immigrant pupils being from Albania (Baldwin-Edwards et al., 2004; Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies, 2007).

Data reveal a consistent increase in percentages. Whereas in 1996 3% of the student population was of foreign or repatriated parents, four years later that percentage had doubled (6.4%). Statistics show that in 2004 9% of the students were non-Greeks and by 2007 their population had grown to 10.3% (Graph 2) (Katsikas & Politou, 1999; Theodoridis, 2009). It is also important to stress that – mainly because of school drop out – there is a big difference in this proportion between primary and secondary education, with the number dropping significantly (6.3%) in the last years of secondary education. Accordingly, school failure of immigrant children has been recorded, especially in the higher grades of the education system (Nikolaou, 2000; Milesi, 2006; Voulalas cited in Triantafillidou & Gropas, 2007; Fotopoulos, 2009).



Graph 2 Proportion of non-Greek students during the past years

The immigrant population in Greek schools is unofficially divided into two large categories identified mainly by the teachers and are considered to be directly interwoven to the level of attainment: a) children who were born in Greece or came to the country as infants and b) those who came in at an older age. The learning abilities of the two groups substantially differentiate, since unequal qualifications in the beginning of the academic year are obvious

[7]The terms 'foreign', 'non-Greek' and 'immigrant' pupils/children are used interchangeably in this thesis to describe both children who entered Greece along with their families and those born in Greece to foreign parents.

in the latter group and compound the already existent difficulties in socialization and learning (Milesi, 2006).

Racism in schools

Studies seem to be contradictory regarding school communities and the attitude Greek pupils have towards their non-Greek classmates. According to UNICEF (2001) 71.8% of Greek pupils expressed positive views about their foreign classmates. On the other hand high percentages of xenophobic attitudes and beliefs were recorded two years later, in Dimakos & Tasiopoulou's (2003) research. The same paper refers to the report of the European Commission in 2001 in which it was stated that 'Greek youths were found to be amongst the most hostile ones towards immigrants'; it also refers to similar works which suggest that 'the current situation in Greek schools is far from ideal, acceptable or even tolerable' (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003: 313-314). Milesi's (2006) study regarding the attitude of Greek students towards their Albanian classmates also shows negative results concluding, 'Indisputably, Albanians suffer from feelings of shame, fear, littleness, moral alienation and lack of self-respect' (Milesi, 2006:140). Marginalisation of immigrant students, and especially of the newcomers, was recorded much earlier (Mitilis, 1998), showing that minority pupils, especially at the beginning of their presence in the classroom, are mistreated by their classmates. Likewise the VPRC (2007) survey mentioned before (p. 13) claims that although 83% of its sample stated as positive the fact that immigrant children attend Greek schools, 65% believes that their presence degrades the learning level. Lastly, Haliapa's (2009) study in secondary education revealed 30.4% of Greek students had a negative stance towards foreigners, who they assumed responsible for increases in criminality and high levels of unemployment (*ibid*.: 264).

It has been shown in early studies (Mitilis, 1998: 285; UNICEF, 2001; Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003) that younger children are more apt to be discriminative. This is easily justified by their limited experience in socialising and oversimplification of their conception of immigrants (Mitilis, 1998: 285). Also, the more discreet, mild and flexible the presence of an immigrant is inside the classroom, the more accepted s/he will be by his or her classmates (Mitilis, 1998). Apart from the level of discretion of the foreign students, there is also a correlation identified between pupils' level of achievement and their behaviour towards immigrants: pupils of high attainment are more likely to be tolerant of non-Greek low achievers (Mitilis, 1998: 290) and high educational level is a factor of acceptance of foreigners (UNICEF, 2001). However, this does not necessarily mean that among highly educated people there are no racist beliefs, but rather that such participants can be aware of the taboo character of the subject and have the ability to hide such views from the researchers more efficiently.

Unfortunately, racism in school does not involve only pupils. Teachers have also been found to be prejudiced, looking down on their non-Greek pupils. Samanidis (2006) asserts that between 1996 and 2001 teachers' beliefs remained the same, regarding immigrants as inferiors, suggesting they should attend special schools. Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011) refer to an array of studies showing that Greek teachers believe that minority students deteriorate the academic level of the class and delay the progress of native Greek speaking

children (p. 590). Tsokalidou (2005) claims teachers are inexperienced in intercultural education and do not really appreciate or acknowledge the benefits of a multicultural setting. However they are aware of their inability to deal with the multicultural composition of their classes and one of their basic demands is in-service training on intercultural education organised by the LEAs (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Such help from the Ministry of Education is, however, insufficient, and oriented more towards the children's assimilation than to respecting their different culture.

Educational policies about foreigners

The Greek state was unprepared to manage the large migrant influx in the early 1990s. It was not until 1996 that a more meticulous approach was applied to educational policies regarding incoming foreign students. Firstly, special classes were offered, called 'Reception Classes' and 'Tutorial Classes' (Government Gazettes 1980, 1983, 1999), in order to provide additional support in Greek language. However, their function has always been confined by financial constraints or state negligence (Katsikas & Politou, 1999; Eurydice, 2009) and, in addition, they involve the danger of creating a ghetto setting, separating pupils from the main body of the class (Palaiologou & Evaggelou, 2003).

In 1996 a new type of school was introduced. According to the legislation (Government Gazette, 1996), a regular school can be characterised as 'Intercultural', when it consists of 45% or more non-Greek students. Twenty-seven Intercultural (primary and secondary) schools (i.e. about 10% of the total number of schools) exist nowadays throughout the country. Such a school should implement special curricula, alternative lessons and pilot projects. However, these schools eventually tend to be attended exclusively by immigrant students, turning them again into modern ghettos, as Greek parents dismiss them, believing the linguistic difference between students negatively affects their children's learning (Skourtou et al., 2004).

However, it is laudable that since 2001 compulsory education is applicable by law to every child and the right to education is acknowledged regardless of the legal status of the parents (Government Gazette, 2001). Apart from the aforementioned special classes and schools, various educational projects concerning the integration of minority group pupils have been employed casually since 1995 (Palaiologou & Evaggelou, 2003:146) in collaboration with Greek Universities, usually funded by the European Union. The main concern of the state is foreign children's assimilation to the prevalent culture; cultural and linguistic differences are dismissed (Palaiologou & Evaggelou, 2003:217).

Lastly, nowhere in the official educational policies or projects employed is 'racism' as a term present. Racism is an extremely taboo word for education (Tsiakalos, 2001). There is an interesting discrepancy between a progressive rhetoric from the part of the academic community, and reactionary practices employed inside schools. Whereas the academic community is advocating cultural pluralism and mutual understanding, this is far from the case in most of the schools and the teachers' beliefs (Tsiakalos, 2001; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Teachers dismiss racism and no official document names it. There are no

anti-racist policies and regulations issued by the Ministry of Education (Evaggelou & Kantzou, 2005) or any other official commission. Such matters are only present among the academic community, or in conference papers (Bombas, 2001; Haliapa, 2009). Tackling them is left to the experience and the discretion of the teachers even though some who tried to bridge the aforementioned discrepancy found themselves in court for their actions. The following example is indicative of the state's approach to innovative policies inside schools.

A good practice example

132nd primary school in Athens consisted of more than 75% foreigners and/or bilingual children, mainly originating from Albania and Arabic-speaking countries. For a number of years before 2007 the school's board[8] assembly along with the head teacher decided to confront truancy, racism and xenophobia through a number of initiatives: offering evening classes in Greek language to the parents and mother tongue classes to the pupils; replacing the orthodox morning prayer with a poem that could have reference to any religion; posting school announcements in three languages; organizing workshops on issues such as team-work, self-confidence and self-respect, rights and limits within school, friendship, conflict management and feeling awareness. The introduction of the above adjustments quickly reduced racist and xenophobic incidents and ameliorated the relationship between parents and teachers (Protonotariou & Haravitsidis, 2006; Eleftherotipia, 2007). The school was a model for many Faculties of Education in the country and was regularly mentioned in academic papers and conferences (Tsiakalos, xx).

After almost nine years of successful implementation, the above initiatives were brought to a halt. The head teacher was removed from her post and was prosecuted at the behest of the LEA on the charge that she allocated the school classrooms for teaching other than official school subjects. The Ministry of Education chose to stick to the letter of the law and instead of promoting the initiative taken, ceased all the above activities. A new principal was placed by the authorities in her place, who stopped all novelties. Finally, after two and a half years of absence and a strong repugnance expressed by public opinion, the academic/educational community and the newspapers, the initial principal was found not guilty and returned to her post.

This is an example of the highly centralised educational system. The Ministry of Education is exclusively responsible for the general organization and administration of the education system and of timetables, textbooks and teachers' employment. This keeps a balance and an unvarying level of services provided. However, it can also result in excessive bureaucracy, cases of abusing administrative authority and a centralised curriculum which the teachers find difficult to tailor to their students' needs (Tsokalidou, 2005). Olive Banks (1976) had defined accurately the above situation, stating that uniform educational curricula and programs may on one hand secure educational equality but also come into conflict with teachers' demand for professional autonomy and a share in the decision-making progress. This was the case above, where an open conflict was raised between the LEA as a

[8] In Greece every school is run by the board of the school's teachers, where the head teacher chairs. The decisions of the teachers' assembly prevail the head teacher's will.

government's representative and the teachers asking for more autonomy. The statement of the new head teacher who was placed in the school by the state is eloquent. After the trial he stated:

> I was given oral orders to stop the program otherwise I would have been displaced. […] The order was given to me in the name of Greek Democracy and I followed it. I was wrong, I should have quit (Eleftherotipia, 2010a).

The above statement by the planted headteacher reveals the rationale of the government treating teachers as soldiers, impersonal instruments taking orders, shorn of their skills (Giroux, 2001: 92). Banks (1976) has eloquently explained this difference in values between the professional educator and the bureaucrat:

> The loyalty of the professional is to his professional standards, whereas that of the bureaucrat is to his superiors and to the organization itself. Moreover, whereas the bureaucrat obeys orders and carries out the tasks allotted to him, the professional fulfills his professional duties according to his own or his profession's decisions (p. 208).

Orthodox Christianity's prevalence

In addition to an educational system that shows an authoritarian face, monoreligiousness is another cornerstone in educational reality. Christian Orthodox religion and its representatives decisively influence Greek society. Orthodox religion is interwoven with culture, customs and history and has played a critical role in the construction of Greek national identity (Zambeta, 2000). Constitution stipulates Christian Orthodox religion as 'the prevailing religion in Greece' (1975, Art.3) and that 'Education is a basic mission of the state aiming at […] the development of the *national and religious consciousness*' of Greek citizens (Art.16) [my emphasis]. Separation of church and state, and Constitution Revisal regarding articles related to religion is still under debate (Zervas, 2005). Additionally, the majority of the cases examined by the European Court of Human Rights concerning freedom of religion come from Greece (Rikou, 2008).

Therefore it is hardly surprising that the vast majority of Greek schools preserve a mono-religious and mono-cultural context for children, under the connivance and sometimes surveillance of the Ministry despite the average 10% of immigrant pupils in contemporary schools. Hence, the Greek flag is put up in every schoolyard, and has to be raised every Monday and lowered every Friday in an assembly of the entire school (Government Gazette, 1998). A daily Christian prayer assembly is held where usually one of the pupils says the prayer in front of everybody. Whole school worshipping can take place up to 15 times a year and is compulsory for every child unless otherwise stated by his or her parents (*ibid*.). In addition, the icon of Jesus Christ decorates every single classroom in the country. Religious Education (R.E.) is a compulsory subject taught in the last three grades of primary school and in secondary school, exclusively focusing on the Orthodox Christian religion's history, values and practice. To make religion even more prevalent, Sunday schools (held separately for boys and girls) often take place in primary school buildings, unofficially, under the auspices

of head teachers, and classrooms are offered generously to the local churches for this reason (Agios Nikolaos, 2008; Eparchy of Nea Smirni, 2008). In the following quote, a LEA official promotes Sunday schools in a letter to its subordinate head teachers.

> The influx of foreign-religious people adulterates our population and undermines morality. […] We must stay alert and organize appropriate activities for youngsters, this sensitive part of our population (cited in Theodoridis, 2009).

Recognising this demand for homogeneity in terms of religion and culture (as the two are often synonymous), immigrants try to comply with the prevalent values of the new society and adopt its customs and traditions. As religious identity is important in forming their social identity, it is very common to change their names to Greek-sounding ones – sometimes it is actually the Greeks that attribute the Greek-sounding name to them (Liggoura, 2006) – or choose to be baptised Christians. Urged by the expectations of Greeks, they reject their own linguistic and cultural elements in order to integrate into Greek society, shake off the stigma of 'the other' and become accepted personally and professionally. (Gklarnetatzis, 2005; Liggoura, 2006; Milesi, 2006; Gropas & Triantafyllidou, 2007; Rikou, 2008).

In the previous sections an effort was made to describe the setting where this research took place, inside and out of school and the implications of the big change Greece is dealing with the last decades. However, as it is the main tool used in this research, the following section explores the position of drama in the Greek educational system.

DRAMA WITHIN THE GREEK EDUCATION SYSTEM

Introduction

As a subject in schools, drama is yet to find its place in Greek education. Facilitators and teachers apply traditional drama approaches, but at the same time innovators seek to catch up with the international setting of drama. In Greece, drama in an educational context has been described with different terms, depending on the time or/and the academic influences drama educators have. Theatre Play ('Theatriko pechnidi') was a widespread term in early 1980s; then Theatre Pedagogy ('Theatriki agogi') came along to add elements of Theatre art; lately the term Educational Drama ('Ekpedeftiko drama') was introduced as a translation of British drama in education or process drama. The reader should also know that there is no equivalent term for 'drama' in the Greek language. Both terms 'drama' and 'theatre' are described by the word 'theatre'. 'Drama' refers to a particular genre in literacy, more like 'tragedy'. In order to translate classroom drama, Greek drama scholars adopt the term 'Theatre/Drama in education' – this does not necessarily mean 'drama in education' in the sense of the particular approach[9]. Consequently, different translations of the terms Drama, Drama in Education, Theatre, Drama play, Improvisation, Dramatisation are often used to state similar approaches. As a result of various word loans from English and French literature there is a haze in terminology that is usually overcome by adding the necessary description

[9] For drama in education approach, see p. 38.

next to each term (Kakoudaki, 2006, Avdi & Hatzigeorgiou, 2007; Alkistis, 2008). Consequently, the term 'drama' in this section of the chapter is being used as a translation for all the above Greek terms and forms of classroom drama.

Drama entered school as an optional subject in the 1990s, in the first grade of upper secondary school, as a literary discipline (for a categorisation of drama in schools see Fleming, 2011: 29), with a syllabus focused on theatre history, aesthetic approaches and theatre plays. An important change came in 2002 in primary schools, when a new, optional, extended timetable was introduced called 'All-day primary school'. The new schools operate until 4 p.m. and many pupils choose to follow its enriched curriculum, attending subjects like Drama, Fine Arts, Computing, Dance, Foreign Languages, etc. taught by specialists and spending three or four additional hours in school (Government Gazette, 2006). Drama in the 'All-day primary school' curriculum is taught by drama teachers and consists of 1-5 hours a week for each class.

But what is actually taught during drama classes? Currently there are no studies concerning the approaches used by drama teachers, but it will be attempted to deduce these both by the official primary schools curriculum, and university drama modules, both in Drama Departments offering Drama Education modules, and in Education Faculties where drama is taught as a teaching tool and as an art form.

Drama teachers' approaches

Drama in Greek schools was initially orientated to kinaesthetic and psychological development approaches (see p. 37) which, although they are in some degree left behind, they still prevail. The most common type of drama applied in Greek schools is the Theatre Play ('Theatriko Pechnidi') approach introduced in the late 1970s by Lakis Kouretzis (1991), a Greek drama facilitator, focused on 'free expression' of the pupils and play (Kakoudaki, 2006). Until then drama's most widespread form inside schools was – and in some cases continues to be – shows at the end of the school year or on national celebrations. The Theatre Play approach is deeply rooted and still broadly used especially by teachers in primary school. It appears in most official curricula and workshop titles when referring to drama in primary education. This makes acceptance of any other drama approach difficult in the teaching community. However, even though the official state seems to be unwieldy in terms of introducing and applying different drama approaches, there are a considerable number of teachers (both in primary and secondary schools) keen to apply new methods to their teaching and pursue knowledge on the subject. Associations have formed (e.g. Hellenic Theatre/Drama & Education Network, or the Pan-Hellenic Association of Teaching Drama) promoting research on and practice of theatre, educational drama and other performing arts within education. It is promising to observe such initiatives in a conservative and traditional context such as Greece's, giving optimism to the future of drama in the Greek educational community.

Curriculum objectives

In 1997 the syllabus for drama as a subject in both primary and secondary school was first launched, as a component of 'Arts', along with visual arts and music. The objectives of drama as they are presented in the current curriculum pay equal attention to cognitive and personal skills of the students. The curriculum separates students according to their age group, offering different objectives to each one: creativity and self-expression are the key words for the younger grades whereas theatre history and basic elements of drama art theory are additionally taught to the higher grades. The main aim of the official curriculum (Government Gazette, 2003) is 'to encourage pupils to develop skills and abilities that will enable them to function effectively both as individuals and as contributing group members' (*ibid*.). Namely, the objectives of the national curriculum in drama can be categorised in four main strands:

1. Personal development (concepts like self-awareness and self expression of the pupils).
2. Learning skills (one of the main aims is functioning in groups and promoting group work, and in addition speaking skills, writing skills and cross-curricular learning).
3. Cognitive development on drama as an art form (elements of dramatic art, the concept of role, performance skills and production, history of theatre and international movements, development of artistic perception).
4. Cultural development and art's relation to society.

The concepts of 'cross-cultural and intercultural learning' are also mentioned, on the basis of plays' production, text and movements in other countries. As stated earlier, the pro-social movements of drama, like drama in education, are yet to be discussed in official documents. Hence, unfortunately limited reference is made to the social role that drama can play in the community, problem solving or social aims concerning the world the children live in and its understanding, issues that pertain to intercultural education (for a definition see pp. 30-32).

Drama modules in higher education

Classroom drama as a module in Greek universities is taught both in Education and in Drama/Theatre studies Departments (Department of Primary Education Florina, 2010; Department of Early Childhood Education, 2011; Department of Primary Education, 2011; School of Primary Education, 2011; Department of Theatre studies, 2012a; Department of Theatre studies, 2012b; Drama Department, 2012; Theatre studies department, 2012). Education faculties offer drama courses focused either on drama as a subject or as a teaching tool for teaching subjects of the curriculum and/or social issues. Some of them choose to promote theatre genres such as puppet theatre and/or Greek shadow-puppet theatre, whereas others give priority to theatre history. Drama for educational reasons is also taught in drama and theatre studies departments as the majority of their graduates choose to work as drama teachers in public schools. The content of each 'drama' module varies depending on the background of the teacher in charge: teachers from a more traditional background focusing on performance, dramatisation or theatre play, and others, teaching new approaches like drama in education.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter aimed at presenting the changes immigration brought in Greek society, how it has affected the communities and, more specifically, its schools and its dynamics, and the place of drama in Greek education. It is evident that Greek society and, by extension, Greek school, is deeply conservative. The facts present a blend of bureaucracy, religious legacy, racism and xenophobia from both teachers and students. At the same time a tinge of optimism appears, from some teachers with a personal zest for new ideas and teaching methods. Drama is a relatively new subject in Greek school, struggling to find its identity but still based on old methods, and this was the challenging setting in which I chose to embark on this research. My aim was to explore the potential of drama in the above context, a relatively new approach for Greek education; no research has been done on the effect drama has on racist attitudes (for a more detailed examination of the scope of this study, see Research Questions, p. 55). In the next chapter, the literature of both the fields of drama and racism are reviewed, in order to define the approach and the aims of this research.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW - ANTIRACIST AND DRAMA THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

In the present project, the various methods for combating racism are combined with the approaches and conventions of drama, proving they can successfully work together. Antiracism and drama were new subjects to me but my interest in tackling school racism was a strong motive to obtain an understanding of both. Careful studying of different disciplines leads one to realise the multiplicity and the conflicts of various approaches in each of them. There is no absolute and undeniable truth when it comes to research. Opposing, conflicting and complementing opinions are the reality of every discipline, being at the same time the indicators of change and progress: the existence of many approaches helps researchers dig deeper and explore in more detail the complexity of the issues under dispute. With regards to my study, controversy applies both in drama approaches and in theories combating racism, since they have both been subject to serious debates. Studies and papers both on drama and racism (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994; Simons, 1997) claim that a concordance can be accomplished up to an extent between opposing theories. Although ambiguity can be seen as a fault or a flaw, the toleration of ambiguity could generate creative results and polarities should be avoided; this was my attempt in this study.

Below, the first part of my theoretical analysis concerns racism and the approaches reviewed and finally used to help counter it. The second part refers to drama and its features pertaining to my subject, and the third brings the two together explaining the rationale behind this work.

RACISM AND RACISM IN EDUCATION

The concept of racism

Scientifically speaking, race does not exist
(Sarup, 1991: 23)

The idea of different, distinct, biological human races is nowadays widely discredited. Biological science has eloquently shown that all human beings are members of a single species that shares a largely common genetic structure. Nevertheless, the concept of race is still widely used, in a different sense. 'Races' are now considered to be products of social thought and relations; describing not any more genetic, fixed features in groups, but rather variable and complex social categories that society invents, manipulates, modifies or retires when convenient (Gillborn, 1990; DET, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Evaggelou & Kantzou, 2005; Giddens, 2006). The notion of 'ethnicity' is sometimes used as a synonym, referring to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others (Giddens, 2006:487; Gillborn, 2008:3). Consequently, wherever 'race' and its derivatives appear in this thesis, the term refers to a socially constructed idea. More accurate would probably be to put the term inside inverted commas, but this was dismissed in my text a) for reasons of an easier reading flow and b) since the social approach of the term is now widely conceded, using inverted commas would indicate a dubious status of that approach, which was definitely not in my intentions.

What is racism?

Racism is a widespread form of prejudice that is traditionally based on socially significant physical distinctions that devalues other racial and ethnic groups; it reflects and is perpetrated by deeply rooted historical, social, cultural and power inequalities in society (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1998; Giddens, 2006: 493); it is present in unequal distribution of social or/and political power, and can be practiced exclusively from privileged people, people with a certain level of power (Gillborn, 1990; Tsiakalos, 2000: 83). As with the notion of race discussed before, racism also has a new and an old face. Traditionally, it is 'an ideology based on the belief of discrete races and in the intrinsic superiority of one group above the others. In order to maintain a racial hierarchy, the dominant group needs 'power and authority' (Brandt, 1986: 100). However, it is asserted among scholars (Gillborn, 1990; Sniderman et al., 1991; Giddens, 2006) that a new form of racism has been developed, this of C*ultural* or *New Racism*. New racism is not based on overt distinction between ethnic groups and on physical differences. It is more indirect and subtle and is mostly based in cultural differences. It also has a political dimension, since discrimination is now based according to the values of the majority culture (Giddens, 2006: 495). In addition, *Xenoracism* is another facet of racism that refers to white victims and particularly applies to the subjects of this research since Albanians were the dominant minority group in it. Sivanandan (2001) gives an explicit definition of xenoracism which other scholars use and refer to (Fekete, 2001; Cole, 2007):

> [Xenoracism is] a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism, except that it is not directed at those with darker skins, from the former colonial countries, but at the newer categories of the displaced and dispossessed whites, who are beating at western Europe's doors, the Europe that displaced them in the first place. It is racism in substance but xeno in form – a racism that is meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white (Sivanandan, 2001: 2).

Albanians are white and in most of cases (such as those who come as immigrants to Greece) of lower social classes. Their religion – which, as has been shown, is an important element in Greek society – is an additional attribute that differentiates them from the indigenous population, some of them being Muslims or atheists (Liggoura, 2006; Milesi, 2006). As Gillborn (1990) claims, 'ethnic groups may, or may not, be visibly distinct (for instance, through dress customs or physical characteristics). Where ethnic groups are visibly distinct this may reinforce the group's separation from the wider society' (p.4); and this is the case with immigrants from Eastern Europe, who compared with Asian and African refugees, are not distinct because of their skin colour.

Conclusively, throughout this thesis, the term 'racism' is used as a general term, including also the idea of 'xenoracism', since the minority groups involved in my work are not discriminated in terms of the colour of their skin. Accordingly, although 'white'[10] is widely used as a political term to mean 'anyone who is not black and who is rarely subjected to racism because of their skin colour' (Lane, 2008b), in this thesis the term 'white' in the theories used and presented, also equals 'privileged' or 'of the prevailing culture', according to xenoracism.

Racism in education

School can play a twofold role in racism. It is both the institution that can sustain it but at the same time also challenge it. Education and schooling can operate to perpetuate racism; to reinforce rather than diminish social differences (Brandt, 1986; Bourdieu in Neelands, 1998). Racist views can easily be enacted through the curriculum, pedagogy and the social and cultural environment of the school through processes of marginalization, production, reproduction, repression and regeneration. On the other hand, school provides society with a unique context and opportunity to combat racism if the teachers and educational authorities work co-operatively towards this direction i.e. create a positive setting into which the children can interact with and develop positive attitudes towards each other (Papoulia, 2003).

Hence, particularly concerning the cultural environment of the school, this study is focused on the pupils' relations, an essential element of it, that can be disturbed by racial harassment. Harassment in school can take many forms: verbal, physical, social, psychological. In order to examine the racist incidents inside schools, a classification and a list of racist cases was sought and the following cases were identified to indicate racism:

[10] Whites, Blacks in capitals: nouns to describe white and dark-skinned people respectively, *cf.* white people/black people in lower case where they are used as adjectives.

- Physical assault, harassment, bullying towards others from different cultural and linguistic groups.
- Racist comments, name-calling, jokes, derogatory language, insults, verbal/written ridicule or abuse and threats.
- Incitement of others to behave in a racist way.
- Racist propaganda, provocative behaviour and promotion of racist material or racist groups.
- Ridicule cultural differences and denial of them.
- Refusal to co-operate with other people because of their colour and/or ethnic origin. (DET, 2000; Gloucestershire County Council, 1990 cited in Troyna & Hatcher, 1992:30)

In addition, according to the definition given after the Stephen Lawrence case[11], 'a racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person' (Macpherson cited in Gillborn, 2008: 123) and this is a definition many anti-racist[12] policies follow. One can allege that such a claim can lead to misuse from the potential victims of racism, however an important element is being dealt with in this statement: that racism is an endemic phenomenon interwoven with contemporary society and many racist actions are made *unconsciously*; this definition is moving away from *intention* and focuses on the *outcome,* the *result* of the action. It also facilitates the report of racist incidents not only by the victim, but by 'any other person', since many victims avoid reporting such experiences for a variety of reasons. It deals with intimidated victims, legitimising a third person to act as the prosecutor and so making the incident easier to report.

Racist attitudes are formed by a range of factors that are subject to alterations throughout a child's life. As mentioned before, the concept of race is socially constructed so racism is mainly socially enhanced. It is strongly influenced by the attitudes a child meets in and out of school, coming both from peers and adults. According to a number of different studies (Rutter & Madge, 1976; Troyna & Hatcher, 1992; Giroux, 1998; Gundara, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Gillborn, 2004; Tsimpoukis cited in Kontoyanni, 2008: 95) racist attitudes in children have also other sources of influence apart from the culture of the school and teaching. They are also shaped by relationships with adults outside school, i.e. in addition to their teacher they are deeply influenced by the community in which they live, the pattern of their upbringing, or their neighbourhood and the family. Parents play a pivotal role in reinforcing racism, as will be shown later in this study. Lastly, the mass media is an important factor in the construction of racist views. Television is a powerful device, present in every home, able to form opinions and beliefs.

[11] The Stephen Lawrence case was a controversial case concerning the racial murder of an 18-year-old young man in 1993 in London.
[12] For a definition see next page, 'Definitions and controversy'.

Definitions and controversy

In terms of antiracist theories (inside and outside school), there is an issue concerning conceptualisation since my literature derives from different countries where the concepts vary. Terminology varies depending on the place and time and such a clarification is indispensable since the research is conducted between Greece and the UK, countries in which terminology differs. From the time when different ethnic groups have come together (Sivanandan, 2001) and racism has been identified as a problem in this society, many different theories have dealt with it in different ways throughout the years, and serious disputes have been going on between the advocates of each one. The terms contextualising these theories sometimes are identical, sometimes overlapping; it is essential to shed some light on them and introduce their most important principles. My approach will follow, which intends to go beyond the disputes, bridging the differences and dismissing the controversy.

The first model classifying ethnic integration within recent years in the western world is the notion of assimilation. It refers to the process of immigrants becoming similar to the prevailing culture which, translated into the educational context, means promoting a monocultural education, that of the dominant culture. Although it is quite an old approach, this ideology still permeates education and state policies (Banks, 2011). Subsequently, a second approach, the model of integration (also known as the 'Melting Pot'), leaves behind assimilation and argues for equal opportunity, cultural diversity and mutual tolerance (HMSO, 1967). However, its advocates are ready to accept cultural differences only as far as these do not become an encumbrance for the prevailing culture and the hosting country (Nikolaou, 2000). A third approach was launched in 1970s, that of multiculturalism or cultural pluralism. This was similar to integration but mainly focusing on the notion of equality of opportunity, arguing that learning about other cultures will reduce prejudice and discrimination towards different ethnic groups. It is perceived (overwhelmingly) as teaching children about other cultures and instilling respect for such cultures in white indigenous children, while at the same time improving the self-images of ethnic minority or immigrant children (Pather, 2006). According to multiculturalism, culture is deemed to be the key to racial relations and racism emerges from the ignorance of the other, the different culture. Hence, racism must be confronted by developing a number of values in the individuals, such as positive attitudes, mutual understanding, respect and tolerance (Brandt, 1986; Troyna, 1987). Both in the literature and in the educational practices that adopt this approach, the focus is mainly on issues such as cultural understanding, sensitivity training and cross-cultural communication, leaving out the critical, participatory, emancipatory and transformative possibilities of a more political point of view (Kailin, 2002). The latter are strands that anti-racist theory came to add on quite vigorously. Hence almost simultaneously with the multicultural movement – in politically turbulent times such as the 1970s and '80s – anti-racism[13] was established reflecting an alternative and oppositional expression, aiming at social and racial justice, stressing structural and institutional forms of racism, and criticizing the focus on individual prejudice, therefore contrasting the movement's politics with multiculturalism as a critique to the previous approaches which were lacking in political

[13] In this work, 'antiracism' and 'antiracist' are terms used to describe all approaches dealing with racism whereas 'anti-racism' and 'anti-racist' (with a hyphen) refer exclusively to the radical approach in the 1980s described here.

stand (Brandt, 1986; Nikolaou, 2000; Giddens, 2006; Gillborn, 2008; Horsti, 2011). Anti-racist education claims that the causes of racism relate to social and political structures within society; it focuses on the relations of domination in our world and seeks to redress the social inequity through a politicisation of the curriculum. It points out the unequal power relations that the modern society maintains. Its advocates turn against institutional racism, arguing for a curriculum (both formal and hidden) that will raise and challenge issues of power, justice and inequality within society. Having the dimension of activism as an indispensable element (Kailin, 2002) anti-racists seek for an education that is informed by the principles of social justice, equality and participatory democracy (Troyna & Carrington, 1989), given that racism is considered to be an integral feature of the present educational system. Unless students understand the nature and characteristics of discriminatory barriers and thus acquire political agency, the prevailing inequitable distribution of resources will remain intact (Fleras & Elliott cited in Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994). In addition, Critical Race Theory (CRT), a tendency within anti-racist movement, originally coming from the discipline of Law, was introduced into that of Education in the 1990s. CRT's aim is to study and transform the relationship between race, racism and power. It is more systematic than traditional antiracist approaches, which tended to be reactive and shy away from systematising an approach to theory and policy (Gillborn, 2008). Its starting point is that racism is normal and intertwined with the society we live in (Ladson-Billings & Gillborn, 2004), making racism an inextricable part of our lives which undermines equal opportunities for minorities. It argues for the social origin of the idea of racism and its high level of extension into our society in the sense that it is considered to be endemic and inevitable. CRT criticises liberalist notions such as neutrality, objectivity or colour blindness (see p. 35 for a definition) as deceiving and is closely related to social activism (Delgado & Stefancic 2001; Gillborn 2008; Cole 2009). Touching upon institutional racism, it asserts that it is not only crude racist incidents to be considered as such, but also more subtle nuances that can involve ordinary people with no intention to be racist (Pearce, 2010; see also p. 28, the Steven Lawrence case). Conclusively, as Delgado & Stefancic (cited in Race, 2001) put it, CRT 'not only tries to understand our social situation, but to change it' (p. 111).

Multiculturalism vs. Anti-racism

The approaches of multiculturalism and anti-racism were under serious dispute during the 1980s. The advocates of the former were critiqued as not touching issues of power and the latter were charged with bringing politics into the classroom. Multicultural education became an accepted part of public policy rhetoric but mainly was criticised for being synonymous with mere celebratory and tokenistic gestures such as the 3S's – saris, samosas and steel bands (Troyna & Carrington, 1990).

> Unlike multicultural education, which seeks to produce a passive consciousness of cultural difference, antiracist education seeks to produce an active consciousness of structural similarity, inequality and justice. […] Children should have a critical consciousness about racism and recognise that structures have to be changed (Gaine, 1987:36).

> The major difference between most multicultural and antiracist perspectives has to do with the extent to which the changes advocated by each go beyond the existing institutional arrangements and the extent to which race and class are seen as central. […] Antiracism is aimed in transforming existing structural arrangements. The focus of antiracist education is on the relations of domination rather than on difference alone, as in most conventional multicultural perspectives (Kailin, 2002:54).

In Greece during the 1980s there was an anti-racist education movement influenced by the strong socio-political context of those years. Journals and books (Tsiakalos, 2000) were being printed advocating a political approach on racist issues. However, anti-racism was not widely recognised and eventually the majority of teachers dismissed it as 'over political' in a sense that political issues are not to be mentioned inside schools. Scholars both in Greece (Georgogiannis, 1997) and abroad (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994) talked of the political exploitation of education by antiracists and argued that the curriculum is and should remain apolitical. I believe that the truth lies in the following extract from an interview with Bill Ayers, American education theorist and leader of an antiracist movement during Vietnam War.

> Education cannot be neutral in any way. Education either serves status quo or changes it. It serves either the way things are, or how they should be. So, even if the politics of a certain system, school or classroom are not obvious, they are always present. It is not true that someone can be neutral; those who call for neutrality, they in fact call us to leave intact the regime, the established order. In the US, when I was young they called 'Don't talk to the children about politics!' They meant don't talk to them about racial equality. Don't mix politics with education they roared. The rule in the US back then, the given, was inequality between blacks and whites. Thus, if you brought politics inside the classroom you brought forward the debate for multiculturalism, racism, etc. We did it; and we earned the beginning of a public debate (Honiati, 2010. My translation).

However it is also my belief that the role of education is primarily political in the sense of promoting equality and educating active citizens, especially in issues like racism. As put by Gundara (2000):

> Education can help in the task of developing cohesive civil societies by turning notions of singular identities into those of multiple ones, and by developing a shared and common value system and public culture (p. viii).

Intercultural education

A synthesis of multicultural and anti-racist education approaches was intercultural education. In order to reach an agreement between the two, intercultural education combined both cultural pluralism and celebrating diversity, but was also touching on the political part of racism (Palaiologou & Evaggelou, 2003), promoting equality and human

rights. Leaving behind the era of assimilation, the prevailing and often antagonistic trends in combating racism inside schools, which were mainly the theories of multiculturalism and antiracism, came to an end. In the last years (after the 1990s) a concordance was achieved (Anthias & Lloyd, 2002; Horsti, 2011), combining the two theories, highlighting social cohesion and diversity, and leaving behind both assimilation and integration (at least regarding academic scholars, since the practice inside schools can be slightly different, as was mentioned earlier). Both Troyna (1987) and Ball (1991) had mentioned researchers who claimed the validity of both approaches and the need for them to be used together. Mansfield and Kehoe (1994) seconded this, and being concerned with the confusion that the multicultural versus anti-racist education conflict brought to many educators, suggested that 'the focus of multicultural education could be expanded to incorporate some important concerns of anti-racist education, such as institutional barriers, material inequalities, and power discrepancies between minorities and the majority' (p. 427). Gorski and Covert (2000) gave an eloquent description of the change that was achieved, moving from integration to the notion of diversity:

> The metaphor of the melting pot is no longer functional. We have to switch to either the toss salad or the stew. It allows us to focus both on the differences in the ingredients while at the same time the beauty of the whole. A good salad does not have a bunch of components that look, taste or have the same texture. The success of the salad depends not only on its looks but also on a lot of other factors including the taste, the freshness of the ingredients, the smells, the textures and the mixture itself (Gorski & Covert, 2000).

This change in some countries was indicated by a change in terms, i.e. using the word interculturalism to describe the new approach, whereas in others multiculturalism still remained as a term, but with a new meaning. The term interculturalism prevails in international literature (*cf.* International Association for Intercultural Education) and in French and German literature (Gklarnetatzis, 2005), whereas in the UK and US the term multiculturalism is still preferred (Banks, 2006; Gorski 2010a, 2010b), although with a different meaning from its initial one, resulting in the two terms being synonymous in most the cases nowadays.

The new face of multicultural (or intercultural) education is based upon notions such as equality of all cultures and diversity which are seen as an asset that enriches the classroom experience; it argues for desegregation, intercultural respect and empathy, mutual understanding, mutual acceptance and solidarity along with equality, social cohesion and social justice (Damanakis, 1989a; Nikolaou, 2005; Gorski, 2010a, 2010b). The new meaning of multiculturalism is presented as cohesion between the former contrasting theories of multiculturalism and anti-racism, containing sociopolitical ideas such as social justice and social change by aiming at the transformation of ourselves, schools and society. Gorski (2010b) provides a condensed definition with which other scholars agree (Damanakis 2005; Nikolaou 2005):

> [Intercultural/multicultural education] is grounded in ideals of social justice, education equity, critical pedagogy, and a dedication to providing educational experiences in which all students reach their full potentials as learners and as socially aware and active beings, locally, nationally, and globally. Multicultural education acknowledges that schools are essential to laying the foundation for the transformation of society and the elimination of injustice (Gorski, *ibid*.).

Consequently, the new multicultural approach is no more isolated from long-term political aims such as the aforementioned change in society. Gorski makes it clear that 'the problems in education are symptoms of a system that continues to be controlled by the economic elite. […] We must explore and deconstruct structures of power and privilege that maintain the status quo' (*ibid*.). Even if this viewpoint does not appear in every intercultural analysis, addressing the power of the economic elite is an important issue for intercultural education:

> Redressing the problem of the cultural inequality does not by itself redress the problem of economic inequality. Racism needs to be tackled in both levels – the cultural and the economic – at once, remembering that the one provides the rationale for the other (Sivanandan, 2001: 1).

A different view, common in Greek literature (Damanakis, 1989a; 1993; Triandis, 1989; Palaiologou & Evaggelou, 2003; Gklarnetatzis, 2005; Samanidis, 2006), separates the two terms – multiculturalism and interculturalism – in the sense that the first is the status quo. It describes a fact, the current social reality, that our modern societies consist of many cultures; whereas the latter is the objective. In this case, 'interculturalism' is the term preferred to describe the antiracist education approach. Subsequently, in order to manage multiculturalism (i.e., this new era the world is entering into), 'interculturalism' is what we aim for; it is the objective in a multicultural society, the unruffled coexistence between people of different cultures. Intercultural refers to situations where people from two (or more) cultures interact and is predicated on multiculturalism, but is not automatically emerged from it. To put it in a sentence, *intercultural* education deals with the problems of people and groups who live in a *multicultural* society (Damanakis, 1993; Gundara, 2000). On the other hand, when multiculturalism is the term preferred (as in the UK and US), Horsti (2011) provides a distinction for the same content as above, asserting that a distinction should be made between the adjective 'multicultural' and the noun 'multiculturalism'. The former illustrates the characteristics of our society, the status quo; whereas multiculturalism is the term used to describe a policy that manages 'plurality and social problems related to diversity' (Horsti, 2011). Conclusively, scholars use the above two terms (intercultural, multicultural) interchangeably (Grant & Portera, 2011) and this is also the case in this thesis since my literature review consists both of international (namely Greek) and UK sources. The above clarifications were important in order to define the use of the terms in this work. Features of the theories already mentioned, pertaining to Greece and my project, follow.

Features pertaining to Greece and my project

Since it is my belief that a creative combination of theories can be used to tackle effectively subjects like racism, basic features deriving from the theories examined earlier will follow; they are directly related to my work, namely to Greek society dynamics and the composition of the participating schools. In particular, a) the role of power in the construction of racism, b) the notion of Whiteness as a factor in the choice of subjects in my work, c) the presence of racism in young children and d) racism as a form of religious controversy will be examined in the following section.

Racism = Prejudice + Power

One of the main arguments of advocates of the political side of racism is the important idea that it is intertwined with power. Not any prejudicial attitude is racism; power is the essential factor which can transform prejudice into racism (Gillborn, 1990). Sympathising with the view that racism is the sum of prejudice plus power as explicitly put by Gillborn (*ibid.*) it is my belief that antiracist projects such as this should primarily focus on the culprits of racism; the ones exerting power. The victims of racism in our society need no more salvation in a paternalist manner. Likewise, referring mostly to the dipole Whites/Blacks but also applying to white people's displaced ethnic minorities (see above xenoracism pp. 25 and 26), a fundamental criticism of multiculturalism by anti-racist educators is that the focus of research has been towards the study of black people rather than racist processes.

> It was not black people who should be examined, but white society (Bourne cited in Ball, 1991: 36).

Since my aim was tackling racism, I decided to focus on those in power inside the class, in my case the Greek pupils, the prevailing cultural group. Their origin solely rendered them to feel superior to their immigrant classmates and it was clear that the orientation of this study should therefore be towards the Greek pupils' education on racism. Greek society is where the study should focus, not the integration of the immigrant pupils. Similarly, Whiteness described below (not strictly confined to skin colour) is another concept that backs up this choice.

On Whiteness

Whiteness could be described as a common, socially constructed culture of western societies, in which white people find themselves immersed and thus struggle to realise the supremacy of their skin colour (in other words, their culture). As Gillborn (2008) points out, it is important for Whites to take a real active role in deconstructing Whiteness. Being a social concept rather than a culture, it is particularly stressed in Critical Race Theory (see p. 29) and its advocates argue that the racialised nature of our public life is deeply ingrained (Leonardo, 2004; Gillborn, 2008). Institutionalised racism and the socially constructed category of 'race' have shaped white people's consciousness just as surely as they have shaped those of people of colour, but in a manner that has been largely undefined and unrecognised by Whites. Many white people are not aware that we have been given an one-sided view from which to interpret reality and, as members of the dominant group, often

take their 'whiteness' and the societal racial arrangements for granted (Kailin, 2002). In a white world, for a White to be a racist is a given. Bidol (cited in Kailin, *ibid.*) gives white people two choices in this society, illustrating the inevitability of being a racist:

> As whites in a racist society we have only two behaviors to choose from vis-à-vis the issue of racism. We can choose to be racist/racists – those who recognize the benefits accrued through being white and either consciously or unconsciously support institutional and cultural practices that perpetuate racism. Or we can choose to be anti-racist/racists - those who recognize the illegitimate privileges obtained by whiteness but strive to remove these institutionally and culturally racist benefits even while still receiving them. There really is no place in between (p. 60).

Consequently, on white-identified people rests the responsibility to educate other Whites, making use of their 'insider', experiential knowledge to expose and challenge this Whiteness (Stovall, 2006; Gillborn, 2008). Gillborn (2008) mentions an example of white people's concerns shifting the debate away from those experiencing the injustice (minoritised students) and focusing concern on those responsible for it. He also notes the possibility for teachers to interpret the term 'institutional racism' as an attack on them, and lead to the contrary result – alienate rather than include.

Accordingly, given that white people are racists by definition I chose to focus my research on this ethnic group (i.e. Greek pupils) and their responsibility in racist incidents. The segregation between black and white people does not apply in the case of this study but as was mentioned before, 'white' equals privileged in this case. The concept of Whiteness goes beyond the colour of one's skin – even though CRT[14] has been accused for its 'inability to understand and analyse non-color-coded-racism' (Cole, 2009: 62). It denotes supremacy and prevalence in society. The privileged ones do not realise their supremacy and power, consequently ideas like 'they have a chip in their shoulder' or 'the minority can be racists as well' are widespread. Since xenoracism is the main form of racism in this study, Whiteness can equally mean 'Greekness', a term that would include Greek nationality/culture and Orthodox religion, features that the indigenous population automatically possess by birth. As educators, acknowledging the racism in our class and in society, we ought to raise the consciousness of our students towards their privileges.

Racism from an early age

An additional issue that the study of the relevant literature facilitated me to clarify was doubt concerning the young age of the children and their appropriateness in participating in such a study or being taught about such sensitive issues. I chose to apply this project to children of a young age (seven to eight years old) since I was more familiar with teaching this range of age rather than older pupils. But could a seven-year-old child understand the notion of racism? Could s/he already express prejudiced attitude against foreign pupils? As Edmiston asserts, 'some teachers believe that rather than deal with honest questions from children about such worrying issues as war, hatred or death, it is better to shield them from

[14] Critical Race Theory, see p. 29.

such concerns. They regard children as too young or too vulnerable to think about, or even ask, questions which from an adult point of view they consider too troubling' (Edmiston, 1998). According to studies regarding issues of race and ethnicity (Aboud 1988; Wright 1992; Lane 2008), the popular belief still exists among teachers that young children are innocent, 'free from malicious intent' (Short & Carrington, 1992: 256) in terms of their behaviour toward ethnic minorities. Regarding Black/White relations, they are considered colour-blind, a sociological term referring to the disregard of racial characteristics (especially referring to phenotypical characteristics as skin colour) and the equal treatment of people from different colour, race, ethnicity (*cf.* the famous quote by Thomas Jefferson, 'There is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals'). Accordingly, children are regarded as ingenuous or incompetent receptacles for adult information and instruction, incapable of racial judgements.

However, in the studies above it has been shown that in most cases, experience in racial or ethnic matters begins as early as a child is born, given that we live in a society where race is central to social organisation at all levels of life. Young children are competent, curious and successful manipulators of all the information that comes their way and their ability to absorb and manipulate the social world cannot be denied. Suggesting that it is through teaching that children become aware of racial and ethnic matters is like alleging that they could not speak unless they were systematically taught a language by adults (Wright 1992; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Eventually children's world becomes one of sets where people exist as part of groups and they realise that there is an 'us' and a 'them' (Bergen, 2009). Studies refute the widely held view that young children are incapable of articulating racist sentiments (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001; McKown, 2004; McKown & Strambler, 2009). Additionally, in terms of identity awareness, even as early as at the age of two, children can point accurately to people who are black or white, and also define themselves as Black or White (Bergen, 2009). In the nursery classroom, there is data clearly showing that children reflect their awareness of racial and ethnic differences in conversations with both adults and peers, and attribute value to these differences. A characteristic example is Jeffcoat's study (in Short & Carrington, 1992) which not only confirms the existence of racist perceptions in a very young age, but shows clearly that young children are also well aware of racism's taboo status. As was mentioned before, Greece is no different, even 20 years after Jeffcoat's study; research in a Greek context (Mitilis, 1998) has shown the early age at which racism is present, claiming that the earlier the challenge the better the results will be.

Conclusively, as children acknowledge the concept of ethnic identity at an early age, early countering of racist beliefs among young pupils becomes essential for educators. Action should be taken as early as possible, raising awareness to the children and applying different teaching approaches to combat racism (Evaggelou & Kantzou, 2005; Alkistis, 2008).

Religious racism

There is an additional feature in the case of Albanian immigrants, the predominant group in my research, which was present in the literature review. Although many of the Albanians are willing to adopt the Orthodox religion (see pp. 19) traditionally they either come from a Muslim or an atheist background (Milesi, 2006). It is possible and has also been noted in the

literature that racial prejudice can be combined with religious prejudice to target a particular group of people (Lane, 2008: 51) and this is definitely the case with Albanians in Greece. Even if the bias does not reach the stage of racism Islamophobia does (Cole & Maisuria, 2007), Greeks would empathise more easily with, for example, a Serbian immigrant who is also Christian Orthodox than with an Albanian who, religiously, consists of a threat to the orthodox unity Greece claims to have. This viewpoint was readily noted by the Albanians who try to assimilate to the Greek culture by becoming Christians or using Greek names (Liggoura, 2006; Milesi, 2006).

Summary

After the detailed exploration of the prevailing theories among the literature, I aim to a concordance that will not dismiss the political tint and the responsibilities of people in power but will also rest upon the principles of multiculturalism; not by limiting the focus exclusively to the attitudes of individuals who are more likely to be prejudiced and stereotyping, but by looking beyond such attitudes and examine critically the structural features that organise the lives of individuals unequally. As Boyd and Arnold state,

> I want to get away from the notion that sexism and racism are merely products of individuals' attitudes (of course they cannot be separated from people's attitudes) by emphasizing that they are systems of oppression giving rise to structural inequality over time (Boyd & Arnold, 2000: 133).

In particular, multicultural education arguing for mutual understanding and tolerance, and political standpoints of antiracism focusing on issues of power and inequality, will be combined with features of drama that proved extremely useful in the overcoming of such aims. Also, a significant part in this research is the angle from which the problem of racism is seen; my focus therefore is on the ones in power, and thus the research addresses *Greek* students and *their* attitudes rather than putting the minority children on the spot. One of the limitations of a multicultural approach as it first appeared was the paternalistic approach towards the victims of racism and my aim was to go beyond this view, putting the spotlight on *our* responsibility (i.e. of Greeks, of the prevailing culture). My approach will be explicitly presented in the last part of this chapter; before this, a discussion of the literature on classroom drama will follow, to help the reader distinguish the main features that played a vital role in this study.

CLASSROOM DRAMA – VENTURE INTO THE UNKNOWN

I was also terrified that I had been rumbled and that rather than drama teaching being easy and fun it was actually complex, sophisticated and based in a deep understanding of theatre and pedagogy
(Neelands cited in O'Connor, 2010: xv)

The second strand of this thesis concerns classroom drama. The above quote and also *Making sense of drama* by Jonothan Neelands (1984) describe exactly my feelings during this research. Both theoretically and practically I went through a wide range of views and practices of drama, until I had a more detailed picture of the different movements. Leaving behind 'self-expression' and the dogmatically applied child-centred drama that are widely used in Greece, I chose to experiment with drama in education as a tool given to the children in order to understand the world they live in and explore social issues. This section will look in detail upon the different drama movements in education that were revealed to me; the basic principles and features of drama[15] that were selected; and the choices I have made in this project, along with looking at and comparing different antiracist drama projects.

Leaving Behind: Child Drama and Games

My venture into the UK's drama in education revealed a long history that was belatedly adopted by practitioners in Greece, partially or on the whole. I realised that some of the core principles that still exist in the Greek drama curriculum (Morou, 2002; Government Gazette, 2003), like personal development, self-expression and free play, were objectives for practices already launched in the UK during the 1950s. Progressive education based on Rousseau's child-centred ideas, seeing child play as a drama form of its own, was once prevalent in the UK (Slade, 1954; 1958), and in Greece is still considered as an innovative drama teaching practice, having started approximately in the 1980s (Kouretzis, 1991).

Drama practitioners like Slade (1954; 1958) or Way (1967) were advocates of drama for the personal development of the child and were considered as innovators in their time. Their method was child-centred, focused on self-expression, personal development of the pupils and non-interfering teaching in the name of originality and creativity (Slade, 1954; 1958; Way, 1967). For Slade, the role of the teacher was to encourage pupils in a process of development that is considered essentially natural (Slade, 1958), an idea adopted also by other practitioners (Bolton, 1984; Baldwin, 2008). He focused on children's needs and their regaining of the play in the teaching procedure, as it consists of a natural way of discovery. In the process, the teacher, after igniting the children's play, should abstain from the procedure, leaving them to express themselves freely and not interfering with their creativity. Conflict and confrontation were also considered important drama elements in improvisation themes, in which the focus was on the storyline and individual actions. The

[15] In this thesis, the terms 'drama', 'drama in education' and 'process drama' are used interchangeably. For further explanation of the terms see p. 38.

activities for children were divided in age groups, suggesting more elaborate improvisations for the older ones. Way (1967), however, differentiated his practice from child play giving the classroom drama a conceptualisation towards learning and theatre. He added games and exercises to the agenda and created a class routine that involved warm-ups, individual work progressing to group work, improvisations, and relaxation as the final part of a complete session. Following the same view of child-centered education, Courtney was reminding educators that 'Arithmetic or writing is best taught by the child *wanting* to do them' (Courtney, 1974: i). According to the child-centered view, the main objective for the drama teacher was the positive development of the personal and social skills of his/her students. The Sladeian approach has been characterised as a romantic movement, prioritising creative expression (Eriksson, 2011: 101) whereas at the other end of the drama continuum lies the 'worship of individual talent' through performance oriented drama (*ibid*.).

As already discussed (p. 20-21) the aforementioned approaches are widely used in Greek school, long after falling out of use in the UK. Slade's child drama and Way's games and exercises are still the prevailing methods in Greek drama classes. The importance of play and self-expression in teaching exists in the textbook-guidelines either for drama teachers or teachers using drama in the Greek primary school (Mougiakakos, xx; Morou, 2002; Palaska, 2003) and the national drama curriculum (Government Gazette, 2003). According to these guidelines and following the approaches mentioned above, the teacher is not advised to demonstrate anything to her/his students as s/he will block the imagination of the class; conflict is considered to be an important element in drama; play is considered as an important method of teaching; activities aiming at mobility, communicative, co-operative and language skills are suggested; and dramatic forms depending on the age of the children are defined as an objective in the primary schools (Mougiakakos, xx; Government Gazette, 2003). The lessons' guidelines suggest warm ups, exercises and games for the younger pupils, whereas in the last two grades dramatic form and plays are also added in the syllabus (*ibid*.). Apart from the official textbooks, independent publications on classroom drama, quite similar to Slade's techniques for free expression and Way's exercises and lesson structure dominated until recently (Kouretzis, 1991; Basklavani & Papathanasiou, 2001; Faure & Lascar, 2001). Child-centred, along with performance orientated drama, have been the two prevailing views in Greece since the 1980s, with roleplay and other conventions added more recently as the UK's techniques spread further among teachers. Greek and English literature on the new conventions circulated (Neelands & Goode, 2000; Boal, 2002; Gkovas, 2003), but missing the drama in education theory, teachers were using them as self-contained tools, still aiming at the objectives mentioned earlier.

Making sense of drama in education approach

Back in the UK and my undertaking of this study, drama in education was the alternative approach I encountered. Exploring the English literature, I had the chance to study drama in education in detail: clarify and define different approaches and concepts and realise that drama can reach deeply into meaning, offering to the students – apart from creative thinking and personal growth – also abundant life experiences, chances to understand themselves and the world in which they live. A growing body of drama theorists and practitioners

opened a new path in drama approaches, claiming that the focus in drama should be on the child's *learning* rather than exclusively on his/her maturation and personal development (Bolton, 1979; 1984; 1992; 1999; Goode, 1982; Heathcote in Johnson & O'Neill, 1991; Neelands, 1984; Morgan & Saxton, 1987; O'Neill & Lambert, 1990). Bolton (in Davis, 2010) dismissed as a myth the allegation that drama can *teach* personal development, since such objectives are rather a 'by-product of the dramatic experience' (p. 110), and Heathcote (in Cook, 1982) argued that it is possible to develop pupils' personal and social skills while centering the work on their conceptual learning. Even though there are differences between these practitioners, their approaches share important common elements which differentiate from the approach I used until recently: depth and meaning in drama; teacher as a participant and partner; drama for learning but at the same time maintaining its artistic elements. Risking a generalisation (which I will mitigate further down by examining the features of drama), the term 'drama in education' (or 'drama', or 'process drama' interchangeably in this thesis) refers to an interactive art form as well as an improvisational educational technique for use in the classroom that involves roleplay; it is less concerned with re-enacting specific plot lines than with the meaning of events and processes exploring relationships and solving problems. It focuses on roles' attitudes rather than characters (Heathcote, 1991d: 61) and invites participants to 'live through' a fictional present. Its structure is episodic, often nonlinear, transcending time, with no prewritten script, and is not targeting an external audience. The class teacher participates actively, occasionally putting him/herself in role while the children are the ones responsible for any decision made. Its aim is to help children understand the world they live in and understand themselves, appealing both to their feelings and cognitive information they may possess or obtain through it. (Goode, 1982; Morgan & Saxton, 1989; O'Neill, 1995; Bolton, 1998; Wilhelm & Edmiston, 1998; O'Neill in Wagner, 1999; Taylor & Warner, 2006; Baldwin, 2008; Kim, 2009; O'Connor, 2010).

Lately, drama in education has started to make an appearance in Greek education. Recent publications on drama in education and translations of English books have been available in Greek bookshops, most of them written by UK graduates in drama (Woolland, 1999; Eleni & Triantafillopoulou, 2004; Avdi & Hatzigeorgiou, 2007). The method is now used by a minority of teachers, lucky to have been taught drama in seminars or workshops (see also p. 21).

Other approaches

I would like also to briefly describe some approaches mentioned in the drama literature that proved valuable when planning my project but were not finally chosen as the main approach (see pp. 49-50, 'My choices'). Firstly, 'Mantle of the expert' (Heathcote & Bolton, 1995) is the approach Heathcote progressed to after the 'Man in a mess' drama, which referred to a human facing a problematic situation (Heathcote, 1991c). According to this approach, focusing on learning and the curriculum, one can teach school's subjects through activities and tasks while the students take the role of professional experts, in order to obtain responsibility (Heathcote & Bolton, 1995; Bolton, 1999). Secondly, Augusto Boal's Forum Theatre was an important technique I appreciated: based on his Theatre of the Oppressed of the 1950s, in Forum Theatre the spectator can become an actor (spect-actor) and change

the play, in order to help the oppressed character (protagonist) and offer solutions to the drama (Boal, 1981).

Another approach in educational drama is the performance oriented one, which focuses on the artistic side of drama and defines it as an art medium that children have to learn *about* and not *through* (Taylor, 1993; Hornbrook, 1998). To follow the example of multiculturalism vs. anti-racism mentioned in the previous section, for many years the question 'Drama: a process or a product' bedevilled the drama community, with the former indicating an unfinished and ongoing event focusing rather on learning, whereas a 'product' implied completion and performance (O'Neill, 1995: xv). Should drama exist in schools as a subject or rather as a means of teaching the curriculum? Should it aim at a theatrical performance or at learning? Such questions were grinding down drama practitioners, especially in the UK and ardent comments and texts from both sides were published (Havell, 1987; Hornbrook, 1987; O'Toole, 1987; Davis, 1990; Gillham, 1991; Bolton, 1992b; Hornbrook, 1995; Bolton, 1998; Hornbrook, 1998; Davis, 2010). However, gradually the drama community decided that both the aesthetic and the educational elements could be combined in drama, easing the old dogmatism and adopting outlooks considering drama and theatre more as a continuum than as clear-cut categories (Bolton, 1984; O'Neill, 1995; Fleming, 1997, 2003, 2011), proving that a solution can be found somewhere in the middle. Even since 1973 Heathcote had stated that informal (i.e. drama) and formal (i.e. performance) are sides of the same coin and the two views should not be opposed (Heathcote, 1991a: 100). It is also my belief that combining and promoting *cohesion* and *difference* at the same time can be valuable. Juxtaposing different languages, discourses, styles and approaches offers the learners a substantive amount of meta-cognitive and meta-linguistic abilities and the ability to reflect critically (Simons, 1997), and combining different approaches (both in drama and antiracist education) was my approach in this study. Bolton – although he believes that the greater potential educational value lies in students' experiencing drama rather than performing it – expresses a similar opinion regretting the polarisation into an either/or situation that had occurred and states that he has 'no wish to martial everyone into the same camp' (Bolton in Davis, 2010: 111).

This renowned dispute reached also into Greek literature. The title of the international conference in theatre/drama[16] held in Athens in 2001, 'Classroom Drama: Art Form and Learning Tool' (Gkovas, 2001), was indicative of that debate, although in the title there was already a tendency of reaching an agreement by binding the two concepts together. Until recently, the two approaches were unequally adopted by Greek teachers and it was usually the 'performing' one that applied widely in schools, whereas drama for learning existed among a few enlightened teachers and drama teachers. It must be clarified here that the debate in Greece was rather among teacher-oriented views of drama as a product, i.e. a performance (most of the times not fulfilling any aesthetic quality though) and the progressive approach of learning *through* drama. However, although today in Greece the exclusively performance-oriented drama has been decreased, drama in schools is still mainly aimed towards sensorimotor and personal development (Government Gazette, 2003),

[16] For the terms 'theatre' and 'drama' used in Greek literature see Introduction, see p. 20.

overlooking its potential to offer valuable experience in understanding the world in which the children live.

Drama features and techniques pertaining to my study

My intention was to leave behind Greek approaches that are concerned only with personal development or performing, and use drama for understanding, to pursue a change in understanding, aiming – in the long run – at social change through personal change. The techniques and features I considered important for my subject will be presented below: a) emotional experience and empathy, b) frame distancing and 'no penalty zone', c) drama's social nature, d) metaxis and self-spectator, e) experiential learning and incongruity, f) moral education, and g) change through understanding. Approaches I rejected and the reasons behind, and also development and educational theories pertaining to my research, will follow.

Emotional experience - Empathy

The main quality in drama that attracted my attention was the empathy that could be developed through the feeling of 'the other's' viewpoints. In a project dealing with prejudiced attitudes, the presence of feelings is inextricable in a drama class, especially in the cases where one chooses not to stay on the surface of the actions, but to go deeper, seeking motives and causes. It is of vital importance that drama gives the pupils the opportunity to experience the feelings of a situation rather than just be told about them, providing them with a richer understanding. The children can be engaged emotionally in a dramatic situation and although they acknowledge the fact that it is fictional, their emotional connection with the drama is real. This connection renders knowledge into an experience, turning emotion into a medium for learning, giving children a chance to manipulate factual material, linking it with the affective, providing a special opportunity for the participants to have a glimpse into the human condition and get in touch with the significance of things (Davis, 1976; Watson, 1985; Heathcote in Johnson & O'Neill, 1991; Winston, 1999; Bolton in Davis, 2010; Heyward, 2010); 'emotion is at the heart of drama experience' claims Heathcote (Heathcote, 1991a:97). The class is no longer mere information provided to the students by the teacher, but rather knowledge that is savoured through truthful feelings by each pupil. Drama experience however, is not constricted only to emotional identification with characters and situations, but also intellectual (Davis, 1976; Neelands, 1984; Edmiston, 1994). Only when both these identifications are present can drama give children an immediate, first-hand emotional experience. They are offered a unique chance to have an emotional *and* intellectual experience at the same time, without actually living it; to go through truthfully 'live' moments that they may live in their future lives as adults, or may not.

There is also the position that emotions can be misleading or could distort judgement, expressed by theorists such as Bertolt Brecht (1948) and Augusto Boal (1979, 1981), the two theatre directors who remain critical of the feelings and emotions of conventional theatre. Process drama, however, does not aim to move the participants through emotion; on the contrary, it seeks to alert them to stay conscious of their actions (*cf.* self-spectator below)

and contemplate their decisions. Winston (1998: 64) argues that the emotion can lead the audience to a clarification of significant issues of their lives, by challenging, arousing and provoking them, 'not simply move them to pity' (Winston, 1998: 60). He adds that in Boal's theatre, 'emotion is supposed to serve reason in a theatre which is designed to act as a rehearsal for the revolution; and where moral and political action, are inseparable' (*Ibid*. p. 61). Consequently, emotion can be used productively and in a critical way. Accordingly, combining the affective role of drama with intellectual work could provide the teacher with a tool for combating racism. Along with the quality of empathy that follows, an experience of feelings is a significant achievement during the drama concerning racism, as one of the objectives is for the Greek children to feel what it is like to be a refugee instead of only providing them with crude information about these people's hardships. 'Putting the pupils in the refugees' shoes' was of my main concerns.

Empathy is a fundamental aim in drama; it is one of the qualities related to drama that first grabbed my attention, since it can help children better understand situations and others' feelings, positions and viewpoints. The fictitious situation not only provides the participants with the opportunity to empathise with a character or situation, but offers a chance to experience a *deep* empathy, a life-like experience, to be somebody else yet retain their own identity. They have the opportunity to 're-live or pre-live situations of importance without having the actual experience' (Heathcote, 1991e: 49; Aleksic, 2008). In addition, empathy is a key aim also for intercultural education (pp. 30-32). Interculturalism aims at mutual understanding of different cultures as this was introduced in multicultural education theories (p. 28); and as long as this is an aim for my project also, empathising with feelings in drama can play a vital part in achieving this kind of understanding. Looking from the multicultural perspective, promoting harmony and integration, and exploring the nature of prejudice and racism are among my aims. Since drama is essentially concerned with personal relationships and interaction, and deals with feeling, prejudices, attitudes and emotions, since drama work is concerned with problems, questions and issues of understanding, it can facilitate intercultural education; it can raise awareness of race and ethnicity relations because of these very qualities.

Frame Distancing and No Penalty Zone

Essential as it may be in drama work, involving raw feelings could prove unsafe for the teacher and the children, especially in sensitive issues; racist incidents, or experiences involving bullying, name-calling or abusing could be distressing to experience or relive. Drama provides safety valves to the teacher in such situations. Aiming at keeping the participants at a distorted, and therefore safe, distance from action and emotion, Heathcote introduced the idea of 'Frame Distancing' (Heathcote, 1990; Bolton & Heathcote, 1999). Frame 'is the boundary line that we deliberately draw around the piece of experience that we wish to concern ourselves with, to examine in detail' (Jackson, 1995: 162); 'the perspective from which people are coming to enter the dramatic event' (Heathcote, 1982: 21). Subsequently, the teacher selects carefully the frame the class will work from, in order to offer them protection. Hence, each subject can be viewed from different angles. The multiple frame approach gives a class the opportunity to work in detail on a sensitive subject through an oblique angle, being able to suggest and examine possible solutions to the

situation without getting emotionally involved in the sense of being traumatised or hurt (Giannopoulou, 1995; Jackson, 1995; Eriksson, 2011); this is why frame distancing has been compared with Bertolt Brecht's alienation and framing theories by which he aimed to distance the spectators from the players and prevent emotional involvement (Muir, 1996; Wooster, 2004). Consequently, in my project, the children can both feel and experience an awkward situation in the life of a refugee, but it will be the *role* suffering the unpleasant emotion, and not the child. The 'painful experience is filtered through that distanced perspective' (Bolton, 1999: 199) and participants will be protected not *from* emotion but *into* emotion (Bolton, 1984: 128).

Accordingly, it must be also stressed that drama operates in a No Penalty Zone which frees the participants from the burden of failure or, as put by Heathcote, 'the burden of the future responsibility' (Heathcote, 1991b: 127). While in role, they are protected so they can safely play any issue that in real life could be disturbing or too exciting, and try on different resolutions. In this way the children are 'beguiled by drama, but safe; protected' (Bolton, 1995: 30) as the implications of their actions are treated within the drama. Because of the no penalty zone, they are permitted to test any of their ideas without fear of consequences that a real-life situation would involve. It provides a feeling of safety that results in the generation of true reactions. Recapturing past incidents through drama also allows pupils to stand critically in relation to their problems and, having the appropriate distance, face them radically and accept responsibility for their actions. Features like framing, and the protection that drama provides, are valuable for dealing with sensitive incidents that may come up during improvisation, as the emotional safety of the children must be protected. Accordingly, frame distancing would be sought in my project, choosing to frame the dramatic situation through a setting not too close to the children, but at the same time allowing analogies to be drawn and reflection processes to work (for a detailed description of the project see Chapter 4, Lessons Planning, p. 66).

Social nature, democracy and social development

Another one of drama's basic principles is its social nature. Drama is primarily concerned with social issues: it gives the participants the opportunity to explore social and moral concerns and dilemmas; to contemplate the society they live in and understand it. Children, through drama, can explore human problems and concerns; human actions and their implications; and moral dilemmas and injustices of various kinds (Somers, 1994; Basourakos, 1999; Bolton, 1999; Winston, 1999; Day, 2002; Catterall, 2007). A phrase of Kenneth Tynan's cited often by Heathcote (Heathcote, 1991c; 2010; Bolton 1998) is that it is about human beings in 'a state of desperation', or put by herself, 'Man in a mess'. It is not dramatisation. Simply put, if it does not involve a problem, it is not drama. However, it goes beyond simply posing a problem; drama in education calls for meaning. Bolton (1998) describes Heathcote's view: 'It is not enough to give children a taste of "a state of desperation" through drama, for inherent in that dramatic experience must lay the potential for explication. Drama is to be about meaning: meaning-indicating, meaning-seeking, meaning-making and meaning-finding, always keyed in to her pupils' readiness to work in depth' (p. 177). Neelands (1984: 6) adds that 'drama is a social (interactive) way of creating and interpreting human meanings'.

Thus, providing powerful learning experiences to the participants makes drama appropriate for examining social issues. Searching for meaning behind xenophobic and racist attitudes is of vital importance and can lead also to political thinking. In fact, as was the case in antiracist teaching, the political element will inevitably play a significant part in such a project, and drama can be a means of exploring social and cultural issues in a culturally mixed society, and deal with contentious and sensitive issues. It is a social activity that can examine the pressure (political and personal) a citizen (in our case a refugee) is subjected to and seek possible solutions, strategies and ways to improve it; find links between their problems and other people's, appreciate the problems of others and assess the depth and type of their own condition (Kempe, 1982). Educating the students towards active citizenship and equal opportunities is one of my targets as a drama teacher; consequently I aim for a kind of drama that promotes democracy. Acknowledging that the subjective experiences of the pupils are influenced by society (i.e. factors as school setting, mass media or family) drama is indispensable, as it provides them with an opportunity to challenge prevailing ideas and 'absolute truths' that are promoted within our society. It helps the students realise that society is neither constant nor absolute; that this world produces faults and they have a role to play in transforming the forces that produce these faults (Wright cited in Robinson, 1980).

Drama in a democratic society can contribute significantly to children's social and political development by encouraging social skills (such as negotiation, co-operation and critical thinking). 'Talking' or discussing (*cf.* Bakhtin's dialogism[17]), expressing our views and opinions, which is intertwined with democracy, has to be re-established in our schools through drama (Baldwin, 2008: Neelands, 2009; O'Connor, 2010). It gives voice to the pupils, provides them with an opportunity to discuss, challenge and question, i.e. apply basic democratic skills. Engaging students in dialogue exchanging views through drama can promote changes in understanding (Edmiston, 1994; Willhelm & Edmiston, 1998). Focusing on the concept of viewing the world through somebody else's eyes, Edmiston argues that as we engage in dialogue and get in contact with others' experiences, we actively re-form and forge our own beliefs since we encounter and react to different points of view. They need not remain fixed; we should allow others' ideas and positions to affect our thinking in a successful struggle to create meaning.

> The best way of discovering ourselves and learning our power and potentialities is through our encounters with others, both real and imaginary. […] It is this that makes the essential nature of both theatre and process drama profoundly educational. (O'Neill, 1995: 91)

In addition, collaborative group work is an important element when doing drama in a multicultural classroom. Seen from a political spectrum, successful co-operation in a classroom between pupils of a different cultural background generates hope for a society that its members will achieve working and living together in harmony, in a world of equal opportunities (Phinn, 1982).

[17] As Davis (2003) puts it, 'monologue is the language of dictatorships and dialogue is the language needed to be human' (p. 39).

An interesting view on the relation of theatre to democracy is explored by McGrath (2002). Referring to Cornelius Castoriadis, the Greek philosopher who advocated an interface between theatre and democracy, McGrath argues about the essential role of theatre in preserving democracy. Amongst the roles of theatre McGrath refers to, one can easily discern some which are common with the aims of my project, like giving a voice to the excluded, to the oppositional, to the minorities; in guarding against the tyranny of the majority; in demanding the right to speak publicly, to criticise without fear; in seeking true and balanced information; in combating the distorting and antidemocratic powers of the mass media. The above are significant qualities of an active citizen, which is an objective in education. Theatre is the art that works between the creative and the political, 'calling together audiences of citizens to contemplate on their society' (McGrath, 2002: 137). It can provide the 'excluded', the 'oppositional', the 'minorities' with a voice through their roles, and a chance to examine and rehearse such situations of questioning the authority and the majority culture. There is the opportunity for them to question the laws of the dominant culture that were a given by then, seeking for solutions and answers, and make their own decisions on racist situations. For me, providing the immigrant students of my class with a voice is of high importance in my job as an educator.

Metaxis and Self-spectator

As was argued in the above paragraphs, one of the basic concerns of drama is meaning (see p. 43). While studying the literature I came across the notions of metaxis and self-spectator, which are crucial for drama in education and help establish a meaning behind the dramatic activity. As they help the participants be self-conscious and reflect on the dramatic situation while they are in role, these are qualities that can provoke critical thinking on the racist attitudes examined in my project. The concept of metaxis was introduced by Augusto Boal (1979, 1981), and was then used widely by drama practitioners. It refers to the awareness of the two realities the participant in drama is in, the fictitious *and* the real simultaneously; the mode of his/her engagement while able to monitor and reflect on it; one can be both in the drama and stand back looking at the situation, evaluating it without losing him/herself in this process (Boal, 1981; O'Neill, 1995; Widdows, 1996; Linds, 1998; Verducci, 2000). Likewise, Heathcote calls 'self-spectator' the participant who watches her/his own activity, who knows s/he is acting (Bolton & Heathcote, 1995; Bolton, 1999). Self-spectator can also be another way of distancing the children (*cf.* earlier 'Frame distancing', p. 42) and protecting them from being absorbed emotionally; it helps them to be prepared to manage their emotional involvement in difficult situations which they could actually experience in real life by observing their own actions. Re-enacting past incidents allows them to evaluate their actions critically.

> Self spectator protects the participants into a level of emotion from which they may remain safely detached, both *engaged* and *detached* (Bolton, 1999: 200).

Regarding my study, and particularly when dealing with racist incidents, the double stance of the participant-observer in drama described here provides an opportunity for the class to

explore both perspectives when dealing with racist bullying: that of the ones that harass and also of those who experience the harassment.

> In this drama world, participants are free to *alter* their status, adopt *different* roles and responsibilities, play with elements of reality, and explore *alternate* existences (O'Neill, 1995:151) [my emphasis].

O'Neill above describes my objective for the Greek pupils; i.e. to explore an alternative view through drama and empathise with an immigrant's situation. Since my aim was to put Greek students in the position of the immigrants, experiential drama targeting on the affective was the approach I needed. When a debate or a dilemma is involved, a discussion that includes two points of view, group interaction gives the opportunity for the pupils to explore both sides of the problem and opinions inside their classroom through exchanging of experiences (Edmiston, 1994). The positive interaction between the two views facilitates learning. Interaction can take place among the participants and this is how the experience is enriched and viewpoints can potentially change.

Experiential learning and incongruity

Regarding the learning experience the pupils have with drama, this experience needs to be primarily experiential. Meaning is made out of direct experience; we all interpret the world around us based on our life experiences. Hegel stated that 'any experience that does not violate expectation is not worthy of the name experience' (cited in Kolb, 1984: 28) and this is a cornerstone in experiential learning. According to Kolb (1984), learning is a continuous process grounded in experience. It consists of four stages which follow from each other: firstly we observe and gather first-hand experiences (*Concrete Experience*); *Reflection* follows which generates a conceptualisation of rules and concepts describing the experience or the application of known theories to it (*Abstract Conceptualisation*); the concepts created are then put into practice (*Active Experimentation*), leading in turn to the next *Concrete Experience*. During the transition between these stages miscommunications, miscalculations and unforeseen circumstances can occur, 'expectation violations' as Hegel put it earlier. And it is this creative process of the transition through miscommunication that generates learning, i.e. the incongruity between expectation and experience. This inconsistency between new ideas and old beliefs is a crucial one in education, especially when the teacher is aiming towards a change in the students' concepts. People are not feckless beings, empty receptacles for new knowledge and experience. They rather gain this knowledge through their interaction with the society, in an endless give-and-take of ideas and beliefs, in turn forming the world around them by contributing their own experiences. That inconsistency, the conflict between current experience and former interpretation in similar experiences is the motive power of learning (Fragkoulis, 2005; Baldwin, 2008).

Likewise, according to Piaget's Cognitive theory of Accommodation (Keenan, 2002; Atherton, 2011) our mind continuously adapts to newly acquired information and evidence posed by the environment, even if the categories do not already exist. Through a difficult and potentially painful process, our mind has to familiarise itself with the new evidence that is provided by the outside world and adapt to it. When the new information does not fit into

the pre-existent fields and categories of our mind (*schemas*) we need to develop new ones. As new fields are created in order to accommodate the new experiences, this conflict between existing structures and new input could play a significant part in the process of cognitive development. When doing drama, although the children may have never had relevant experience of the role they are playing, they do have pieces of information about it from the world they live in (the media, school, family, etc.). If the new information contradicts their already existing schemas, then the accommodation process takes place to fit in the new data. Drama can help children to test out ideas and concepts and make new interconnections incorporating the new information, resulting in new knowledge (Kitson & Spiby, 1997). Since challenging old prejudices and beliefs is involved in my project, experiential learning is worth exploring.

The role of the educator in this process is not only to bring the new ideas into the classroom but also to challenge the old ones and facilitate their modification. It is essential to capitalise on the learners' existing beliefs and theories, to provide the students with chances to test and express their experiences before introducing the new knowledge and ideas (Kolb, 1984); the same applies to drama. Children are not considered to passively consume the knowledge provided by the teacher but rather co-construct it *with* him/her according to a co-operative learning (Prince, 1981; Johnson & O'Neill, 1984; Neelands, 1984; Heathcote, 2003), drawing and building on their prior experience and knowledge (Gordon & Roberts, 1991). By getting involved in a situation formed by the teacher (or by themselves), children have an opportunity to gain new insight on the factors responsible for the outcome of an event and reach knowledge through experience. The children's experiences from their own lives are invaluable and can be used as metaphors in the dramatic activity, by creating fictional scenes (Erikson, 1965; Bolton 1979). The role of the educator is to encourage them to examine these experiences closely in order to achieve learning and understanding.

Drama and moral education

Moral education and moral development are highly associated with the attitude towards foreigners and thus connected to my work, since it deals with prejudices and moral decisions. Drama has the power to provoke and engage us in a critical re-examination of our values (Winston, 1999), to facilitate us to challenge attitudes and preconceptions (Bolton in Davis, 2010: xv). It brings a coherence to past, present and future action; we see motives, deeds and their consequences on others with a simultaneity and clarity that is difficult to obtain in our real lives and most of all this enables us to discern the feelings of others. Such critical examination is vital for the exploration of racist attitudes. Drama gives the participants the chance to reflect on the drama experience they had, and can lead them form their own moral judgements and construct general applications from particular experiences (*cf.* Kolb's experiential learning, p. 46); it can also challenge vague verbal moral values as it counterparts them with moral action (Tucker, 1985).

Also, according to Kohlberg (1976) moral reasoning can be graded in six age-related stages; 'children must be exposed to levels of moral reasoning one stage above their own if they are to progress' (Kohlberg in Colby, 1982: 14). The power that moves the individual from one stage of moral development to a higher one is the incongruity created when a new

knowledge is being experienced (*cf.* earlier, experiential learning, p. 46), the cognitive conflict between the old and the new perception. The teacher can use drama to scaffold moral learning, exposing pupils to arguments one stage above the level they have reached. By offering children opportunities to try out virtual actions a conflict in the arguments can be accomplished which will prompt them further to a resolution (Colby, 1982; Tucker, 1985; Winston, 1999). This notion of scaffolding is not new to drama practitioners. Accordingly, it has been claimed (Catteral, 2007; Vassilopoulou, 2007; Bolton in Davis, 2010; Heathcote, 2011) that through drama, and particularly through the teacher in role strategy (see also pp. 186-187), the teacher as an assistant provides new input to the students that raises their cognitive level and thus they can achieve higher stages of knowledge, or in this case, moral reasoning. This applies to Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) theory, according to which there are tasks learners can achieve by themselves, but others in which they need help from an experienced adult and more advanced peers. This is to say that learning requires experiences within the ZPD, i.e. development occurs when the input helps the learners to achieve beyond their previous capacity (Catterall, 2007; Davis, 2010). There are practitioners (Williams, 2005; Vassilopoulou, 2007) who have investigated the relation of ZPD to drama teaching in detail, proving that the dramatic form has the potential to mediate the developing process. To conclude, drama in education is a tool in the hands of the teacher who wants to handle moral issues with his/her class, which renders it appropriate to use in the cases of prejudice and xenophobia within the classroom.

Change through understanding

Lastly, dramatic activity is also linked to knowledge, not in the explicit sense of skills and facts which traditional teaching focuses on, but the one that is related to values, principles, consequences and responsibility; rather the implications of knowledge to human life. Bolton (1979; 1992a) chooses to call this knowledge 'understanding'. The change in understanding is the most significant learning feature credited to drama (Bolton, 1999). It can only be considered as effective if a change in attitude is brought about; a change in children's values that suggests a development both in the cognitive and the affective has been established. The sources from which understanding can come are either direct experience or an experience mediated through an art form such as drama. Accordingly, children in our classrooms may *know* that racism is bad or that immigrants are people in need, there also could be cases where teachers have *taught* such issues. But they do not yet *understand* how it feels; it is still mere inculcation and accumulated information. There is a gap between the two concepts (knowledge and understanding) which drama can bridge; it helps children go beyond sterile knowledge and understand the values behind it (Bolton, 1979; 1992).

It was mentioned earlier that a teacher's objective in intercultural education is to educate students into becoming future active citizens (p. 30). Given that the aim of an active citizen is primarily to understand the society s/he lives in and eventually change it, the main objective for a teacher is change: a change in society through smaller personal and interpersonal changes. As was clear from the theories explained above, change through drama can be achieved when the existing knowledge of pupils becomes understanding and when this is followed by incongruity in the child's values (see 'experiential learning', p. 46). It is this change for which I aim: the change in students' beliefs, a kind of political awareness; the

challenging of stereotypes and the incongruity in children's ideas. A change in attitude is being sought by the transformation of their knowledge into understanding through the medium of experience provided by drama. Great detail should be put on planning the lessons in order for the children to primarily *feel* the learning and secondly care about the external action in the story. The intended form of the process and the objective of my work can be represented by the following series of stages.

Knowledge ⇨ Experience feeling through ⇨ Understanding / Incongruity ⇨ Change

Figure 1

Understanding and incongruity are rather two simultaneous processes, as incongruity is generated by understanding and vice versa. Within the time given, the drama lessons will be considered to be effective if they help pupils to reach the incongruity stage. The last target, change, although it is desired cannot be a terminus if it is for this research to pose viable objectives. The time is limited and moreover there is a holistic approach that should be implemented in order to achieve an important change both to the participants and, eventually, to society. Social transformation can be a very slow process (Prentki, 2003) which is not embedded only upon drama's practices. It needs a range of activities and organisations, both individual and collective voices and actions, to champion it. Thus, as was already mentioned, it would be naïve to believe that a single drama project could bring significant change to the participants, let alone to society. Still, it is hopefully a tiny contribution towards it.

My choices

While drama in education was selected – for the above characteristics – as the main drama approach, other methods examined (see p. 39) were rejected but most of the times their techniques were borrowed whenever the project would benefit. Firstly, Mantle of the expert was dismissed as a technique for my work since it focuses on more intellectual and curriculum tasks, whereas my intention was to approach my subject with more dramatic and artistic techniques, involving physical activities. However, some of its techniques could still be borrowed when necessary. Secondly, Boal's Forum Theatre can be proved useful when dealing with issues that refer to unequal treatment and different forms of social oppression. Through Forum Theatre the group can explore the deeper motives and intentions in actions like racist bullying. Nonetheless, I preferred not to use it as a method because of its elaborate form in which I had no experience. Still, the notion of a spectator turning into an actor in order to examine the alternatives of a dramatic event seemed challenging enough to be included in the planning. A third approach found in the literature review was drama as an art form and a product (i.e. producing a play). This was rejected since such approaches centre in students' artistic and technical skill development (Neelands, 2004); process drama approaches, on the other hand, prioritise the social and cultural learning that I was aiming for. It is my belief that our dual capacity as both artists and educators calls for applied approaches of drama, going beyond its artistic role, searching for meaning and cultural progress. Lastly, Sladeian approach as well as games and exercises were also dismissed. As

was already mentioned, such methods were the prevailing ones in Greece and also the ones I was using for years. In this project, I wanted to stay away from and go beyond my drama teaching background and use drama to go deeper and explore meaning. Thus I avoided using superficial games and exercises, or disjointed conventions, but rather linked them together in a meaningful and coherent lesson plan tackling the racism issue.

Summarising, and according to the features examined earlier: drama has a social nature that can facilitate social learning. Through an emotional experience the participants will have the chance to empathise with a refugee's feelings without being emotionally harmed as framing and the no penalty zone protects them. Additionally, they have the opportunity to examine alternative views and question their own beliefs. The main aim is incongruity, which is the key to learning, particularly in moral education which is related to different stages that the child can reach by scaffolding. At the same time, the aim is for a change in understanding to take place, leading in the long run to social transformation and change which can be characterised as a macro-objective in education. Hence drama in education seems a promising method to use in combating racism in the classroom. The examined features and theories make it clear that process drama, compared with drama as a product or mere games and conventions, has more advantages in combating such social issues. But were there any similar projects applied in a school context? And, how effective is drama in changing pupils' attitudes? I would like to examine these two aspects in the following paragraphs.

Similar drama projects

Since the UK had a long tradition in drama in education there were numerous projects in English literature based on the interface of drama and attitudes towards either different cultures or minorities, adopting various approaches, either multicultural or more political.

Most of the projects I came across were influenced by the multicultural approach. They were either introducing elements of different cultures and encouraging respect for them, seeking to reinforce a sense of their own cultural uniqueness and value (Prince, 1981; Ackroyd & Pilkington, 1997; Bolton, 1995; Thapalyal, 2004); suggesting empathy with the feelings and analysing the motives of people constrained to leave their homelands (Baldwin, 2007); or challenging stereotypes (Giannopoulou, 1995). Also, there have been projects based on an historical perspective, utilising original moments of history (such as colonialism) (O'Neill & Lambert, 1990). Also, there were projects aiming just to enhance the self-confidence of ethnic minority groups through improving their language skills or teaching their members how to solve their everyday problems, encouraging them to use language effectively and appropriately, or fostering an understanding of other cultures and a tolerance for others (Phinn, 1982; Chilcoat & Ligon, 1998). In addition, Heathcote also worked on racism by providing teachers with a useful tool, her five-layer scale of motivation: Action – Motivation – Investment – Model – Stance (Gillham, 1988; Bolton & Heathcote, 1999). She uses this scale to interpret human actions and the factors that determine them, ranging from superficial explanations to firmly fixed beliefs. Each action of an individual can be subsumed to this scale and children can be taught that every human action can be examined and

explained. In their common work Bolton and Heathcote, in a multicultural approach, support the building of positive attitudes and respect towards others, and celebration of differences, as an effective confrontation of racist behaviour in children which in a young age is not yet expressed but remains 'a dormant seed, a weed, waiting to become part of a young person's value system' (Bolton & Heathcote, 1999:129).

Furthermore, there were also several drama works adopting a more political approach which seemed more interesting to me as they were focusing on racism and reasons, e.g. dealing with racist bullying (Page & Elston, 2001), or works which claim the causes of racism to be related to social and political structures within society, pointing out that racism is just a part of the system of relations that maintain our social reality (Gaine, 1987). They challenge factors of influence such as television (Hall, 1988) or, based on theories such as Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, state that the reasons for racial incidents have deeper roots which we should challenge, such as oppression (Richardson, 2003).

The latter approaches were inspirational enough to create my own project using process drama and relating it to Greek reality and measures. My aim was to go further than the former multicultural approaches which centre upon the examination of 'the other', upon acceptance and generation of positive images, and explore the racism experienced in society by an immigrant, which seems to be a taboo subject. Thus, in the drama I planned, after experiencing the hardships of those people, pupils have a chance to have a taste of racism and prejudiced behaviour by the 'hosting country' citizens. In Greece, as drama in education is a relatively new teaching approach, although some teachers were applying different drama methods to combat prejudices among their pupils (Kontoyanni, 2008; Choleva, 2010), an academic research had never been conducted on the impact drama can have in racist attitudes. I focused on applying this combination of disciplines (i.e. drama and antiracist education) in the Greek setting with all its particularities: a rather conservative society, with religion and church having a high influence on aspects of social life; a country where racism and xenophobia flourish – especially after 2008 and the economic crisis – with most teachers and drama teachers applying out-of-date teaching methods to educational drama.

There is plentiful evidence of positive results from lessons using drama to deal with issues like conflict management and resolution, bullying and racial incidents among black and white students in British schools, or merely attitudes (O'Sullivan & Gray, 1998; Fleming, Merrell, & Tymms, 2004; O'Toole & Burton, 2005). Additionally, the positive influence of drama was recently recorded on a much larger scale in DICE (Drama Improves Lisbon Key Competences in Education), an international research project investigating and measuring the impact of educational theatre and drama on young people. Particularly pertaining to my study, apart from the impact on the cognitive level of students the DICE project showed considerable relevance between drama activities and the 'Interpersonal, intercultural and social competences and civic competence' qualities in European students (DICE, 2010). The creators of the project include empathy, openness and responsibility among the fundamental elements of pluralism, solidarity and civil dialogue which should be taught to children in order to supply them with the necessary qualities to become an active citizen of the future society. The project's hypothesis on the impact of theatre and drama on five of

Lisbon Key Competences proved to be valid. According to its findings students who attended the drama/theatre sessions 'are more empathic, […] significantly more tolerant towards both minorities and foreigners, and they are much more active citizens; they show more interest in voting or participating in public matters'(DICE, 2010:44). It has also been pointed out that 'young people who regularly participate in theatre and drama activities spend more time in activities which have a social dimension – both at home and in the wider community' (*ibid*.: 50).

The above projects suggest that drama can be effective in antiracist teaching. This is not to allege that it is a magic cure, but surely it can make an important contribution to tackling racism. Given the fact that racism in school is closely interwoven with political decisions concerning education and also given the depth of racist beliefs, it would be naïve to think one could radically change such views overnight (Jackson, 1995). On the premise that race and racism are socially constructed notions, a more holistic approach is required for the accomplishment of such an aim (Preston, 2011); combating such attitudes must take into consideration and work along with society. In this case, slight signs of change would be enough to indicate the possibility of utilising drama in a broader design of antiracist education.

CONCLUSIONS

Reviewing the literature, I intended to combine the theories of multiculturalism and anti-racism in an eclectic approach and utilise some of the features and theories examined above when planning my drama (see Table 3, p. 54 for an overall view). Following the anti-racist concept, my project introduces an experiential drama model that seeks to emphasise the stance of the perpetrator; hence challenging *Greek* students and *their* attitudes. The role of power to the concept of racism (p. 33) and the idea of Whiteness (p. 33) led me to focus on the prevalent ethnic group (Greek pupils). Also, acknowledging that racism starts from an early age (p. 34) and being experienced mostly in young children, I planned my drama for seven- to eight-year-olds; lastly, counting the importance of religion in Greek society (p. 19) and as the majority of non-Greek pupils in schools comes from Albania (non-Christian orthodox background), the project took into consideration the fact that religious racism (p. 35) could apply to my cases. At the same time, effective elements from the multicultural education model are also utilised, such as empathy (see below) and positive views of minorities through the chosen scenario (see Chapter 4, Lessons planning, p. 66). Critical thinking and decision-making skills, active learning by sharing experiences and developing positive attitudes towards different groups are objectives of intercultural education (Hernández, 1989) but also of drama (Baldwin, 2008).

Drama was found to have many features applying to the purposes of my study. After studying different approaches and having the past experience of drama aiming at self-expression and personal development (p. 37), I chose to go beyond my prior practices; use drama in education as my main tool and go deeper into meaning to combat racist attitudes. Namely, the project is based on some of the main techniques and features of process drama: emotional experience and empathy (p. 41) can be created and give the participants the

opportunity to experience the feelings of an immigrant; protect them (p. 42); develop social skills and a democratic conscience (p. 43); develop critical thinking and experience the double stance of harassment through metaxis (p. 45); explore motives and consequences through moral dilemmas (p. 47); and manage a change in their beliefs through understanding and incongruity (p. 46). In the end, to result in pupils able to challenge their own beliefs and prejudices, define a problem, make connections with real problems and real life and develop their own perspective from which they see the world (p. 48). Using drama, the project aims to help children recognise the nature of prejudices and acquaint them with some elements of social, political and economic life in order for them to make judicious decisions. Furthermore, they can make small steps in developing symbolic and critical thinking, social morality and awareness of the role of power in human relations.

The basic aim of my project is to generate incongruence between the students' past beliefs and their new views after the drama experience. The long-term objective, however, for a critical teacher is a change in understanding, and, by extension, elimination of inequality. The route our drama follows is through the phases of knowledge and understanding to reach the stage of incongruity (see Figure 1, p. 49) which is considered to be the prerequisite of any change in people's minds. Such a research hopes to contribute to the forging of responsible citizens of the future society through this change. Having clarified some of the theoretical points applying to my work, a methodology chapter follows which will present and examine the research methods that were chosen for the purposes of this study and the research questions posed.

		LITERATURE REVIEW	MY PROJECT/CHOICES
Antiracist theories		Assimilation Integration Multiculturalism (MC) Anti-Racism (AR) + CRT Interculturalism	⇨ Eclectic approach, combining MC + AR in planning
	Useful features and theories:	Racism=Prejudice+Power Whiteness	⇨ Focus on the prevalent ethnic group (Greeks)
		Racism starts from an early age	⇨ Focus on young children
		Religious racism	⇨ Pertains to Albanian population
Drama approaches		Slade and Way Drama for self-expression Process Drama/Drama in Education Mantle of the Expert Theatre of the Oppressed Performance orientated drama	⇨ Chose drama for learning and understanding (Process drama)
	Useful Features and theories:	Emotional Experience – Empathy	⇨ Depth in my drama – Experience immigrant feelings
		Frame distancing – No penalty zone	⇨ Protect pupils
		Social nature/Democracy/Social development	⇨ Moral concerns and dilemmas on social issues – Developing social skills
		Metaxis – Self spectator	⇨ Critical thinking – Double stance of harassment (culprit and victim)
		Moral education	⇨ Explore motives and consequences beyond vague morality
		Experiential learning – Incongruity Understanding – Change	⇨ Go beyond sterile knowledge – Change of beliefs and political awareness

Table 3 Literature Review – Main points

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Social research and inquiry into the real world can be a challenging task. Human behaviour is complex and thus cannot be measured easily by traditional, quantitative, scientific means. In addition, the human element is present in the results of any social research, since the subjectivity of the researcher is always a factor when dealing with social issues. Specific difficulties lurk right from the very beginning (Shipman, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) in inquiries relevant to human behaviour. Research methodology limits the possibility of invalid results in a qualitative research; a fact that renders the place of this chapter essential to this dissertation. The methodology approach and the tools used will be explicitly presented here, touching also upon the difficulties that emerged regarding ethical considerations and accessibility to the subjects of the research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given that a) process drama (see p. 38) is an approach scarcely used in Greek schools, b) prejudice and racism in Greek society are extensive and c) there is a lack of research on drama in Greece, the purpose of my inquiry lies in the question:

- Is drama an effective agent in abating racist attitudes in young children in Greece?

An original drama project had to be designed and applied for the purposes of this study, thus an additional though basic issue emerged that eventually modified the initial question: my inexperience as a process drama practitioner owing to my studies and practical experience in Greece (see pp. 20 and 37). Overcoming this deficit has added an extra strand to my research that could prove useful for beginners in process drama and teachers who would like to try drama with their classrooms but have little or no previous experience. Hence the final question that runs through my research was finally formed as:

Is it possible for a novice drama teacher with a Greek drama teaching background to use process drama effectively in order to challenge racist attitudes in young children?

In order to examine the above question, a preliminary research was necessary to investigate:

- to what extent do Greek pupils have racist attitudes towards their immigrant schoolmates and the reasons for these attitudes
- to what extent teachers tackle racism inside the classroom and, if they do, which methods they use

Answering the above questions was a prerequisite for the main research as they would facilitate the study by clarifying the setting and defining the sample.

CHOOSING THE APPROPRIATE RESEARCH METHOD

Contemplating the literature, action research and case study research were the two prevailing methods I considered suitable for my work. Action research consists of a series of inter-related cycles of learning with each one of them involving planning, action and evaluation (Shelton, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007). Professional self-development, investigating and improving one's own practices and solving practical problems of the real world are some of the features of action research that initially led me to adopt it as the main methodology. Applying a series of lessons followed by review and feedback of each one of them would provide me with the opportunity to study my teaching ability in drama and constantly rearrange it, aiming at having the best impact possible upon the children. However, time restrictions prevented me from implementing the necessary amendments between the applications, so I relinquished the exclusiveness of action research and decided to involve the features of case study methodology in my work for each application I conducted.

Case study research is defined as 'a study of an instant in action' (MacDonald & Walker, 1975); as the thorough investigation of an individual, group, phenomenon or event; (Bassey, 1999; Silverman, 2005; Cohen et al., 2007). Such an approach would allow me to scrutinize every class individually (multiple cases), focusing on the data gathered by every pupil, developing a full understanding of each one of the classes selected. A more elaborate analysis could thus be applied, involving both the impact of the drama on the pupils' racist views and the process of drama practice.

My choice of case study as a research method did not eliminate completely the action research features aforementioned. Research is not composed of clear-cut categories and every single study cannot be definitely put into pre-cut, ready-made forms (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As methods are often diluted into one another or work additively obtaining more complexity and flexibility, this study draws upon two methodologies mutually influential, case study and action research. The first method provides it with the element of self-reflection and improvement of teaching: namely in the pilot applications but between the actual lessons there were also minor changes to counter problems caused by inexperience; the second method, case study methodology offers additional details for each class, providing me with an opportunity to analyse explicitly the phenomena emerging from it.

OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

The research consists of two stages. A preliminary research was conducted initially in order for the sample to be defined and the setting to be scouted; applications of the drama project and data analysis followed. Table 4 shows all the stages which will be explained below in detail.

1st stage				
PRELIMINARY RESEARCH				
Selection of cases by distribution of questionnaires (duration: 4 months)				
2nd stage				
1st PILOT APPLICATION				
1st pilot application of the drama project (duration: 2 weeks)				
Review – Feedback – Alterations				
2nd PILOT APPLICATION				
1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week	5th week
Pre-drama interviews/observation	Application of the drama project			Post-drama interviews/observation
Review – Feedback – Alterations				
1st APPLICATION				
1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week	5th week
Pre-drama interviews/observation	Application of the drama project			Post-drama interviews/observation
Review - Feedback				
2nd APPLICATION				
1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week	5th week
Pre-drama interviews/observation	Application of the drama project			Post-drama interviews/observation
Review - Feedback				
3rd APPLICATION				
1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week	5th week
Pre-drama interviews/observation	Application of the drama project			Post-drama interviews/observation
Data Analysis				

Table 4 Outline of the research

1st stage: Preliminary research

A preliminary research was conducted in order to explore predispositions of both Greek pupils and teachers towards children of a foreign background in their school. After an initial personal contact with 57 schools in Northern Greece, questionnaires were distributed to the teachers of the 27 schools that stated their interest (questionnaires can be accessed at Appendix B), in order to spot classes facing racist incidents (see below 'Sample', p. 58 for a detailed account). Based on the questionnaires collected, the schools demonstrating the most ominous attitudes from the part of the students and the ones with the most collaborative staff willing to take part in the project were selected: five different classes of children aged between seven and eight years were chosen to participate, two of which operated as pilots. The process of the data collection lasted four months.

2nd stage: Pilots and applications

Two pilots took place before the actual applications, which were then assessed and revised in order to detect and adjust probable deficiencies in the general structure of the approach and/or explore different aspects of the research such as the quality of my teaching,

evaluation of the drama lessons, the grade and the quality of the intervention, my role as an interviewer and observer, as well as technical details. The first pilot included only the actual application of the drama lessons, whereas in the second, interviews and observation were also piloted.

During the applications of the project, in the first week in each class, everyday observation (inside and outside the classroom) and semi-structured interviews with children were conducted, in order to explore their attitudes toward their classmates. Each classroom teacher was also interviewed in order for me to identify the methods s/he employed when such conflicts arose. In the following three weeks the project was conducted in five sessions – in some cases it was expanded for one or two additional sessions. Informal meetings with the teacher were held before and after the lessons to discuss the application and events that may have occured. Follow-up interviews with the students and the teacher, along with systematic observation, took place in the final week in order to discuss the impact of the project.

SAMPLE

While selecting my sample, convenience and accessibility were the main concerns. Such aims are accomplished by purposive sampling, which is chosen to serve a specific purpose and satisfy the researcher's needs. In such a sampling, the researcher seeks out groups, settings and individuals where the issue being studied is most likely to occur, and allows him/her to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which s/he is interested (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:370; Cohen et al., 2007). Inherently, such a sample represents only itself, and generalisation is not the primary concern. Its concern is rather 'to acquire in-depth information from those who are in a position to give it' (Cohen et al., 2007: 115).

In my case, three points were taken into account during sample selection: firstly, schools already facing racial conflict problems of any extent had to be spotted and studied. A second fact was that positive attitudes on the part of the school towards the conducted survey would return more reliable and accurate results. It should also been taken into consideration that racism is a sensitive issue and not every head teacher would like his/her school[18] to be characterised as racist. Therefore, a brief contact and discussion with head teachers and teachers took place, informing them about the project and its requirements. If they showed interest in exploring the possibility of racist conflicts in their school by applying the project and they had already spotted such behaviour inside their classrooms, they were then asked to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix B) to check the sort and the frequency of the conflicts between the students.

After analysing the questionnaires, a list of the schools found to encounter the most severe incidents was created. Namely, schools from rural areas were exclusively selected, since they

[18] Although in the UK a head teacher runs the school, in Greece the head teacher is the chair of the board of the staff. The decisions are taken collectively by the teachers and expressions like 'his/her school' are used in this thesis just for the convenience of the reader.

showed higher levels of racial incidents compared with the urban ones (see p. 83). According to studies (Damanakis, 1989b) it is often noticed that immigrants in provincial areas are further marginalised, due to conservatism and biased attitudes of the population in such places compared with urban areas. On the whole, five classes of 22 to 23 children were used (pilots included). An important factor was the presence of foreign pupils in the classroom, so schools composed exclusively of Greek students were excluded. Although the focus was on white children and racist beliefs can be spread in a classroom even without the presence of immigrants, it was the relation between Greek and non-Greek pupils that this study was trying to improve through drama.

Children of a young age (seven to eight years old) were chosen as participants. This was primarily because I was experienced in working with such an age group in schools, also because of the necessity to address such issues from an early age, and because young children are more responsive to change concerning racist attitudes and the intervention can generate better results. Studies have shown (Mitilis, 1998) that relationships created inside school between children who have been together for one or two years are still fluid because of the small amount of their coexistence time. This renders them easily commutable by experimental manipulations (*ibid*.: 144). In contrast, older children have concrete friendships and preferences among their classmates due to perennial relationships. Another factor taken into consideration was the transitional stage of the moral development at the age of seven according to Kohlberg (Kohlberg in Lickona, 1976; Crain, 1985). Children of this age, being on the level of pre-conventional morality, are possibly entering the second stage of this level, where they recognise individualism in people's different viewpoints (see also p. 34). This may prove important in a project calling for empathy and awareness of different positions and views, as it can provide opportunities for the children to reach ever further stages, heading beyond the first level and reaching conventional morality.

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The tools used in this research for data collection were a) questionnaires, b) observation, c) interviews, d) drama lessons, e) photography and video, f) written material (feedback slips and letters written in role). In the following paragraphs my choices are justified and issues that emerged are discussed. Owing to the small sample size, triangulation of the data collected was essential. The use of a variety of resources for the collection of data provides the opportunity for them to be compared and cross-examined, adding validity to the research findings.

Questionnaires

In order to define the sample and also factors like the number of immigrant students, school policies against racism, the occurrence of racial harassment among students and so forth, questionnaires were distributed to teachers (primarily of Year 1 but they were also offered to all the teachers of the school) and head teachers during the preliminary research. They were semi-structured, using multiple choice, open and close questions, as well as rating/agreement scales (see Appendix B). Being aware of the probability of the low

response problem (Anderson, 1990; Oppenheim, 1992; Gillham, 2000; Cohen et al., 2007), they were kept short and simple, with a clear lay out, including an introductory note and a welcoming message assuring confidentiality. An additional space was provided for the participants to state their will to participate in the project and leave their details for future contact. After a small pilot distribution to five teachers, alterations took place concerning the font, the layout and wording to make the questions less provocative and more appealing (for example, adding 'conflicts' next to 'violent behaviour'). I chose not to post the questionnaires but hand them in personally in each school thus encouraging their completion, avoiding postal delays and most importantly, establishing a personal contact in each school from the beginning. In some cases the questionnaires were self-administered, i.e. the teachers completed them in my presence, usually in the staff room. This can ensure a good response rate and all questions can be completed and filled in correctly as any queries or uncertainties can be addressed immediately to the researcher (Cohen et al., 2007). The data were subsequently processed, edited and analysed.

Observation

Observation (participant and non-) took place to examine the children's pre- and post-drama attitudes, to record the social web between them and any potential changes. Specifically, the observation took place a) during the teaching of the curriculum subjects by their teacher; b) outside the classroom, during play time and other school activities (excursions, visits to shows or sport games, etc.); c) during my teaching, either by tape recorder, note taking or videotaping. A detailed structure was not considered necessary in the observation schedule as casual observation, not subjected in a tight matrix, would generate a wider data range from which I could select the more appropriate examples However some main strands that served as a prompt sheet consisted of the following objectives:

STUDENT OBSERVATION SCHEDULE (BEFORE AND AFTER THE APPLICATION)
Inside the Classroom:
Frequency of non-Greek pupils' participation
Non-Greek pupils' level of performance
Teacher's attitude towards non-Greek pupils (inside and outside class)
Racial comments by the pupils or the teacher
Outside the Classroom:
Classmates' friendship groups
Are they private? Do they welcome new members?
Are there any isolates?
Forms of harassment[19]
Frequency of harassment
Level of friendship or tensions with the rest of schoolmates
Are there usual victims?
Are there usual bullies?

Table 5 Observation themes

[19] Physical (being hit, tripped, pinched); verbal (name-calling, teasing, putdowns); psychological (gestures, threats, being stalked); social (ostracism or having rumours spread); sexual (physical, verbal or nonverbal sexual conduct).

Studying the literature (Walker & Adelman, 1975; Wragg, 1994) provided me with practical details I had to be cautious of while observing, for example, positioning myself so that I would be able to observe most but intrude least in the activities of the class avoiding reactivity. Nonetheless, although in the beginning I was keeping as much distance as possible, not invading pupils' or teachers' space, there was inevitably a point where the risk of 'going native' occurred (i.e. becoming a member of the group) (Cohen et al., 2007: 404; Vassilopoulou, 2007:88) as I participated actively in school life by entering class discussions, playing the role of the teacher's assistant and in some cases substituting him/her. Such an intimacy, however, allowed me to record more easily conversations, comments, events, views and confessions of the participants. The field notes of observation consist of notes at break time, teachers' teaching, the drama sessions (after the end of each one), teachers' behaviour (in and out of the classroom, including my visits in the staff room), features and customs of each school, and participants' non-verbal behaviour during the interviews. In addition, a research diary was kept during the whole procedure to include any missed or not recorded element, as well as jotting down any emerging thoughts occurring at any moment.

Interviews

Interviews can be a powerful tool for studies in social subjects like racism. In contrast with the use of observations, attitudinal tests or sociometric analyses that result in silence from the part of the children, interviewing provides them with the space to articulate their own experiences and concerns; it gives voice to their own interpretations and thoughts rather than relying solely on our adult interpretations of their lives (Connolly, 1998: 4; Eder & Fingerson, 2003: 33). This is why interviews are considered a vital part of my data collection. The semi-structured interview model was chosen since it provides the opportunity for the respondent to influence the direction the interview takes, even move beyond the questions asked, control the interview to some extend and therefore dictate the content and form of the data, leading to less biased answers (Brannen, 1988). The questions (see Appendices C and D) were clear and plain, avoiding complex sentences and common for all participants – even though language was a barrier in some cases when the pupils did not have a good command of Greek. The meetings were held both with children and the teacher of each class. Interviewing the classroom teachers before the drama lessons familiarised me with their teaching methods and beliefs concerning intercultural education, whereas post-drama interviews gave feedback on the drama sessions, helping me triangulate my findings.

Factors affecting the results of the interviews were taken into consideration such as conditions, confidentiality or the researcher interviewer relationship (Walker & Adelman, 1975; Anderson, 1990; Edwards, 1993; Neal, 1995; Keats, 2000). The interviews were conducted in small groups (up to four children) in a separate quiet room, uninterrupted most of the times, while the rest of the class pursued other activities with their teacher. Group formation was selected as it permits interaction between children; it removes possible intimidation; it encourages them to use their own language and be more relaxed, able to challenge each other and thus answer more sincerely (Cohen et al., 2007). An introduction was made before each first interview to state the purpose of it, explain the

procedure, clarify any questions and inform the respondents about confidentiality. Data capture was made by digital voice recorder and note taking. The duration was kept to a level tolerable to children (15 to 30 minutes) and I was continuously aware of any indication of tiredness (Keats, 2000). A certain degree of trust which is considered to be important for the reliability of the answers (Tsokalidou, 2005) had been already established between me and the participants, as my presence in each classroom preceded the interviews. Lastly, the problem of 'politically correct responding' (Walker & Jussim, 2002) was also taken into consideration, as in some cases participants try to hide their prejudices and bigotry when they feel they could be socially stigmatised, especially in sensitive subjects such as this. Additionally, lying in response to difficulty distinguishing between reality and fantasy is common in young children. They can lie for fear of disappointing an adult, seeking attention or avoiding stressful situations. Therefore I was cautious of any distorted information (Stern & Stern, 1999; Bohner & Wanke, 2002) to ensure validity of the data collected.

Drama lessons

The drama lessons were designed according to drama and anti-racist education approaches, as was described. A detailed plan of the lessons, the process of designing and a justification of the choices made on drama techniques are available in Chapter 4 (p. 66 and Appendix A for a tabulated plan). Through the devised scenario the aim was to accomplish a change in the majority's views on the immigrant children of the class and foreigners through empathy. Each session's recordings were reviewed on the same day to obtain feedback for the next session and further notes were taken while events were still fresh to supplement those captured in the field. Afterwards the videos were transcribed and watched many times to pin down incidents, parameters and to analyse the speech and movements (Moor & Yamamoto, 1998; Plowman, 1999).

In order to systematise the analysis of the collected data, while studying the literature I decided to use the technique of *critical events* or *key moments* in the analysis of the recorded drama lessons. A key moment can be defined as a single instance, a happening that can be used as a focus for exploring a specific aspect of an educational situation, illustrative of this aspect. It is not necessarily spectacular, dramatic or obvious; it is a significant event that, according to the observer, is indicative of a certain facet of the lesson (Tripp, 1993; Wragg, 1994; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995; Dunne et al., 2005). These incidents are analysed in depth in each application chapter, as every application revealed a list of them. The analysis and findings of the drama lessons are presented in detail in Chapter 5, Findings and Analysis, p. 76.

In order to evaluate the project's success it was essential to distinguish the different levels of pupils' involvement. Studies and articles on drama assessment (Davis, 1976; Cook, 1982; Morgan & Saxton, 1989; Bolton, 1992a; Somers, 1996; Warner, 1997; Kempe & Ashwell, 2000; Fleming, 2011) helped me distinguish between engagement and indifference, to explore the various stages of pupils' involvement, and provided me with guidelines on what to gauge as progress. If the participants are engaged in the drama, the experience is more genuine and hereupon, empathy – which is one of the main objectives of this work – is

similarly genuine; it results in a more effective intervention. The more engagement the more likely for the pupils to have understood the issues brought forward in the lessons, whereas poor engagement can be one of the reasons for failure in effectiveness. Morgan and Saxton's (1989) prevailing taxonomy of personal engagement was used, which consists of six stages: a) interest, b) engaging, c) committing, d) internalising, e) interpreting, f) evaluating. Additionally, other classifications were also taken into consideration, introducing additional patterns (Davis, 1976; Warner, 1997).

Photography and Video

'The richness of information in video recordings enables researchers to capture some of the complexities of learning experiences' claims Plowman (1999: 1). In this case, where drama is the subject of research and non-verbal behaviour can be as significant as verbal (Warner, 1997), capturing images was an essential part of data gathering. The recording was carried out by a small palmcorder on a tripod, placed in a corner of each classroom in order to cover as much space as possible. This was not always feasible, especially in small classrooms where, depending on the activity, the camera had to be turned several times during one session, facing different directions in order to cover both group work and whole-class activities. Technical means such as photography and video are indispensable in cases when the researcher has the challenging task of holding a dual role (i.e. being also a teacher/facilitator) (see also Hugh, 1997; Kim, 2009).

No external microphone, apart from the one built in the camcorder, was used and that prevented me hearing on the recordings the low volume comments of the pupils, whispers or asides. But being a participant myself, most of the times the important lines where recalled from memory when watching the recordings right after each lesson. Also, ground rules were imposed successfully at the beginning of each application to prevent pupils from staring at the camera and this was respected by the majority of the participants. A few exceptions that occurred did not have a strong influence on the lessons. The children were made aware of potential dangers (such as stumbling over the palmcorder's cable) and they were kept away from them. Lastly, an additional difficulty were some cases when I had to stop recording, for example, there were several occasions when outsiders came into the classroom: the head teacher giving information about a school's outing; the chairman of the parent's assembly making certain announcements; the most awkward moment was when a head teacher entered the room to severely reprimand a pupil – for nearly a quarter of an hour – in front of the whole class (see AP2.5b, p. 252). These moments however have been recorded in the field notes.

Written Material

Drama lessons involved writing in role, either during the class or after it. During each last session (p. 75) the children were asked to write a letter in role, in small groups or individually. These letters revealed useful data on their understanding of the project and their engagement; they were used as evidence in the analysis of each drama application. Additionally, written feedback (feedback slips) from each pupil at the end of the last session was requested in every application, out of role, in order to revise the lessons and evaluate

the children's understanding. The beginning of the sentence was written on the blackboard ('In the drama classes I liked...' and 'I didn't like...') and the class were asked to complete the sentences and justify their statements. The notes were anonymous and confidential. Also, one of the teachers (2nd application) used the project as an incentive for writing activities, and asked the class to write essays in role and so additional material was provided, allowing for more evidence on the pupils' engagement and interest (p. 150; AP2.39, p.260).

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Complying with University's standards[20], this research has respected the participants' right to confidentiality, has sought to abide by the regulations of the participant schools and treated teachers' and children's time with respect. As the Greek bureaucratic system is highly centralised, certain hindrances came up in terms of special permissions and getting in contact with gatekeepers, often being offered ways to go round these hindrances by officials as this is the norm in such cases. My initial decision to follow the rules in getting the necessary permission from the Ministry of Education to access the schools was challenged by officials' behaviour of arrogant authority wielding; unreasonable and excessive demands. I was faced once more with the bureaucratic mentality mentioned earlier (p. 18), with officials obeying the letter of the law and overlooking the promotion of research and the improvement of Greek education. Questions of ethics that emerged during this research are discussed explicitly further down in this section.

The subject of racism is extremely sensitive. It has already been mentioned that in Greek policies, this term is consciously avoided and considered a taboo word (p. 17; Tsiakalos, 2001). This was the reason why from the outset I was cautious about mentioning it when contacting schools: in order to prevent defensive behaviour from the staff as there are teachers adopting the 'no problem here' stance (Gaine, 1987) I used terms like 'relations', 'cohesion', 'conflicts' or 'aggressive behaviour', instead of 'racism'. I applied the same discreet attitude regarding terminology when contacting gatekeepers. There were some cases when I faced authority figures who wanted to have a say in my research, change it or moderate it for fear that it could cause turbulence and provoke tensions by or to minorities. However, my decision to choose a purposive sample got me round such difficulties, choosing co-operative schools and teachers as participants, willing to work on my original lesson plans. An analytic plan of my research was submitted for approval to the official research office for education, which manages and supervises the planning of all education material (Triandafillidou & Gropas, 2007) and is responsible for all official research conducted in Greek schools. The permission came after some months and further details were sorted out with each school's staff.

Time was used as economically as possible, respecting the participants' time pressures. Participants were reassured of the confidentiality of the information provided and anonymity. Children were asked for their oral consent to participate in the project, the

[20] Birmingham City University, Faculty of Education, 'Research Ethics Guidelines and Checklist' [signed in June 2008].

interviews and have their pictures taken, and were also given the right to withdraw at any point. For the sake of anonymity, no reference of the findings was made either to the teachers, head teachers or any other educational supervisor. Additionally, no names or areas are mentioned in any part of this thesis. Schools, teachers and pupils are numbered (boy A, girl D, etc.) and pseudonyms are used (see p. 78) in the data analysis. Some of the pictures and shots used throughout this volume have been edited for reasons of confidentiality as in some cases they were depicting children who had expressed racist beliefs. In other cases the expressions of the children are kept as evidence of their engagement. The age of the children prevented me from describing in overt terms the research to them but rather claimed I was researching 'school life'. Written parental consent was not needed since the research came within the usual activities of the school, with the consent of the head teachers (BCU, Research Ethics Guidelines Checklist). Moreover, two of the head teachers mentioned that some parents might be unreasonably upset and doubtful in the sight of a written notice asking for their consent, as this was not a common practice, and they were only used to signing notices about school excursions. However, during the applications there was not one recording of a parent's objection to the procedure. Given that parents are in a close collaboration with the teachers of each class and also that the children's reviews to them were frequent and full of excitement, every parent acknowledged my presence and the only comments that circulated where positive ones. In general, an effort has been made to secure the participants' wellbeing, working with responsibility (e.g. preventing any distress and anxiety, or acknowledging the workload of the participants) in order for them to carry on with their study. Accordingly, being ethical is not something that can be measured against a checklist of 'rights and wrongs' (Ferdinand et al., 2007), or 'a code that restrains innocuous research and creates barriers where none are necessary' (Punch, 1986: 80). Researchers should rely on common sense, treating the participants as 'collaborators' rather than as 'subjects', behaving towards them 'as we are expected to behave towards friends and acquaintances in our own daily lives' (Punch, *ibid.*).

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, issues pertaining to research methodology were presented. The aim of this research is to examine the effectiveness of drama on racist attitudes in young pupils. A combination of research methods was selected: action research and – prevailingly – multiple case study research. The research is divided into two stages, the preliminary research when the sample was defined, and subsequently the field work in the five schools selected, mainly according to the pupils' relations. The purpose of the research was explained and the different stages, their content and duration were outlined. An array of data collection tools was used and these were described thoroughly in this chapter. Ethical considerations were followed, securing the participants privacy and dignity. Validity and reliability of the findings were insured in different aspects of the data collection and analysis, in order to provide findings of the best quality possible given the restrictions of a social research. Subsequently, before entering the main part of this study, the following chapter will analyse the designing of the drama lessons, providing details on each session planned.

CHAPTER 4 LESSONS PLANNING

INTRODUCTION

This section will present the lesson plans of the sessions and their objectives, justify the choices made and provide visual material designed for and used in the drama. In Appendix A a tabulated plan can be found for the reader to refer to during the analysis of the sessions (Chapter 5). The drama was divided into five sessions of approximately 95 minutes, which occasionally were extended to 2 hours. Minor changes were applied during the lessons but the main framework in all applications (and the pilots unless otherwise stated) remained the same.

The drama is based on an original story about a village whose population are forced to leave their homes because of a devastating flood. The children empathise with refugees through three stages: a) building a common past and collective identity; b) enhancing it with activities in role; c) challenging it through immigration and experiences in the hosting country; d) evaluating the situation and drawing parallels with the real world. The drama focuses on establishing a collective identity through belief in common history and creating a communal perspective for the children which will later be denied to them by authorities. The main objective was to encourage identification and empathy (p. 41) with the victims through racist incidents devised by the pupils themselves. Through a final activity where a letter is published in the local paper defaming them based on suppositions, the pupils have the opportunity to explore the distinction between evidence and rumour in spreading information. A setting away from the children's experiences (in 'the old times') were chosen, in order to distance and protect the classes (see p. 42).

Process drama usually has a spontaneous and improvisational character, in order to give space to the participants' decision to form its final denouement (O'Neill, 1995; Bowell & Heap, 2001; Taylor & Warner, 2006; Fines & Verrier, 2012), but tighter drama was chosen here, planned in detail: I preferred the security of a concrete series of activities (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; Bolton, 1992a; Wagner, 1999) in order to handle the drama confidently. To aid the research, an unvarying and identical sequence of scenes and structure in all the applications was ensured, for the findings to be comparable. At the same time, I was conscious not to be manipulating, but to be alert for pupils' contributions, in order for them to have ownership of the drama (Fleming, 2003). A detailed description of the drama lessons follows. Comments were added concerning the educational objectives in each session whereas italicised text suggests indicative sentences used in the class.

SESSION A

Introduction to drama

As the classes were inexperienced in drama, an introduction to it was considered essential, in order to describe its main features, familiarise them with ground rules, disperse any

expectations they had for a performance (which was very common) and practice their 'drama eyes' with simple games.

We are going to do drama. This means that sometimes we will have to work as if we were other people... Sometimes during drama, we will have to see things that are not there, do you think you could do that?

Introduction to the time

Discussion about 'old times' followed, in order for the children to engage with the subject and time, and gather adequate information or exchange knowledge they already possessed (p. 46), for example differences in food, means of transport and power. Placing the story in the past was chosen lest technology would provide easy or magic solutions to our problems.

This story is an old one. It happened many years ago, back when there were no cars or big buildings, no internet or mobile phones.

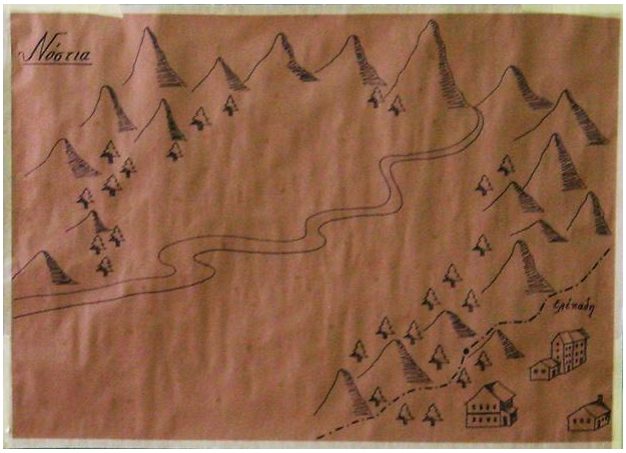
Creating the village map

In order to develop ownership of the drama, the class created the map of the village collectively. I presented an unfinished map of old-fashion style (Picture 1) and the pupils were asked to place the houses on it, working in groups.

I have here a map of the place where this village is sited. Actually, I'm the one who made this map, but let's agree that it is a really old map. What can you see on it?

The names used for the village (Nostia) and the hosting city (Elepadi) are reminiscent of the words 'longing' (in Greek: 'nostos') and 'hope' (in Greek: 'elpida') respectively. Mr. C[21] in the 1st application offered a different interpretation, relating the sound of the word 'Elepadi' with 'Greece' (in Greek: 'Ellada'). As the two towns were in different countries, initially the names of the countries were also mentioned. However, since Nostia had its own culture and tradition, their 'Nostian' capacity sufficed to establish their identity so the countries' names were soon omitted. At this point in the lesson, the neighbouring city and the borders were pointed out (Picture 1, lower right corner), for future use.

[21] For reasons of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis.



Picture 1 The unfinished map of Nostia

Each group was given a set of pictures to put on the map, justifying their choices. Each set contained one shop that the group were going to run. Once the group found it among the rest, they explained its form and products to the rest of the class and put up the sign of the shop (Picture 3). The shops were selected according to the standards of a traditional village economy and were finalised after the 2nd pilot (see 1st pilot p. 93, and 2nd pilot, p. 97 for details). They include:

- traditional café: in Greece these were the equivalent of an English pub, where mainly the men of a village would gather, acting also as a forum and a meeting room.
- grocery
- wood workshop: correlated with the village's history as the village was founded by woodcutters.
- bakery

Activities in the shops were suitable for both sexes, however 'easier' allocations that could be critiqued as reinforcing stereotypes were chosen in some cases, for example the 'bakery' and not the 'wood workshop' was allocated to a girls-only group (2nd application), in order to avoid complaints and time-consuming negotiations.

Picture 2 Laminated paper shapes of buildings. The café (in the middle) and the wood workshop (lower left corner).

Picture 3 Working in role at the café (the sign at the back, below the village's map)

Morning tasks

The children decided the composition of their families. There was a prerequisite of all children to be above 14, i.e. capable of working in a shop and being responsible. Subsequently, in order to establish their identity and build belief in their roles as shopkeepers, morning chores in each shop were practiced. Still images of the groups working on the morning tasks were set up. In some cases they enlivened them and thought tracking was applied.

Price lists

In order to build belief in their role as shopkeepers, from the 2nd pilot on (see p. 93), the writing activity of price lists was added (Picture 4). Acknowledging the anachronism, prices in Euros were asked to be put on the lists, in order also to introduce to the teachers the use of drama as a tool in teaching different subjects of the curriculum, e.g. numeracy.

Picture 4 Price list of a bakery group

SESSION B

The wooden chest

The 'teacher in role' technique was explained to the class. A hat distinguished my role as a teacher and that of the chairman of the village (Picture 5). The chairman called a meeting and introduced unfinished material to the class (Picture 6): the chest contained 25 axe pendants, old pictures (Appendix N) and a piece of paper with verses written on it, titled 'Sacred Anthem of Nostia' (Appendix E). The lines of the anthem were stressing important values of the community (such as thinking positive, not giving up, trust in their manual strength to survive) to help children build their identity.

(In role)*Yesterday, as I was cleaning my attic, I came across this chest. I'm sure I've seen it before, only in very old pictures, in the hands of my grandmas' mother, which is why I suppose it belonged to her.* (Taking the objects out of the box) *There are some old pictures in here, many of these pendants, and a paper with some verses. I think they all have something to do with our village, so I brought them to you to tell me your opinion...*

The objects were distributed to the groups and discussion followed. The class analysed the information given, combined the facts and made guesses. Co-operation was enhanced and a common past was constructed among the pupils.

Picture 5 The chairman shows the contents of the chest to the pupils in role as villagers

Picture 6 The old chest's contents (axe pendants, old pictures and the anthem of Nostia)

Encounter with the great-grandmother

Teacher in role as the great-grandmother (the owner of the chest) was introduced (a scarf was used to sign the change in role). The class had to prepare specific questions for the encounter.

In drama, we can do things that we cannot do in reality. For example, we can bring the chairman's great-grandmother into life and meet her in order to find out more about the chest...

A clear distinction between drama and reality was made as the scene could be seen as a resurrection – scary for young children. The presence of the great-grandmother aimed at forming a communal identity among the villagers, enhancing their roles. Through the children's questioning, the great-grandmother explained the content of the pictures, described the life of the village back in her days and referred to the history of it (the woodcutter founders). She explained the meaning of the axe, connected her story with the children's map (to utilise their decisions), referred to the active role of women in the community (to avoid sexism in the use of the axe) and described how she had hidden the chest before her sudden death – justifying why the axes were lost until now.

The ritual

A structured ritual with a certain movement routine was added after the 2nd pilot (see p. 93, Pictures 12 and 19). In a structured form, combining a simple tune and the verses of the anthem with a routine of simple movements, a ritual demonstrating with an economical sense the basic qualities of their community was added, to enhance the children's identity, and to bring a sense of 'fulfilment' and groupness (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; O'Neill, 1995: 147; Bolton & Heathcote, 1999: 131).

Once a year, before autumn, when the timber season began, we made new medallions for everybody that turned 14 years old. We wore them in a big ceremony where we were holding hands and sang together.

The great-grandmother described the ritual and the villagers copied her. They agreed and promised to her to keep the memory of the village alive. In some cases the ritual was performed also in other moments of the drama, perhaps to end a session, or in the end of the drama.

Thought tracking after the encounter

Thought tracking was applied to the children in their homes after the meeting with the great-grandmother, to explore their feelings on the community that was being established. Still images of activities before going to bed were set up and the villagers' last thoughts on the meeting with the great-grandmother before going to sleep were explored.

SESSION C

Narration of the flood

After creating the community's identity, the challenge of the flood came in. The class were asked to close their eyes as if they were asleep, and stay still to hear the narration. In some cases sound effects of wind and rain were used to increase concentration and the participants' commitment to drama (see p. 155).

That night… something terrible happened in the village... A big flood covered the whole village… They didn't expect anything, but that night, just when they had decided to celebrate their village's history, it was the last time they were going to see it… The rain started suddenly... At the beginning it was just a heavy rain. But it was extraordinarily heavy. It kept raining, and raining, and raining… Most of the people were asleep and didn't realise that the water started to get into their homes… And then, by midnight, the river flooded… It was tremendous... The water was coming in the village, rushing into the houses... Smashing doors and windows… The drains at the sides of the roads were unable to absorb the water… And the flow of the river was so violent… People were running in and out of their houses, screaming, calling for each other…

Forming three still images and bringing them into life

Living the flood moments allowed pupils to heighten their belief in a common past. In addition, in order to examine the contrast between the carefree thoughts and plans for their village before the rain and the desperation after the realisation of the disaster, a series of four still images were created, which were brought into life and in some cases thought tracking was applied.

- Before the rain
- When the heavy rain started
- When you realised the danger
- The most dangerous moment while you were trying to escape

Meeting

The chairman led a meeting after the flood, with the survivors. The class, exploring the alternatives, had to decide what would be their next step. After their decision to flee the country, the difficulties of the journey were also examined, as constrictions were posed to the pupils (no papers, not enough food, unknown path , etc.) in order to start empathising with a refugee fleeing his/her home.

A dangerous moment during their journey

To deepen the refugee's experience, a short scene of the most dangerous moment in their journey was presented. An additional activity which enhanced their roles and their common past, empathising with people dealing with difficulties while fleeing their country with no provisions. It also gave the opportunity to the children to ponder on the dangers of wondering in unknown places on their own.

Meeting the guard

The class met the border guard (a luminous vest was used to sign the role) through chosen representatives (see Picture 7) in order to examine political pressure and authorities' power as institutional racism is a core subject in anti-racist education (see p. 28). A short meeting was called before that, in order for the pupils to prepare their arguments and reason their request. After the dialogue, the guard's bottom-line was the same in all cases:

I execute orders. I cannot let anybody pass with no papers. You must wait in an old abandoned warehouse and wait for the Minister's permission. Until we have his decision and as long as you are in our country without papers, you should all wear the yellow collars that I'll give you at all times. It's obligatory. Nothing else should be around your neck. And if you're caught without it, it's either jail or back to your country.

Picture 7 Talking to the guard

The yellow collars (Picture 8) were chosen as a prop referring to slavery in the USA in the 19th century when blacks carried identity tags, and to Jews during the Second World War. The children in role as survivors discussed the guard's suggestion and agreed to put on the

collars. The children pondered upon priorities: between their history (taking off the pendants) and their survival (by wearing the invidious collars). This activity usually continued in the beginning of the following session.

Picture 8 The yellow collar for foreigners

SESSION D

The warehouse

The children were asked to create the setting of the warehouse in their imagination and enter in turns, articulating their thoughts in role, thus deepening their experience and exploring their feelings, aiming at experiencing feelings of insecurity, longing, fear and empathy with people in refugees' camps with deplorable conditions (see empathy as an objective of the project, p. 41).

We were forced to step into this abandoned warehouse. How do you imagine this place to be? Let's go inside and find a place to settle down. What do you think of this situation?...

Meeting

As narrator, I announced that they were finally accepted in the newcountry and that a new meeting was called by the chairman, a few months after their entrance, presenting some problems that have come up.

(In role as the chairman) We have now settled down a bit but many of you told me you are facing problems in this town… It seems as though the townspeople do not want us here... So I called this meeting for you to let me know about your problems… What happened? Could you show me?

Scenes of racist incidents

The children turned their ideas into short scenes, devising scenarios of mistreatment. Conflicts were managed in role, and contrasts between locals and immigrants were explored. Greek children were given an opportunity to empathise with newcomers facing social injustice and reflect on their feelings; also, both Greek and immigrant children brought their real-life experiences in the classroom (see experiential learning, p. 46).

SESSION E

Meeting – The letter in the newspaper

The chairman introduced an anonymous, libellous letter (Appendix O) published in the local paper, where Nostians were claimed to be thieves and dangerous for Elepadi. Reading in groups and a meeting followed, examining defamation and believing in rumours.

Writing in role – The finale

In order to touch the issue of power and institutional racism (see anti-racist education, p. 28) the class were led to the decision of writing a letter to the city's mayor as an answer to the defaming letter; also an opportunity for writing skills in context to be developed and feelings to be explored and articulated.

I chose not to provide an easy solution where the mayor would consent to the children's pleads, not to give a 'happy ending' and indulge the participants, but rather leave them with a sense of dissatisfaction, in order to provoke further contemplation on the issue of immigrants and their treatment in a foreign country, institutional racism and power (see also O'Neill, 1995; 16; Kitson & Spiby, 1997: 80).

But the mayor never came back to them. Each time they tried to contact him in his office, they were told that he was busy, or absent… And this is how our drama ends…

There was a dilemma in deciding upon the drama's ending, for fear that an end that does not involve a catharsis could discourage children (i.e. we tried to be heard but in vain), demoralising them and so preventing them from any activism. However, I decided it was more important, as will be seen in the applications, for the mayor's indifference to leave the children with strong feelings of injustice. Both Brecht and Boal believed that catharsis immobilises the audience. Brecht called the audience to work for themselves, remain critical and become conscious as a spectator (O'Neill, 1995: 119). In the same vein of a catharsis denial and resisting theatrical seduction to achieve a social conscience, Bond (1990) advises the audience to 'Leave the theatre hungry/For change' (Bond, 1990).

During the planning of the lessons the features mentioned in the literature review were utilised, both concerning drama features (pp. 41-49) and intercultural education (pp. 30-36). Having presented the structure of the lessons in detail, the chapter of the data analysis and findings will follow.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the findings of the preliminary and the main research. The former's aim was to investigate the preconceptions of the participants and select the sample for the field research (see p. 56, 'Outline of the research'). The designing, implementation and findings of the preliminary research are presented in the first section of this chapter. Subsequently, two pilots were applied; the alterations they generated are discussed in this chapter. As much value as these pilots were for the progress of my study and the changes they dictated on drama practice, they also evoked strong points on ethnic relations between the pupils and this is why they hold a dual role in this study: they both taught me lessons and at the same time offered evidence to the main research. Hence, apart from their guiding lessons, some interesting cases and moments are also analysed, along with errors for a newcomer in the field of drama and alternative handling of key moments. After the pilots, the main applications analysis involves the examination of critical incidents, combined and enriched with elements from pre- and post-drama interviews and observation. The succession of applications was extremely educative as small or bigger amendments took place after and during each one according to my action research scheme (see Table 4, p. 57), rendering me a student and a teacher at the same time. As this is a combination of action research and case study research, the former allows me to improve my teaching techniques whereas the latter reveals interesting points on ethnicity matters among Greek and non-Greek children. The key moments in each session will be discussed and analysed in terms of both drama practice and racist behaviour. An extra section titled 'drama practice' exists in every application, to discuss issues pertaining to drama teaching. Concerning my main work, it is my intention to show that the higher engagement the children had in the drama, the more likely they were to have a deep understanding, empathise with refugees, make connections with real life situations and their experiences and create ground for new insights on racism.

Thematic categories

The analysis of the applications is based on the research questions examined earlier (see p. 55). The efficacy of drama will be assessed according to the engagement of the pupils, based on the taxonomy by Morgan & Saxton (1989): Interest – Engaging – Committing – Internalising – Interpreting – Evaluating. Consequently, each application will be examined taking the following themes into consideration, as presented at Table 6. They are divided according to the time they occur (before, during and after the drama lesson), firstly the main and the subcategories of each follow, e.g. 'the setting', with subcategories 'statistics' and 'composition of the class'. In many cases these overlap, so often in the analysis section they are described and analysed together (as with 'Engagement and empathy'). The emergent themes are also included here, generated as categories by the applications.

BEFORE DRAMA LESSONS					
The setting		**The children**		**The teacher – The staff**	
(Statistics, composition of the class)		(Social health, views on immigrants)		(Teaching methods, views on immigrants, dealing with racism)	
DURING DRAMA LESSONS					
Views on immigrants - Racism	**Engagement with the drama**	**Connections with the real world**	**Practising social skills**	**Empowering immigrants**	**Using life experience and knowledge**
The teacher, the children	Empathy, Emotional experience	Understanding	Co-operation, Team work	Self-confidence, Participation	Utilise their knowledge
AFTER DRAMA LESSONS					
Views on the drama project	**Views on immigrants - Racism**	**Empowering immigrants**	**Engagement**	**Connections with the real world**	**Incongruity and Change**
The teacher, the children	Morality Empathy	Self-confidence, Participation	Empathy, emotional experience	Understanding	Changes in their views
EMERGENT THEMES					
Social class Racism revealed after the project Media and parents influence					

Table 6 Thematic categories

Transcription key and symbols

During the analysis, extracts from the original transcripts were translated and cited. Table 7 shows the main transcription symbols used and their meanings.

Symbol	Meaning
(F)	Foreign pupil, e.g. Girl V(F). Non-Greek pupils are marked with an (F) next to the letter used as a pseudonym. This includes a) children of two immigrant parents, born abroad b) children of one immigrant and one Greek parent, born abroad c) children born in Greece of two immigrant parents and d) children born in Greece of one immigrant and one Greek parent.
R	Researcher
R/TiR	Researcher applying Teacher in role strategy.
italicised text	Emphasised speech or raised voice, e.g. 'Her family *wants* to stay in Greece.'
(*italicised text in brackets)*	Background information or description, e.g. 'R/TiR: (*as the great-grandmother*) Good morning!'
[text in square brackets]	Paraphrased speech for sake of clarity, e.g. '[I liked it] when we were in role.'
…	Pause. Longer pauses are indicated in brackets (i.e. (pause)).
–	A cut-off or self-interruption.
(…)	Original text that has been edited out.
[xxx]	Statement not clear enough to be transcribed.
Xx	Speaker not identified.

Table 7 Transcription key

The names of the participants in each application were replaced with letters for reasons of anonymity, indicating also the sex of the pupil, for example Girl M, Boy B. When 'girl' or 'boy' are spelled with a capital letter, they indicate names. Teachers are referred to as Ms. A, Mr. B, Mr. C, Ms. D and Ms. E. Regarding the pupils addressing each other during drama, I decided to use a title before their name when they are in role, to point out the fact they are not speaking as pupils, so 'Boy L' in role becomes 'Mr. L'.

The extracts presented in the applications can be found in the appendices in a more complete form. When the extract is presented in full in the main text, there will not be a reference to the appendix but rather the date in the field notes or a specific part of the applications transcript (e.g. Session D, Disk 1, 07.25) will be stated.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Introduction

This part of the chapter reports on the process of choosing the schools for the research. It follows a chronological order: a description of the questionnaires distributed in the schools, sample selection criteria and the findings, concerning mostly teachers' attitudes which were revealed from both informal discussions and the questionnaires. The main objective in this stage was to define the sample by investigating potential racist attitudes in pupils' relations. Deciding the schools and classes that would participate in the project was a prerequisite. Secondly, I was aiming to explore the teachers' views towards racism and their immigrant pupils as a decisive factor in the final pupils' attitude (see research questions, p. 55).

Description

The preliminary research took place one year before the drama project applications. In total, I visited personally 57 schools in three districts. For reasons of confidentiality, these will be named district 1, 2 and 3 (see Table 8). My journey started in district 1 (see table below), a town of 15,000 citizens where I had already spotted some racial incidents in the schools I had been working at in the previous years. My visits included many hours of traveling in big but also small and remote villages to discuss with the teachers the issue of racial prejudices and promote my project. Unfortunately the staff did not show enough interest and the number of the children was limited in this district (see below, 'Sample selection criteria', p. 81) so I moved on to district 2 (an urban area) and district 3 (another rural area), approaching mainly schools where I already had some contacts. District 3 – which was finally chosen for the project – is a coastal district, next to a big urban centre, and is characterised by increased immigration. According to Kotzamanis et al. (2008) the concentration of immigrants in such coastal areas is significant (almost 80% of immigrants reside in such areas).

District	Schools visited	Schools interested	Questionnaires completed
District 1 (rural)	35	11	41
District 2 (urban)	14	8	22
District 3 (rural)	8	8	30
Total	**57**	**27**	**93**

Table 8 General statistics

My initial visits consisted of a brief contact and discussion with the staff. During this first encounter information about the project and the lessons was given to the schools in detail for them to express their willingness or not to take part in the research. The sought age

range and class was Year 1 (six- to seven-year-olds), which the following year – when the drama lessons would take place – would be Year 2 (seven- to eight-year-olds). The head teacher of the school and the teacher of the age group I was interested in were primarily contacted. After their interest was expressed, questionnaires were distributed to them and also to any member of staff who was willing to contribute by providing evidence and describing the pupils' intercultural relations in the school.

Questionnaires

The questionnaires (Appendix B) that were distributed to the teachers explored briefly the type and the frequency of the conflicts between the students. Its objectives were a) to identify frequencies of racial and non-racial conflicts inside schools, b) to identify frequencies of racial and non-racial conflicts in Year 1 classes and c) to acquire information about the composition of the school, proportion of immigrants and countries of origin. The first two objectives were sought by questions based on the list of acknowledged racist behaviours both physical and verbal. According to that classification, racism in the social environment of the school ranges from refusal to co-operate to physical assault and bullying towards minorities (see list on p. 27). The teachers were asked to assess and measure the attitudes of the children in their own class and those of the entire school. Regarding the last objective, apart for the obvious reason of statistics, the composition in each class could serve another purpose. Since the planning of the drama lessons was not completed before the questionnaires' distribution, taking into consideration the existing ethnicities in each participating class when planning the lessons, could avoid any stigmatisation or identification of the immigrant pupils with characters of the drama, in case the roles were of a particular ethnicity. The questionnaires were piloted informally among five teachers who provided useful feedback, and minor changes for more clarity (layout, font, vocabulary) were made before being given out.

Distributing the questionnaires personally in all 27 schools (Table 8, p. 79) that were interested in the project bestowed significant advantages. Firstly, personal contact with staff of every school enabled me to detect positive attitudes towards the research which was one of the criteria for the school selection (see the section below, p. 81). I also had the opportunity of informal discussions with both the head teachers and teachers of Year 1 and thus form a basic view of the situation in each school. The most important comments mentioned during these encounters were logged and consisted of a further factor in the selection of the sample. Additionally, in some cases I had the opportunity to be present during the completion of the questionnaires by the teachers. The fact that some teachers were sharing their thoughts during the completion was an opportunity to track their beliefs and ideas on the subject, not by commenting on it and thus endangering the validity of their answers, but rather recording them. In addition, I was constantly alert to the fact that the sensitive and taboo character of the issue may lead many teachers to deliberately falsify their replies (see 'No problem here', p. 86) and distort the reality purposefully or even unconsciously, painting a falsely positive picture of the situation (Cohen et al., 2007). Furthermore, having a personal presence in schools required me to travel extensively, visiting every school at least once, but sometimes even three or four times in order to collect

back every single questionnaire, something that extended the time frame for data collection. An additional hindrance was the particular time of the distribution: it took place at the end of the school year, when headteachers were extremely busy and the schedule in each school was hectic (preparing for end of school year celebrations or marking) which rendered it difficult for some of them to make time to help.

Sample selection criteria

After the analysis of the questionnaires, five classes of district 3 were finally selected, based on the following criteria:

Adequate number of students

In some cases very small schools were excluded despite the conflicts detected in them. As those schools were located in isolated areas they operated multi-grade classes, so the number of Year 1 pupils was limited, to less than five pupils. Including such schools would require adjusting the lessons to a multi-age class (six- to twelve-year-olds), resulting in a heterogeneous sample of both multi-age and ordinary classes. This would result in planning and applying different lessons for different school capacities, the resulting data of which would be difficult to compare and analyse.

Eagerness of the school's staff

Positive attitude on behalf of both the head teacher of the school and the teacher in Year 1 was sought, so as to ensure an adequate level of collaboration with the school's staff. Personal interest towards the conducted survey ensured more reliable and accurate results, and valuable help.

Detected racial incidents

According to the teachers' testimonies and the experience each one had with their Year 1 class, the most interesting cases of racism indications were selected, either based on the questionnaire's answers or on anecdotal incidents described by the teacher of the class. The teachers were sharing individual examples that they had registered in their classes, like a characteristic case of a boy who last year, while talking about Easter, gave a different story of Jesus' crucifixion demonstrating an example of existing prejudice.

> Do you know how Jesus was crucified? There was an Albanian called Judas… (Boy quoted by Year 1 teacher. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008.)

Racist comments like the above which were mentioned during the informal conversations revealing interesting cases of pupils' views and beliefs, were recorded and contributed a further factor in the selection of the sample. It must also be stressed that classes with serious incidents of violence, when these were reported (for example, those involving pupils attended by specialists), were excluded from the project as they would require professional advice and specialised treatment during the lessons.

Adequate number of immigrants

Schools with a similar number of immigrants were selected to aid comparison. The four schools selected all had a non-Greek population of about 25% (Table 9). This number is not necessarily related to the level of conflicts raised in the school since there were cases where the two factors did not coincide (there are cases of schools with a large non-Greek proportion of children but limited interracial conflicts). Moreover, since the project's aim was primarily the attitude of Greek students it could potentially be applied to all-Greek classes. However, the existence of immigrant pupils rendered it easier to detect Greeks' racist attitudes and also the ability to record potential changes in their attitude since the object of their prejudice would be constantly present. The majority of the immigrants in the schools selected were Albanians (Table 10), with Eastern Europeans following, which rendered the sample (regarding its foreign members) homogenous in culture.

Selected school	Non-Greek pupils
School A (1st pilot)	24%
School B (2nd pilot & 3rd application)	26%
School C (1st application)	26%
School D (2nd application)	25%

Table 9 Immigrant population in selected schools

	Class capacity	Albanians	Bulgarians	Russians	Armenians	Georgians	Macedonians (FYROM[22])	Other
1st Pilot	22	4						
2nd Pilot	23	8						
1st Application	23	7		1				1 (Italian)
2nd Application	22	3		1		4		
3rd Application	23	1	3	1	1		3	

Table 10 Ethnicities in the selected classes

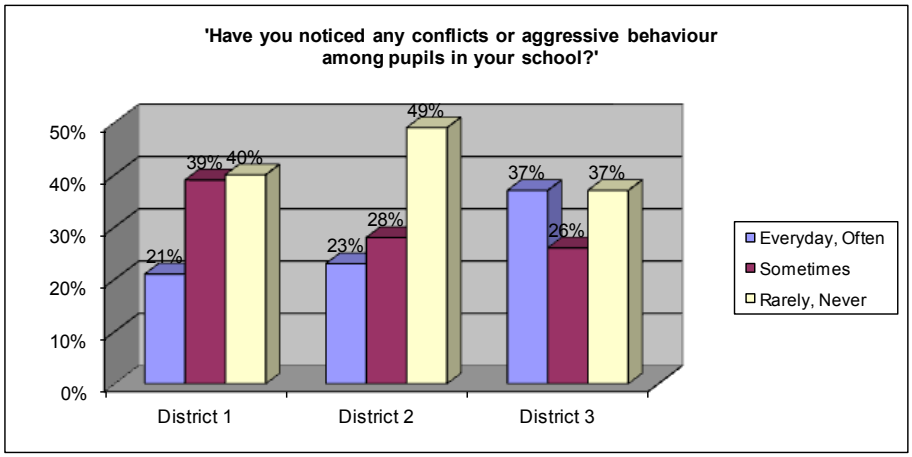
Findings

Discussing the data collected from the preliminary research, interesting comparisons emerged between the participant districts, and points like the range of the sample and discordance detected in the subjects' answers will be discussed below. Also various stereotypes, comparisons and explanations of racist attitudes were expressed in the views that are presented here, which indicate the teachers' perceptions and beliefs towards non-Greek students. Tables with the main findings can be accessed in Appendix I (General Findings, and Conflict frequencies as were recorded in the questionnaires).

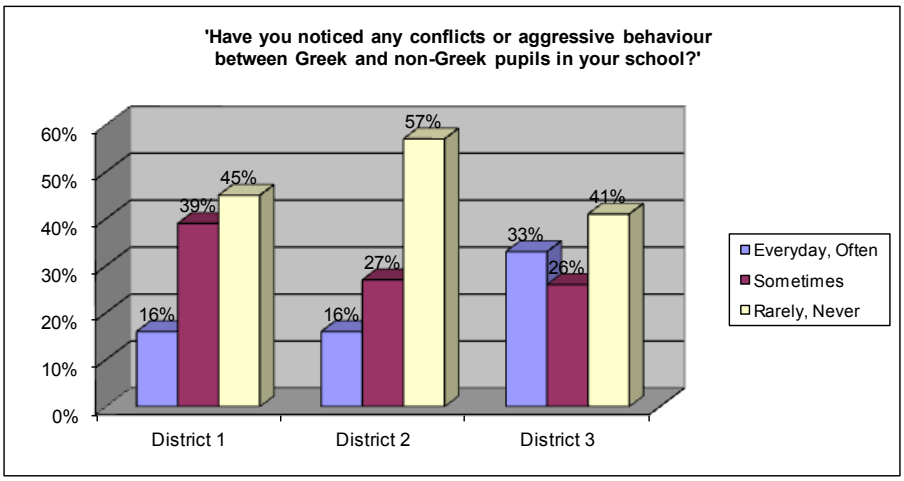
[22]Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (see also p. 14, footnote).

Schools of rural areas displayed more conflicts

After the analysis of the questionnaires and comparing the three districts, it was obvious that rural areas (i.e. districts 1 and 3) displayed a larger proportion of teachers claiming conflicts in their schools compared to urban district 2 (Graphs 3 and 4). Studies have shown (Damanakis, 1989b, see also p. 59) it is often noticed that immigrants in rural areas are further marginalised, compared with urban ones. The answers to the questions regarding 'conflicts among pupils' in general and 'conflicts between Greek and foreign pupils' are presented below (Graphs 3 and 4), regarding the three districts. Schools in district 2 had the lower ratio of conflicts as they had the highest proportion of negative answers in both questions: 49% and 57% respectively. Although a high 'sometimes' percentage was detected in district 1 (39%), the proportion of reported 'everyday' conflicts in district 3 was too high to be ignored. Consequently it was district 3 that was finally selected, as it seemed to be the most problematic of the three areas explored: 37% of the teachers stated that they have noticed conflicts between pupils on an 'everyday' and 'often' basis and 26% of them 'sometimes' (Graph 3). At the second graph where the conflicts refer to Greek and foreigners, the teachers' answers were 33% and 26% respectively, compared to 16% 'everyday' conflicts in the other two districts.



Graph 3 Conflicts among pupils distribution



Graph 4 Conflicts between Greeks and non-Greeks distribution

District 1 was found reticent to participate

An obvious difference was noted in the attitudes towards the research during the first contact in each school. Teachers in districts 2 and 3 seemed to be more positive and co-operative, compared with teachers in district 1 who were restrained, conservative and afraid of an outsider's look inside their school/classroom (see Appendix I, General Findings, 'Staff Eagerness', 'No problem here', 'Comments'). As was shown on Table 8 (p. 79), in district 1, 11 out of 35 schools were interested in the project, whereas in districts 2 and 3, the number of schools interested was 8 out of 14 and 8 out of 8 respectively. In district 1, teachers seemed restrained in having a researcher in the classroom although they were not unfamiliar with such projects given that a local university's Faculty of Education collaborated with some of them on a regular basis. They were also highly bureaucratic as they were afraid to take any initiative before contacting the local LEA (i.e. people they knew personally) even when they were told that the higher educational authority had given its permission. The local officer had a more intimate relationship with them compared with the official state's institute (Pedagogical Institute).

> What is Pedagogical Institute? Here what counts is the word of our local LEA officer. (Head teacher. Preliminary research, School comments, 9-4-2008).

When I approached the local LEA officer, his explanation for the reluctance of the teachers towards research was that in the recent years they were so frequent in schools of the area that teachers were tired of researchers going into their classes (Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2008). However, this was not the case in district 2 where the schools were participating more often in educational researches but were happy to host mine also. Frequent research was not a hindrance there, but rather the staff saw it as an opportunity to enrich their teaching (Preliminary research, School comments, 16-5-2008). My belief is that the stimuli and experience of a school's staff in a large urban area such as district 2 are by far richer than that in an isolated rural one as district 1. District 3 however, although a rural one, is not considered to be far from an urban area and thus could be more positively influenced by the big city and its stimuli which allowed the staff to be more receptive and open towards new methods and ideas.

Contrast between teachers' oral and written statements

In some schools, especially in district 1 where the reticence by some educators was obvious, there was a significant discordance between the attitude of the teachers in oral conversation and the facts they were noting in the questionnaires (see Appendix I, General Findings, 'Racial Incidents' (orally/written)). Namely, there was a case of a head teacher who was more than eager to participate in the project, stating to me in an informal discussion that cases of racism were present and that such beliefs are generated by parental influence (Preliminary research, School comments, 9-4-2008). This was backed up by two of the school teachers. However, although the situation was described to me as serious, when it came to putting down some facts and measurements on paper, the frequencies were among the least severe. This denial of teachers in acknowledging not only publicly the problem of

racism but sometimes even their own preconceptions is elaborated below ('No problem here', p. 86).

Wide range of teachers

Unfortunately, it cannot be argued that Greek teachers maintain a certain degree of respect in their attitude towards multiculturalism. During the distribution a wide range of teachers were contacted and their approaches varied significantly (See Appendix I, General findings, 'Types of teachers'). The educators ranged from authoritative cases, those who expressed comments showing discontent with the presence of immigrants, to ardent exponents of intercultural education who were constantly implementing new projects in their classrooms. In fact, sometimes two completely opposite tendencies in the same school could be found. I can recall two Year 1 teachers in the same school; one of them considered immigrant pupils as a burden stating 'Yes, unfortunately, we do have many immigrant children here' (Year 1 teacher. Preliminary research, School comments, 4-6-2008), while the other teacher seemed to be more up to date on issues of intercultural education and child psychology, having an elaborate vocabulary quoting educational studies. Being a teacher of a multicultural classroom where 58% of the pupils were of a non-Greek origin, its walls were full of the products of intercultural projects (Preliminary research, School comments, 4-6-2008).

'Hostility is an everyday routine'

Despite the contrast in some teachers' statements mentioned earlier, an extensive frequency of conflicts inside schools was registered. Hostility was an everyday routine for teachers (See Appendix I, General Findings, 'Hostility is common'). Either concerning foreigners or between pupils of the same origin; either in old or young children; light or more severe cases were taking place inside and outside class, nearly every day.

> If I tell you everything about it [the conflicts][23], you'll be horrified. (Year 4 teacher, district 1. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2008).

> Conflicts? Oh, plenty. As many conflicts as you like here... (Year 1 teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 7-5-2008).

Nevertheless, even though situations like this were considered an everyday routine or rather for this very reason, teachers in some cases belittled the importance of racist incidents ascribing it to the young age of their pupils, not acknowledging them as such (see following section, p. 86, 'Too young to be prejudiced'). The denial of racism in the educational context was extensively explored by Chris Gaine (1987) in his book 'No problem here'.

[23] Words in brackets indicate my intervention in the text for better clarification of the quote. For a key on transcriptions see p. 77.

'No problem here'

The extensive presence of conflicts and racial incidents were difficult to detect, as many teachers did not consider every one of them important. The sensitivity of the subject renders it difficult for teachers to reveal and admit incidents inside their school or classroom, since this might expose deficiencies in their teaching methods or the school's policies (See Appendix I, General Findings, 'No problem here'). This notion is prevalent among school communities and Gaine (1987) had spotted this belief many years ago. According to him, the cause is a combination of four reasons. I will try to present these briefly providing examples from my work.

i. The first reason Gaine claims to explain teachers' denial, is that they do not realise their own preconceptions about race, resulting to distorted interpretation of their students' statements. They regard their pupils' attitudes as 'simply part of the background noise; they do not register' (Gaine, 1987: 11). Accordingly, some of the teachers who were approached for this project accepted children's racial comments as an everyday routine. They do not consider name-calling serious enough to bother with, as long as they are not seriously violent. The quote below is indicative of this dismissal:

> No, there is no problem here. Only perhaps when a child says to the other 'you're an Albanian' and the other starts crying. They're not aggressive; no they're not. (Year 3 teacher, district 1. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2009).

ii. Teachers avoid raising controversial, difficult and sensitive issues, for fear that to do so would exacerbate class relations. Such claims were registered by teachers expressing their concerns that such a project could trigger turbulence in the school and between pupils.

> I wonder if such a project will evoke tension instead of cooling it… (Year 3 teacher, district 1. Preliminary research, School comments, 14-4-2008).

In this particular school there was a brief discussion in the staff room where some teachers claimed that concealed attitudes might be revealed, or foreign pupils would be encouraged to respond to situations of oppression that until then were not reported or considered as such. There was the belief that issues such as this are better left untouched lest they stir the school's population (Preliminary research, School comments, 14-4-2008). Antiracist education has been criticised for this very reason: Mansfield and Kehoe (1994) refer to views claiming that antiracist activity that emphasises race or cultural diversities in school may unintentionally exacerbate the problem rather than ameliorate it by polarising people and stigmatising minority pupils (p. 834). Concealing prejudices is not only hypocritical from the part of the school but also dangerous. Bigotry and prejudices are the first step towards racism; if racism is not challenged at an early age, if misconceptions are not clarified in time, the beliefs will be easily rooted in young children's minds (see p. 34).

iii. According to Gaine, teachers may not recognise racism as such, because they are indeed not aware of racist incidents. This may apply mostly to secondary education when teachers confine their activities strictly to the classroom and the syllabus. He alleges that 'the

important things happen *between lessons* in real schools, and we teachers are seldom privy to this world' (Gaine, 1987: 11), [my emphasis].

iv. Teachers often point out the apparent 'integration' of a few minority pupils as indication that there is 'no problem' in their classrooms (see also Gkantartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Positive feelings about 'brilliant foreign children' were expressed during the conversations. Statements like the following were abundant.

> She is a very good student; she does not give us any trouble. (Head teacher, district 1. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2008).

Although intended to be benign, such statements declare the certainty that the culprit is likely to be the foreigner and that these good examples are only exceptions that prove the rule.

> (*Talking about a non-Greek pupil*) He doesn't cause any problem; he's even quieter than *our own* children. (Year 1 teacher, district 1), Preliminary Research, School comments, 8-4-2008), [my emphasis].

The above sentence shows also the flagrant segregation between 'our' children, the Greek, and 'them', the others (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), personal pronouns that were used widely by the respondents although in most of the cases they were not indicative of hostility towards the latter; the teachers were casually adopting the prevalent vocabulary, not thinking about implications. It is also worth mentioning that the above statements were answers to questions concerning 'conflicts among Greek and immigrant children', i.e. they were not referring exclusively to non-Greeks. However it is indicative of the deeply rooted prejudice that most of the teachers referred without hesitation to the latter, commenting on *their* behaviour, arbitrarily presuming that my concern was to deal with them, the usual suspects.

'Children are too young to be prejudiced'

During the preliminary contact, many teachers referred to the age of the children (see also literature review, p. 34) as a factor influencing the exclusion of foreign students and the display of racist attitudes (see Appendix I, General Findings, 'Children are too young'). They claimed that during the last grades of primary school, pupils tend to get more provocative towards their immigrant classmates whereas when younger pupils do not display such an attitude, giving however exactly the opposite examples:

> Yes, they do [treat minorities badly]. *But they are kids*… 'Miss, he called me a gyppo'. You know. (Year 1 teacher, district 1, Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2008) (my emphasis).

Cultural identity is being formed and developed from an early stage in the child's life and racism can occur even in the nursery school. Consequently the problem should be tackled in a primary stage, when the child's value system is still forming (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992;

Mitilis, 1998; Milesi, 2006). Milesi backs this up by arguing that children in the nursery school are more receptive to anti-racist teaching and learning against prejudice because they 'seem untouched by prejudices and fears; they are engaged in development, learning, and the new pleasures obtained from their first beyond-family interactions' (Milesi, 2006: 212).

Racism has been left behind

There were teachers who recalled that some years ago, during the first wave of immigration, racist incidents were more common inside schools (See Appendix I, General Findings, 'Racism has been left behind'). Their explanation was that in those first days immigrants were at a lower social level and therefore could be distinguished among the Greek children and be ostracised, mostly because of them being poorly dressed.

> Five years ago, we had problems. But now, 90% of the children are born here [in Greece]. They don't stand out. (Head teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 21-5-2008).

'Stand out' was an expression widely used by the respondents, indicative of a widely spread assimilative (see p. 28) notion according to which complete conformity to the Greek customs and way of living by the immigrants is considered to be positive and render their immigrant capacity invisible. Additionally, the religious element of being baptised was, in many cases, an indication of willingness of the parents to help their child to be adopted into the new environment (see p. 20 on the demand of homogeneity by the locals).

> Whereas during the first years it was difficult, now the children are integrated. Some of them are also baptised; their mothers don't want them to stand out. They even take part in religious celebrations, etc. along with the rest of the [Greek] mothers (Head teacher, district 2. Preliminary research, School comments, 16-5-2008).

> These ones are born here. So they don't stand out (Year 4 teacher, district 1. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-4-2008).

This shows clearly the attitude of the Greek society towards immigrants: they have a chance of being accepted, but only if they adopt the prevailing customs. And it is disappointing that these beliefs were expressed (instead of being challenged) by a headteacher (see above quote). The use of the demonstrative pronoun 'these ones' in order to refer to the non-Greek children, compounds the degrading attitude of the second teacher.

Language command as a factor of inclusion

Furthermore, in accordance with academic studies (Milesi, 2006; Mitilis, 1998), many teachers raised the point that in terms of the children that were newly arrived, their poor command of the Greek language was the main reason why they were isolated by their Greek classmates, thus the importance of the children's attendance to the Greek nursery school was stressed (See Appendix I, General Findings, 'Language as a factor of inclusion').

> He is aggressive because he doesn't know the language. (Year 1 teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008).

> The ones that are coming from the [Greek] nursery have no problem with the language and, by extension, with integrating. (Year 2 teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008).

> There is significant difference between children who attended nursery school and those who were born in Albania, i.e. they don't know the language (Year 1 teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 27-5-2008).

Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou (2011) in their research made it clear that Greek teachers aim for a linguistic homogeneity 'perceiving children's bilingualism as an obstacle to second language learning and academic progress but also as a deficit that hinders the children's full inclusion to the school community, threatening the school's unity and coherence' (p. 597); they 'promote the school ideology of "equality for all", which reinforces sameness as a prerequisite for success' (p. 598) following the notion of colour blindness as was described in the literature review (p. 35). It should be stressed that apart from the lack of fluency and possibly their poor appearance, pupils from Balkan countries have not any other apparent difference to their classmates. Unlike many black or Roma pupils whose skin colour differentiates them from their Greek peers, poor command of the Greek language is probably the main, if not the only, distinctive characteristic of Albanian and Eastern European pupils who were the majority of the immigrants in my study. Correspondingly, there was a correlation between immigrants' attainment and inclusion by their peers. Some teachers mentioned pupil's low achievement level as an agent for exclusion.

> When the achievement is low, they exclude him/her (Year 1 teacher, district 2. Preliminary research, School comments, 28-5-2008).

> We don't have many conflicts. But when we do, it's usually towards the low achievers (Year 1 teacher, district 3. Preliminary research, School comments, 27-5-2008).

Immigrant children with low performance are more likely to be marginalised than their compatriots who display a higher level of achievement in the classroom. Pupils belonging to a minority group who are spruce, clever or attractive draw more positive comments from their Greek classmates, than aggressive, anti-social or poorly dressed ones (Mitilis, 1998). Similarly, 'any of the students that excel at school's subjects is integrated without effort in the prevalent group' (Milesi, 2006: 329-330). This correlation was evident in the last application, where an Albanian girl was among the best achieving pupils of her class (see p. 159). The girl's social background was of a high standard since both her parents were graduates of higher education, and the girl had earned a place among the popular pupils.

Immigrants' social status as a factor of inclusion

Similarly, the cultural and social status of the parents as a factor of inclusion was mentioned in two schools sited in a high social status neighbourhood (see Appendix I, General findings,

'Social status as a factor of inclusion'), where the parents of the foreign pupils worked mostly as embassy staff. Incidents of racism and prejudice are fewer in such settings. One of the head teachers who was asked about conflicts involving immigrant children correlated their behaviour with their socioeconomic status.

> There *are* immigrant children in the school, but they are from a different background. Ambassadors' children and so on; of high social status (Head teacher, district 2. Preliminary research, School comments, 19-5-2008).

The head teacher was expressing, as seen before, the belief that the norm is that immigrant pupils are the ones who cause trouble, especially when they come from an economically or educationally deprived family background.

There is also a link, however, between family status and the *expression* of prejudice, and studies have related the low educational background of the parents with xenophobic attitudes: 'Pupils whose parents are highly educated are characteristically more receptive to 'others' than children with parents of elementary education' (UNICEF, 2001). In regards to the above study, the head teacher of a different school sited in a wealthy area was more than clear about the attitude of Greek children in his school when in an honest tone he declared:

> The children here are of a high social status, with a certain culture; they do not express such prejudices. (Head teacher, district 2. Preliminary research, School comments, 6-6-2008).

'It's them who are prejudiced'

There was also an example of one teacher who claimed openly that foreign students are prejudiced against their Greek classmates (see Appendix I, General findings, 'A chip on their shoulder').

> They go around with a chip on their shoulder looking forward to an argument, looking for provocation by the Greek ones. (Year 1 teacher, district 2. Preliminary research, School comments, 14-5-2008).

To go back in the beginning of this thesis (p. 9), the Albanian boy who was being harassed was often accused by his teachers of being prejudiced himself. This perception is recorded as a common stereotype in the literature: 'The experience of racial harassment may lead to behaviour that can be perceived as aggressive, insular, self-centred, and ultimately fulfil the stereotype of having a "chip on the shoulder". This may result in a self-perpetuating cycle reinforcing isolation and the fulfilment of racist stereotypes' (ARTEN, 2002: 37). Such an attitude may also be a result of previous experiences, since the racist incidents are plenty in those pupils' lives.

Conclusions

In this section the planning and findings of the preliminary research (see Appendix I) were presented. Although the main aim of this first stage was to select the participant schools for the drama applications, the above data enable the reader to take a glimpse at the situation inside Greek school regarding pupils' relations and how these are perceived by their teachers. According to the findings above, even though hostility is a widespread feature of school routine (p. 85), many teachers deny its existence (p. 86), considering the children too young to be prejudiced (p. 87) and racism an issue that has been left behind (p. 88). Assimilation is a popular approach and there were teachers who believed in the immigrants' blending (p. 88). When stated, discrimination was related with the socio-economic background of the pupils, their Greek command and their school achievement (pp. 89 and 90).

The inference could be drawn that the participating teachers not only lacked intercultural training, but displayed a bigotry previously concealed, though in some cases not very well (p. 90). Concealed prejudice could have affected the teachers' answers in this initial stage, since cases were noted of teachers restraining their responses (p. 84). However, it was the negative data that were used in this stage and – even if there was some concealment among these answers – they were enough to form a body of cases worth examination. As the study progresses, these views will be further explored using examples from the applications that took place and also using interesting facts brought up during observation and interviews with the participants of the study in the applications analysis.

1ST PILOT

Introduction

The 1st pilot consisted of the drama lessons (whereas the 2nd contained also interviews and observation). The main aim of it was to test my teaching in drama and evaluate the lessons without necessarily focusing on pupils' intercultural relationships. It was an opportunity for me to review ground rules, time each drama activity and test the structure of the lesson. Mistakes were spotted and alterations followed. The 1st pilot took place in a small school in a town of 3000 people in district 3. All non-Greek pupils both of the school (24%) (Table 11) and of the class (18%) (Table 12) originated from Albania. The participating class consisted of 22 pupils (seven- to eight-year-olds) – 12 girls and 10 boys. The pilot lasted two weeks and it involved five drama sessions of 1.5 to 2 hours (see Chapter 4, Lessons planning, p. 66; Appendix A); interviews and observation were not included, neither were the sessions video recorded; field notes from each session were the main source of data. The main problems that emerged from the pilot were classroom management and grouping, the teacher's presence during drama and issues pertaining to drama structure. The changes after the pilot are presented later in Table 13 (p. 95). Some interesting moments indicative of the engagement of the pupils during the drama will be presented in the second section of this analysis.

Country of origin	Number
Greece	94
Albania	29
Total	**123**

Table 11 School composition (source: questionnaires, school No. 57)

Country of origin	Number
Greece	18
Albania	4
Total	**22**

Table 12 Class composition (source: school's and teacher's database)

Lessons learned

One of the main issues spotted in this pilot was poor classroom management, which prevented drama from reaching adequate depth and quality. Once the pupils realised this lesson was different (i.e. chairs put in a circle, no books in front of them, no writing exercises) they adopted a playful attitude (P1.1[24]a). The lack of tight rules and clearly set tasks (see an example at P1.1b) contributed to this behaviour. There were moments when the children had no belief in the drama activities, sometimes giggling and laughing when forming still images (P1.3) or being unable to maintain their turns, getting excited from drama and talking all together (P1.4). Management is a common problem in drama classes

[24] See Appendix J, Extract P1.1a, etc.

(Neelands, 1984; Woolland, 1991; Cowley, 2007; Fleming, 2011) which is prevented with detailed structuring, clear ground rules and enhancing involvement with the drama. Hence, after the 1st pilot, a new activity was set up for the groups (price lists had to be created) in order to engage the pupils in their roles; very clear tasks and guidelines would prevent confusion; rules and boundaries would be set up from the start. Another wrong decision during the 1st pilot was letting the children do the grouping and accept subsequent changes in the middle of the project (P1.2). This gave the children the impression the groups were flexible so often I had to negotiate anew on their composition. Thus in the following applications, groups were decided by me according to the pupils' relations (i.e. the findings of the initial observation) and no changes were allowed throughout the sessions.

The teacher (hereafter: Ms. A) was asked to stay inside the classroom during the drama. This helped the class to maintain its concentration and allowed Ms. A to provide me with feedback after the project. This, however, proved to counter-serve the drama as there were cases when she interfered with my teaching choices by, for example, suggesting publicly for some (non-Greek) pupils to abstain as she considered them unable to follow the discussion (P1.5). In addition to marginalising the specific children this gave the false impression that the class's participation could be negotiated at any time. However, in the following applications the level of discussion had to be adjusted so as to include all pupils' language capacity and no alternative should be given to anyone for sitting aside.

In terms of the drama structure, firstly, the class was not familiar with the era in which the drama took place (approximately 1900) and their ignorance caused loss of interest. The selection of the type of shop each group was running (see p. 68) was left at their discretion, and this resulted in the pupils initially selecting modern professions (e.g. nail artist) that could block our drama (P1.6). For the rest of the applications an introduction to 'the old times' was added, including discussion over means of transport, food, professions and elements of everyday life; also, a specific set of cards would be allocated to each group of students, already containing the name of the shop the group would run. Secondly, a ritual was added to the history of the village after the 1st pilot, during the great-grandmother's scene (p. 71). The suggestions mentioned in this pilot were used (P1.7), and in a structured form a ritual was added to enhance the children's identity in role and their engagement (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; O'Neill, 1995).

A third change took place after this pilot during the last session, when the children met the mayor of the big city to discuss their complaints. The lesson ended with the mayor assuring them that he would deal with their concerns but never coming back (p. 75); writing in role was chosen instead from the 2nd pilot on, in order both to avoid excessive use of teacher in role technique (see also p. 186) and to try a different activity that would provide written evidence of the pupils' engagement and understanding. Lastly, time was one of the main elements restricting the lesson. Activities needed to be retimed and cut down to fit both the school's schedule and the pupils' inexperience in drama. For example, during the scene of the warehouse (p. 74) the initially planned activity was improvisations, where some villagers would comfort others, without revealing their own concerns. These were dismissed as they were found to be time-consuming and too elaborate for a class of seven- to eight-year-olds –

with no drama experience – to handle. The same objective i.e. experiencing feelings of insecurity, longing, fear and so on was achieved through thought tracking and the pupils expressed their concerns and hopes in a more simplified way (without layers of meaning) without forfeiting the feelings the pupils expressed.

Key moments during drama

Even though in this pilot the engagement was not adequate mainly due to poor classroom management and lack of detailed guiding (see earlier), there were moments when the class was adequately engaged in the dramatic action (see, for example, Picture 9 at the moment of the flood) offering the potential of experiential learning (p. 46) and understanding (p. 48).

Picture 9 During the flood

The meeting with the great-grandmother and the discussion that followed were two other such moments, where the children were excitedly making suggestions in role to enshrine the tradition of their village (P1.7). The guard scene was another one, when they were given the order to replace their traditional axe pendants with the yellow collars for foreigners (Picture 8, p. 74). When discussing in role with the chairman, angry statements of injustice came up, condemning the guard's instruction: 'It's ridiculous!'; 'they must be joking!' (P1.8); or realistic views like: 'We had no choice'. Debates started, with some pupils supporting radical solutions and others highlighting consequences behind actions:

> - Let's rip them!
> - But if we rip them they will think we're bad [and they won't let us in their country]!…' (P1.8)

Conformist opinions were also present, hoping they could be equal members of the new country: 'I'll take it out and wear the collar; I want to be one of them' (P1.8). Such statements provide opportunities for the teacher to discuss ideas such as the need to belong in a group, the tendency to conform or responsibility. The above statements show that the children were interested in the drama, and were eagerly trying to find a way through the dead end they were placed in. It was a significant emotional experience for them, even if it took place rather casually. The class showed the same enthusiasm in the meeting after their entrance to the new country with statements like 'they don't want us', 'they see us as different' (P1.9). The teacher referred to this discussion as one 'of high standards' (P1.5b).

Conclusions

The contribution of the 1st pilot (see also Appendix Q, General Findings) in my study was pivotal, as for the first time the drama lesson was transferred from paper to reality. As Table 13 below also shows, classroom management was the main problem, so careful and more detailed lesson planning, clear directions and predetermined groups were decided for the subsequent applications. A second issue this pilot helped with was time: all the activities were timed in detail and the action was tailored to fit a school schedule. As the lessons had to be completed in five sessions of 1.5 to 2 hours, activities had to be discarded for lessons to be more condensed. At the same time, new activities were added in order to give variety to the lessons and deepen the participants' experience (for example, price lists, ritual, writing in role). Despite the problems such a first attempt reasonably would have, there were moments when the children had significant engagement in their roles, showing emotional involvement. Even though shallow engagement rendered such moments occasional, they showed clearly the potential of drama. Accumulating the experience gained, a 2nd pilot followed which involved piloting the project as a whole and – apart from the lessons learned – focused also in the intercultural relations of the class; as will be shown in the next section, some very interesting points emanated in both areas.

	Before	Change	Justification
Classroom management and Grouping	Drama rules (examples of working in role, practice imagination)	Add details in drama rules (co-operation, shared responsibility, concentration)	Poor discipline and social health, superficial drama
	Groups decided by children	Predetermined groups	Poor social health
Teacher's presence	Test the teacher's presence	Preferably present (check interference)	Classroom management, feedback
Drama Structure	Announce we are going to work 'in the old times'	Discussion on the topic, adding details	Poor engagement, enhancement of identity
	Free to choose their professions	Specific shops in pre-written cards	
	Morning chores in shops	Pricing lists task added	
	Children's suggestion on keeping the tradition	Predetermined ritual	
	Improvisation in the warehouse	Thought tracking in the warehouse	Time
	Still image of the villagers before their journey was excluded	To be removed in case of time restrictions	Time
	Setting up the map as a whole class activity	Setting up the map as groups	Poor discipline and social health
	Meeting the mayor	Writing to the mayor	Time, introduction of new tool to the teacher, variety
	Pictures in the chest (normal size)	Enlarged copies of the pictures	More convenient to work with, in groups

Table 13 Changes after the 1st pilot

2ND PILOT

Introduction

After the first pilot of the lesson plans, it was essential to test the project as a whole: including interviews and observation and exploring the relations among Greek and non-Greek children. This 2nd pilot aimed at refining the drama practice I used, evaluating the depth of the interventions and establishing concrete and effective interviewing and observing procedures. Once again the drama lessons generated very interesting data in terms of the impact of drama on pupils' racist behaviour and rendered this pilot almost equal to the rest of the applications. Consequently, the structure of this chapter is twofold: in the first part the lessons learned are presented, and the changes decided upon for the following applications. The second part examines the main research questions (p. 55) and themes (p. 76). It is organised in a) pre-drama interviews and observation, b) analysis of the drama key moments and c) post-drama interviews and observation. The same pattern will be used also for the rest of the applications analysis of this research.

The 2nd pilot lasted five weeks. Pre-interviews and pre-observation of the class took place in the first week, drama classes followed (three weeks) and an additional week was spent for post-interviews and post-observation. The school was situated in a town of 6,000 citizens. A total of 27% of the pupils in this school were of a non-Greek ethnic background (Table 14). Table 15 shows the number of Albanian children present in the participating class which consisted of 22 pupils between seven and eight years old – 11 boys and 11 girls. No other ethnicities existed in this class.

Country of origin	Number
Greece	181
Albania	45
Bulgaria	7
Georgia	1
Russia	6
Serbia	2
FYROM[25]	5
Armenia	1
Total	**248**

Table 14 School composition (source: questionnaires, school No. 55)

Country of origin	Number
Greece	14
Albania	8
Total	**22**

Table 15 Class composition (source: school's and teacher's database)

[25] Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (see also p. 14).

Lessons learned

After the 1st pilot, the composition of the working groups was not negotiable and was announced to the class after the first session. Nationality and popularity were the grouping criteria. The less-popular children were arranged around popular ones; immigrants were distributed equally into the teams to promote interaction between mixed ability children, providing a peer scaffolding for the less efficient and promoting co-operation between pupils of different ethnic backgrounds (Hallam et al., 2002: 93; Baines et al., 2009: 17). This was appreciated by the isolates who, having low self-confidence considered it an honour to work with the popular students (Session A, Disk 1, 04.05). Peer scaffolding generated results and groups in the 2nd pilot worked successfully. Both foreign and Greek pupils were engaged in the tasks given to them and worked together, with usually popular and Greek students taking the lead (Pictures 10 and 11).

Picture 10 Bakery shop group is working on its price list. Greek Boy D in charge

Picture 11 Grocery shop working on the same task. Greek Boy N in charge

In order to be within the drama time era, the children were offered choices of traditional businesses or services to run. They had to choose between the existing building shaped cards (bakery, wood workshop, traditional café, grocery, church, school, crop fields; see Picture 2, p. 68). After the 2nd pilot, the latter three were found to be ineffective and were excluded. The 'church' card was considered unsuitable since it contained the idea of religion which inter alia suggests Christianity as a norm to the pupils, in contrast with multicultural education. Secondly, being an institution, a church has different objectives from a common business and this could render it problematic to match with the activities of the rest of the shops (for example, pricelists). The latter applied also to the 'school' card, which is

considered to be a service. After the 2nd pilot the 'school' card was replaced by the wood-shop which was important to the village's tradition (the village had been founded by woodcutters). 'Crop fields' were also excluded as the children would likely not be familiar with the content of such a profession in the setting they lived. Conclusively, for the successive applications only four businesses were suggested (bakery, grocery, wood workshop and traditional café), a sign with the title of each was distributed to each of the groups (see Picture 3, p. 69) and no alternative was offered.

Specific moments of high or low engagement with the drama were discerned here, which should be taken into consideration in the rest of the applications. The ritual created to take place during the great-grandmother scene[26] (see 1st pilot, p. 93), consisting of singing the village's anthem along with a certain routine of movements, was one of the dramatically intense moments (Session B, Disk 2, 18.35-22.42) and the children showed high engagement (Picture 12). It added significant concentration and ownership to the story by the participants, establishing a common past and high interest. Consequently, the ritual was kept for the rest applications.

Picture 12 Performing the ritual along with the great-grandmother

On the contrary, there were still moments of insufficient belief, such as when the children in the role of Nostians were put in front of a dilemma and were forced to disclaim their identity and their common past by removing their axe pendants. The majority of the pupils took them off quite willingly when they were ordered by the guard to do so (Picture 13). Only a quiet complaint was heard, from an immigrant girl, showing involvement with her role:

Girl F(F): (*Thoughtfully*) But these are from our village… (Session D, Disk 1, 28.59).

[26] For a complete plan of the activities in the lessons, see p. 66.

Picture 13 Willingly taking off the pendants

Moreover, when the guard took out the yellow collars and started to distribute them, most of the children were so eager and happy to get one and wear it around their necks they even pushed strongly against each other, extending their arms to get the collar first (Session D, Disk 1, 35.12, Picture 14).

Picture 14 Rushing to take the collars from the guard

The deficient belief in their roles, but also the use and supply of new exciting teaching material to the class (pendants, pictures, collars) compared with the dull everyday teaching of curriculum subjects, was what made the actual wearing of the collar more interesting than the meaning behind this action. It displays explicitly their superficial engagement; the class objective was to go to the next stage of the story, seeing drama as just a sequence of events (see also the notion of 'spaghetti western' in Morgan & Saxton, 1989: 54). In order to prevent such responses, a solid belief in their roles should be established in the next applications; more attention should be paid to the class introduction to drama, supporting pupils having difficulties being in role. Secondly, right after the suggestion of the guard the class should contemplate out of role upon the implications such an exchange would have and the feelings it can create. This was added in the subsequent applications in order for the pupils to treat the assignment of the collars with a congruent behaviour.

Disruptive behaviour was present again in the 2nd pilot and this was spotted also by the children (P2.16[27]a). Initially I ignored misbehaviour for fear of delaying the lesson so there

[27] See Appendix J, Extract 2.16a, etc.

were cases of pupils who were spoiling the drama for the rest of the class either by attention seeking, boredom or not asking for further explanation of unclear tasks. The class response did not have a satisfactory depth. For the time the teacher was present, the children would be quiet and concentrated, offer creative ideas and have productive whole group discussions. Sometime after the teacher was out of the class, they became uneasy. Relying upon the teacher's presence was self-vitiating my status compared to the 'real' teacher. Conclusively, in the next applications drama should have a tight structure to avoid losing pupils' interest, and should be stopped as soon as disruptive behaviour is spotted.

In this pilot, the method of anonymous feedback slips was launched (see p. 63, Written Material). The writing took place after each one of the last two sessions and worked successfully, being a helpful tool in assessing the response (Kempe & Ashwell, 2000) of the children to drama. The slips offered positive views on the project with children stressing moments of responsibility, co-operation and critical thinking (P2.15). At the same time, they offered valuable help to the planning of the next application and brought up issues that required more attention, such as the spoiling of drama by their classmates (P2.16) mentioned above. Additionally, the answers showed that the children were emotionally engaged in the drama and provided valuable evidence for its quality, as the slips were replete with bad feelings experienced while being in role (P2.16).

Interviews and observation were tried out for the first time. Observation took place in and out of the classroom before, during and after the drama lessons, keeping a low profile and not interfering with the classroom's routines, and did not present particular problems. Interviews were held one week before and after the drama (questions can be found at Appendices C & D) and lasted 15 to 30 minutes each. There were moments when the questions were delivered in a rather interrogative style which was avoided in the following applications in order to prevent potential manipulation. On the other hand – for fear that tension would be caused to the participants due to the sensitivity of the subject – there were times when the questioning was too discreet. The potentially negative reactions by parents or officials who may find open discussion on racism threatening or dangerous kept me from applying such methods and from mentioning terms such as 'Albania' or 'Albanian' which could stigmatise pupils. Some of the pupils copied this approach, resulting in concealed and self-censored statements (see the use of the phrase 'from other countries' at P2.1 where Boy N refers to the Albanian Boy A(F) and chooses not to reveal his country of origin, adopting my actual expression). However a balance should be kept in the following applications in order for the interviewees to be more relaxed, speak openly and reveal useful information, so a clearer stating of taboo issues will be followed. An additional point that emerged was my impression that the children were sometimes lying in order to seek attention (Stern & Stern, 1999; Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Walker & Jussim, 2002; see also Interviews, p. 61). This attitude was displayed mainly by children from immigrant or working-class families and of low self-esteem. They were, for example, claiming to be best friends with the popular children of the classroom (P2.2) which was not true, or describing outrageous – more likely to be fake – incidents (P2.3). My position as a researcher did not permit me to challenge their claims, but this was an issue that was taken into consideration in the data analysis, and dubious statements were excluded from the findings. In addition,

the questions in the two interviews were not identical. In the first round more discreet questions were chosen in order to prevent manipulation and students' bias towards the subject of the project. After its completion, the discussion was more open. Acknowledging the limitations this pattern may cause in the comparison between the rounds, the choice was made for the children's participation and reactions to be more genuine during the lessons, devoid of preconceptions about it.

With regard to the videotaping, the quality of both the picture and the sound was good. Technical details were practiced, such as capturing different angles of the classroom, or arranging breaks for the change of DVDs. As I often got absorbed in the taught session, there were a few cases when I missed recording the second half of the session as the second DVD was not put in in time. These were substituted successfully by field notes taken immediately after the lesson. Instructions to pupils on staring at the camera and tripping over the cable were successful; however reminders for changing the disk had to be arranged for the next applications.

Pre-drama observation and interviews

As was mentioned earlier (p. 96), beyond the lessons from this pilot, an initial presentation of the setting and the recorded racism is presented prior to some key moments showing that drama had the potential for a positive impact on the children's behaviour. Subsequently, the drama impact will be presented through the post-drama interviews and observation.

Concerning the setting in which the research took place, among the members of staff there were cases of teachers with obvious racist behaviour. The PE teacher made a sexist comment on the sight of an Albanian mother coming in the school:

> Alba, Alba [Albanian women]! They came over here, stuffed their bellies with food, and now they look for boyfriends. They leave the poor husband to work like a slave in constructions and they have fun… (Field notes, 4-2-2009).

Additionally, racist jokes were told by some teachers in the staff room about Blacks and Albanians (Field notes, 16-1-2009). Such beliefs could potentially have an impact on children's behaviour and views. In addition, hidden curriculum directed monocultural school routines are common in all Greek schools, like the orthodox prayer during the morning assembly, the weekly raising of the flag (p. 19), or the compulsory worshiping (Field notes, 2-2-2009).

The teacher

The class teacher (hearafter: Mr. B) was between 36 and 45 years old with 14 years of teaching experience. He could be described as a traditional teacher, possessing all the knowledge and passing it on to the children. Some pupils mentioned he was giving physical sanctions and some of them even legitimised such behaviour (P2.5); however, I only witnessed some cases of loud verbal reprimanding. The teacher conceded his strict methods but claimed unable to control his behaviour, suggesting shouting as normal (P2.6), although

he knew his behaviour affected psychologically certain pupils (P2.7). A feeling of guilt was evident in Mr. B for not applying current pedagogies (such as work in groups, or avoid yelling), encouraged possibly by the fact that he was speaking to a researcher and a scholar, who would potentially be critical of his methods. He was mentioning educational theories only to state that he found it difficult to employ them in practice (P2.6; P2.8a, c, d). This divergence has also been recorded in another work regarding Greek teachers (Gkantartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), whose opinion towards intercultural practices in theory was clashing with their practical implementation. There was also a demand for in-service training (*ibid*.), which came from Mr. B (P2.10). As a result of his mode of teaching, most of the children were highly teacher dependent. The class were not guided towards serving their own needs and solving their own problems (see also Heathcote in NATD, 1990: 33). This was apparent in the interviews where a common answer to questions such as 'What would you do if you were in front of an argument' was 'Tell the teacher' (P2.9). Mr. B was reinforcing this behaviour (P2.9e); his classroom rules (P2.9a) did not encourage any responsibility from the children's part, but rather promoted competition (Field notes, 16-1-2009). Similar was the attitude from the teachers in the rest of the school, imposing rules and prohibitions without adequate reasoning, making the children feel powerless (P2.11). Furthermore, the teacher rarely praised the children. His comments were rather disapproving or at best expressing pity, and non-Greeks were the usual receivers of them (P2.12). By expressing openly his concerns about their attainment, he exacerbated their low self-esteem and legitimated negative comments against them from some of their Greek classmates who backed him up (*ibid*.).

Mr. B's beliefs regarding immigrant pupils were rather moderate, not having openly racist behaviour, but rather an endemic (according to CRT, p. 29) inner prejudice. When asked what intercultural education[28] means for him, the teacher seemed to put the responsibility on the newcomers:

> Mr. B: [Intercultural education] is a way to eliminate the negative issues that came up with the advent of the foreign pupils; the problems that come up due to differences in their origin, their language, the way they were brought up, their customs and traditions (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

He adopted a colour blind (p. 35) approach according to which every pupil was the same and issues of ethnic origin were taboo ('we try to talk about this the least possible') (P2.13). Indicative of his assimilating views was his choice of changing an Albanian pupil's name to a more Greek-sound one (for name changing see also p. 20), a fact that came up during Greek boys D's and U's interview (P2.14). Lastly, the class did not have any prior experience in drama (apart from a couple of performances in which they had taken part), as Mr. B had not applied any drama with this classroom (Mr. B 1st interview, 12-1-2009).

[28] For the use of the term intercultural education, see p. 30.

The children

Racism between pupils was present in this classroom. Immigrant pupils clearly stated their marginalisation from the rest of the class, some of them admitted their dissatisfaction about this fact whereas others proudly claimed they 'didn't mind' (P2.17). In cases of ostracism, the teacher was unlikely to find out about them as pupils found it embarrassing to admit it (P2.17; see also Preliminary research, p. 86; 1st application, AP1.6b, p. 118; 2nd application, AP2.27, pp. 138 and 139; 3rd application, AP3.18, p. 160). Albanian children were aware of the prejudices in Greek society and that revealing their origin entailed isolation. They understood that it was integration that allowed them to lead their lives undisturbed from xenophobic Greeks: 'We look like Greeks. So they don't ask us' (P2.18).

Albanian Boy L(F), had quite a bad reputation, both among children and teachers, as a pupil with violent and disruptive behaviour. Mr. B had this opinion which he stated before the drama (1st interview, 12-1-2009), and the influence of his biased views was evident in the sentences the children used to describe Boy L(F)'s character.

> Boy D: L(F) is a very bad boy. He's worst than A(F)! (1st interview, 13-1-2009).
>
> Girl G: (*referring to boy L(F)*) We have a very bad classmate… He's from Albania, he doesn't even know how to write, but he surely knows how to smack! (…) The teacher tells him not to do this but he goes on! *That kid* doesn't understand that he should not hit others (1st interview, 14-1-2009) [my emphasis].

Girl G is evidently looking down on Boy L(F) ('that kid'), acknowledging the admonishing efforts of her teacher ('the teacher tells him… but…'). The teacher acknowledged the reason of Boy L(F)'s behaviour ('he feels a bit isolated') and the difficulty he had in dealing with this case ('I can't manage'). He also admitted the wrong approach he applies, in a sense of forming a vicious circle (P2.19). Boy L(F) was absent in the first couple of weeks of my visit and his reputation preceded him. Nevertheless, when the boy arrived, he seemed a totally different person than the one described to me. He was rather frightened and timid, with a bad command of the language that made him self-conscious and unsure. He sometimes was violent, but not more than the rest of his classmates, and was also diligent and willing to learn, engagingly working on every task Mr. B gave him (Field notes, 10-2-2009). After I mentioned this to the teacher he admitted: 'Indeed, I may have exaggerated in my description' (Field notes, 10-2-2009). This is evident of someone's prejudice that can be dealt when the biased person is faced with the facts, forced to see the real image and not the one distorted by the stereotypes we all are subjected to, to a greater or less extend. Apart from this case, working with the class revealed also cases of pupils with racist beliefs, like Boy E.

Boy E was a case of a biased child. He was one of the class's popular children, coming from a privileged background rich in experiences (also his twin brother Boy D). However, it seemed as though his family was orienting him (and his brother) towards a biased view of foreigners. The following extract is from his 1st interview, where Albanian Boy P(F) was also present in the room.

R: Do you have friends from other countries?
Boy E: I don't.
Boy P(F): I do.
Boy E: Yeah, Boy P(F) is from Albania [that's why].
R: Boy P(F) is from Albania. (*To Boy P(F)*) So you have many friends from another country.
Boy E: I don't.
Boy P(F): I've got cousins too.
Boy E: I don't (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

The repetitive 'I don't' from Boy E shows a strong disposition to dissociate himself from non-Greek children. Later on in the same interview, his family influence becomes apparent.

R: Do you invite everyone in your birthday parties?
Boy E: I only invite Greece [sic]; those who were born in Greece and not those who were born in Albania.
R: Why is that?
Boy E: 'Cos my mom doesn't want me to (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

His parents were actively intervening in his friendships and social life, and he was not the only case (P2.17b; see also 1st application, AP1.7, p. 115, AP1.15, p. 117; 2nd application, AP2.40, pp. 152 and 153; 3rd application, p. 161). He also seemed to know the taboo character of discussing Albanians. Boy E paid attention to his classmates' nationality (note the mistaken use of the country – as a stronger word – instead of the nationality: 'I only invite Greece') and this was an issue he often reminded the rest of the class about (Session B, Disk 1, 01.48).

Key moments during drama

I will now proceed to key moments where drama's effect was obvious, mainly showing high engagement of the pupils; moments which brought out emotions, and feelings of empathy towards immigrants. As was mentioned earlier (see drama features, p. 41) engagement may lead to a better understanding of the issue of racism through experience and empathy. Since this was mainly a pilot, the lessons learned from these moments are also presented here in a separate paragraph after each analysis.

Engagement

Drama gave the pupils the opportunity to use their experience and explore racism through stories they created themselves. During them they were engaged with their roles and were interested in the dramatic activity. In the following meeting when the class was in role as refugees – held after they had spent some time in the new country – the children capitalised on their real world experiences, inventing and contributing racist incidents that had happened to them in role.

R: *(In role as the chairman)* What about the Elepadians? How do they talk to you? Do they talk nice to you?
All: No!
Girl F(F): (*In role as a parent*) Especially children!
Girl R: They were swearing at me.

Girl Q: They are making fun of our collars…
R: What did they tell you?
Boy P(F): 'Get out of here!'
Girl G: They were calling us names and they told us 'you've got no business in our country!'
Girl F(F): They are calling names to my kids (Session D, Disk 1, 52.11-53.10).

Empirically, they were using cliché phrases used widely to insult foreigners in reality ('no business in our country') drawn from their own experience as they were not mentioned in our drama until then. Similar phrases were also used in the following story created collaboratively by Boys E and V. Although the two were in different groups they worked as a team (along with Boy N), following instinctively basic improvisation rules, adding on and backing up each other's statements, to form their own dramatic world:

Boy V: (*Describing an incident, in role.*) They threw stones at me. Outside the café.
R: Why?
Boy E: (*Steps in, in role as the café owner*) Yes, and *I* sent them away.
Boy V: I don't know [why]. They didn't tell me. They just said to me 'don't ever come back here'.
R: Didn't they tell you why?
Boy V: No.
Boy E: They did tell him, Miss! They told him that he's from another country…They told him 'Go away, you're not from this country, go home, Nostians are our enemies…' …They were beating him… And I went closer…
Boy N: They were throwing stones…
Boy E: Yes, and then we took him with Mr. N[29] and we went away. We went to his shop.
Boy N: (*Boy N nods assent*) (Session D, Disk 1, 55.29-56.40).

This story made some heads bow... Although during the narration Boy E was deadly serious, when he finished the story, he smiled satisfied to Boys V and N who were his 'partners' in the task, proud of their creation. Even if the depth of their emotional state was shallow, given their inexperience in drama and team work, the three boys made a decisive first step towards co-operation and improvisation rules, using their experiences creatively to form a scene of injustice for immigrants.

Lesson learned:
In order to encourage their efforts and deepen the experience, the story could have been explored in detail, for example, by asking the group to bring some of its parts into life, add some 'thinking bubbles' on the protagonistic roles or exploring how the culprits reached that action. Also, hot seating the three boys would have given the pupils a glimpse towards the other's point of view in this incident. In addition, in the second extract above, although I was in role as the (male) chairman, Boy E addressed to me as 'Miss'. This shows either low insight of the drama rules or deficient engagement from the part of Boy E. This was a common response that taught me that children's low engagement aside, I should also be committed to the role I am playing and not act as a teacher (by commenting on pupils' behaviour, for example) which took me and the children automatically out of role and caused confusion.

[29] Boy N in role becomes 'Mr. N.', see p. 78.

Engagement 2

One of the powerful moments was when the class read the letter in the newspaper (Appendix O), where one of the locals anonymously spread rumours defaming the Nostians (the immigrants); the letter was handed out by me (in role as the chairman) to the class (in role as Nostians) for them to examine in a meeting. As the following extract shows, the reaction both when reading the text (gasps and cries of anger) and during the discussion that followed was sharp and intense (see also 1st application, p. 123; 3rd application, p. 164). The pupils reacted to almost every sentence I read, expressing feelings of anger and injustice, using clearly their experiences in role to form their arguments ('it was *them* making fun of us').

R/TiR[30]: (*In role as the chairman, reading out the letter*) 'We were always nice to them and willing to help.'
Boy E: What is he talking about, now!
Girl Q: What? All this time it was *them* making fun of us!
Girl F(F): They did!
Girl J(F): What are they talking about?
Girl F(F): They are lying!
Girl J(F): … and *they* were the ones hitting *us*! (*Boy P(F) is staring at me for a long time with his mouth widely open, can't believe his ears*). (…)
R/TiR: 'It seems that they didn't appreciate our kindness.'
Girl F(F): Appreciate whaaat?
R/TiR: (...) 'It is said that these people are thieves.' –
(*Gasping from the class*)
Boy E: What are they saying now?
Girl F(F): They are so rude!
R/TiR: 'So we have to be extremely careful, especially shop owners who serve them as clients.'
Girl F(F): Oh they are very rude!
Girl Q: We would never do such a thing!
Boy N: They are irresponsible…
R/TiR: 'They are also very strong and can attack anyone, mostly women, elderly people and children.'
Boy E: But we *love* children! (Session E, Disk1, 31.17-32.42).

During the discussion that followed the letter's presentation the children were trying to find a solution to their problem. Children were contemplating on the problem, showing they had been engaged in their roles and were concerned about the problems they had to face (P2.22). The following two extracts from the last session are quite powerful in terms of the children's understanding:

> Boy N: If we go back to Nostia, we will find no homes. They are gone. But on the other hand, they don't want us here. They are savages. They call us thieves. We can't go back to Nostia. We worked hard to have our homes here (P2.22).

Later on, out of role, they commented on the feelings of their roles, showing strong emotional engagement. Boy N, even if he starts talking in third person, out of role, during his

[30] R/TiR = Researcher applying Teacher in role strategy (see p.77)

statement he was carried away and ended up talking in role: 'We've never felt so embarrassed before.'

> Girl R: The Nostians were wearing the collars but the Elepadians did not, and they [the Nostians] felt uncomfortable about this.
> Boy N: They've never felt so embarrassed. Because they were making fun of us. We've never felt so embarrassed before (Session E, Disk 1, 52.12).

Lesson learned:
The letter activity was successful and created intense feelings of empathy. In terms of teaching, however, attention should be paid to the way the letter is presented to the class, in order to enhance the class's involvement. It was obvious in this case that pauses while reading allowed their comments and feelings to be expressed and increased the tension (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988: 17; Heathcote, 1991a: 95). Also, given that the classes are not used to discussing things together, the pupils should be reminded often to take turns in order for everyone's opinion to be heard.

Using life experience and knowledge
In the racist incidents that were created by the pupils (see p. 74) the prevailing notion was again the locals' ownership of the country ('it's our country'). Real world and existing experiences from the pupils entered the classroom. The cruel attitude of the Elepadians was totally of their own conception as my teaching was not suggestive of such possessiveness at any time. Here are two extracts from the still images brought into life for five seconds, both taking place in a fictitious school. The first involves two pairs of parents (one immigrant and one local) arguing because the latter's children hit the former's ones; the second is between immigrant teachers working at a local school and having a dispute with their local students who provocatively tear up their books.

> Boy N: (in role as parents) Go on now, get out of our country.
> Girl F(F): Why should we? Your children hit our children.
> Boy N: Oh really? What I saw was your child hitting mine…
> Girl F(F): That's not true (Session E, Disk 1, 07.09).

> Girl G: (in role as an immigrant teacher) Why do you tear up the books?
> Boy U: Because.
> Girl G: Is that what you want?
> Girl B: Yeah, this country is ours (*ibid*., 08.38).

Both of the scenes sounded genuine but it is evident that the children were lacking arguments as they were trapped in a superficial confrontation (O'Neill & Lambert, 1990; Fleming, 2011). The depth was inadequate as the children were left to their own devices and were not sure what to do.

Lesson learned:
Focus and tension, especially in groups inexperienced in drama, must be provided to the children from the beginning when working in improvisation (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988; Heathcote, 1991a). Otherwise, 'straightforward conflict situations tend to lead pupils to

shallow, confrontational scenes' (Fleming, 2011: 69). It would be interesting to see how these scenes would have been evolved by adding details and constraints to create a structure and a background; a context wherein the pupils can work and devise their lines more easily.

Post-drama observation and interviews

After the application came to an end feedback from the teachers and the children was provided. In their majority the comments were positive; a more detailed view of the impact drama had on the class follows.

Views on the drama project

The teacher seemed positive towards the impact the drama had on the children. He considered the project 'an escape from the dull everyday reality of the classroom', but also stressed its intellectual nature, which made the students 'contemplate' (P2.20; see also 1st pilot, p. 94; 1st application, p. 123; 2nd application, p. 140; 3rd application, p. 170).

> Mr. B: You make them think much, that's why they are uneasy (P2.4).

I believe this is an indicative depreciation of the pupils' potential since the general response of the class in moments of reflection and critical thinking was satisfactory, and in some cases surprising. Drama helped Mr. B to see his pupils differently. According to the follow-up interviews and the feedback slips (P2.15), the overall impression of the children was undoubtedly positive.

> Girl C(F): I liked everything very much. You should do everything you did to us with the rest of the children. Everything is very good. Don't change a thing (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

The children enjoyed the drama also as it was something that got them out of their ordinary school routine (P2.15c) and reminded them of their playtime. Actually, there were children that used it as a theme in their own games (P2.15e). They also made comments about drama rules and basic features like '[we learned] how to work with our imagination (Boy E, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009). Many children stressed the difference in working in groups and talked about the advantages of co-operation (P2.21), the lack of which was an issue in this class (see p. 102).

Views on immigrants

In the following extract Boys N and H claimed that they would treat foreigners better than the drama roles did. A feeling of morality, sometimes related to Christian ethics, was diffused in some of the interviews. However, Edmiston (2000) states that morality is easy to claim, but it does not always mean conscious change in attitude (see also Tucker, 1985).

> R: How did you feel when the Elepadians did not want you in their country?

Boy N: Lousy.
Boy H: Lousy.
Boy N: Lousy. We hated it. If we were in their place, we would have accepted them.
Boy H: Yeah (2nd interview, 10-2-2009).

During the follow-up interviews, when asked about behaviour towards immigrants, the children justified their statements on moral dualities like 'good' and 'bad' people without looking for deeper reasons:

R: What should they have done [the new country's citizens]?
Boy D: They should have hosted us; they should have been good children... ehm, good grown-ups (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

Girl R: (*About the immigrants*) They may have come here but maybe it's because of a disaster they had… A flood, or could have been a war…
Girl S: And maybe they won't let them in Greece… And… and… and maybe they won't give them food or job or water, nothing. Not even a place to stay.
Girl R: We should treat them good.
Girl I: Because we have to be good boys and girls. Not swear and not say bad things (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

The above statements were embedded rather on a Christian morality that can be found widely in Greek society, especially in small cities where the bonds with religion are stronger (see also 2nd application, p. 136). Moreover, they were using 'adult' words and expressions like 'good children', which explicitly reveal the influence of the adult world from which they copy opinions and expressions. Boy D talked about the appropriate behaviour of the Elepadians confusing the capacities of children and adults, obviously copying the common principle of 'being a good child' he has heard repeatedly. The second extract shows also the connections the children made between drama and reality. Girls R and S recognised the reasons behind immigration and empathised with immigrants in search for a job or 'a place to stay.'

Engagement

Accordingly, after the project, there were statements showing significant emotional involvement with the story of the Nostians, providing evidence that these children had empathised with such people, even if it was only fleeting:

Girl Q: I was… I was sad when they were making fun of us (2nd interview, 16-2-2009).

Later on in the same interview, Girl G clearly talked about empathy recalling Nostians' feelings of bad treatment:

R: Do you know people like Elepadians, people who don't like foreigners?
Girl Q: I don't.
Girl T: No. never.
Girl G: I don't and I don't want to meet any.
Girl T: It's not right.

R: Why?

Girl G: Because some day these could happen to us also; the things that they went through; and then we may go at the same place where they were and they may put us on something for us to distinguish and make fun of us and we won't like it.

(…)

Girl T: It's not right because… Because they'll make fun of them. Because (*pause*) because maybe they could be in their place. It's not right (2nd interview, 16-2-2009).

Girl T is using the idea of being in the refugees' shoes in some serious contemplation on the issue. It is worth mentioning that before the drama she had stated that she only played with Girl Q, her Greek friend (P2.18c); now she was talking engagingly about empathy, sounding quite emotional (Field notes, 16-2-2009). It was not possible, however, to confirm otherwise whether the feelings expressed above had an impact on her prejudice against their immigrant classmates.

Empowering immigrants

It was apparent during drama lessons that immigrant children had a wide range of knowledge concerning immigrant issues, passports (Session A, Disk1, 31.05-35.18) and paperwork (Field notes, 14-1-2009). Nevertheless, this capital they possessed was rarely shared with the class; and these were stories and terms circulating only between them, as nobody encouraged them to share. Such stories were brought up during the second round of interviews, showing that until then they were well hidden (see also 2nd application, p. 154). Drama gave the opportunity for the children to express themselves openly and honestly. After the applications, they were more confident in talking about such matters. Here, Girl C(F) is narrating a story of one of her relatives.

Girl C(F): He was caught by the police there. At the border. And they [his company] told them [the police] that they've got papers.

Girl F(F): How?

Girl C(F): They lied to the police that they had papers. And then the [Albanian] police let them out and they got here (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

And later, talking about a relative of hers back in Albania:

Girl C(F): They don't work; they can't find any job; they are all day out in the fields. So he has to earn some money here. That's why [he came to Greece] (*ibid*.).

Incongruity

The most important change observed was incongruity between the old and new experiences of the children. The old beliefs were deeply rooted in them, as the following extracts reveal, but the first seeds of questioning them were planted. The follow-up interviews showed examples of incongruity within their beliefs. In the interviews that followed the application, Greek children were found to be trapped between old and new knowledge. In the following extract, Girl S described an incident that took place in a church, where the priest sent away a

couple of black people with their kids (possibly beggars). The girl seemed torn between her charitable feelings which dictate to shelter anyone in need and racist beliefs that suggest that Blacks and Albanians are thieves, as she struggled to form her opinion from the different views she has heard. Some learning difficulties were detected in her case that made her speech naïve but in remains honest and illustrative of the confusion she was in.

> Girl S: Me… in the church… he came… some Blacks, with four children and the mother, into the church… And then, the priest, he sent them out. He could have put them in the 'Centre'[31]! Finally they went to the… to the cafeteria! And the lady that sells the things let them in. And they slept over.
> R: Do you think the priest did the right thing?
> Girl S: No.
> R: Why not?
> Girl S: Because the priest should… should let them go in.
> R: Why is that?
> Girl S: Because… maybe… they can steal the icons and leave it [the church] empty.
> R: You mean if he let them in or if he did not?
> Girl S: If he let them in.
> R: So you're saying he did the right thing?
> Girl S: Yes…
> R: And how did he know they were going to steal the church?
> Girl S: Ehm… because… ehm… they were Black. That's why. They were – they may were from Albania. (…) Because they were black and… they seemed hungry. And they could steal icons. (2nd interview, 11-2-2009)

The above statements show clearly how quickly the children can go back to their old beliefs, how deeply rooted these are and the level of work needed to eradicate them as just one drama project alone is inadequate to bring a strong and permanent change. Another example of a girl staggering between two mentalities, the compassionate and the biased one, was Girl Q. At her first interview she admitted – along with her popular friend Girl T – marginalising the rest of the children (P2.18c). She had no foreign friends and was rather dependent on her popular friend, Girl T (Girl T showed a similar change when she expressed empathic feelings see earlier, p. 110 'It's not right'). Here, although she claims the 'right' way to treat 'people that come to our country', suddenly also mentions that 'they may steal us'.

> Girl Q: [We should] not pick on them, not hit them… because they'll also hate us and one day they will start pick on us too. (…) We should not pick on them and let them pass into our country. But… they should not harm us because we want… to be kind to them and… let them pass and… They may come and steal us; because we talked to them politely and if they steal us, it's not right (2nd interview, 16-2-2009).

The above extracts show that drama was an opportunity for their prejudices to come to the surface – as the above views were concealed during the 1st interviews – which was exactly what some teachers were afraid of (see p. 86). It seems that drama worked on different levels depending on each child's ability. Children used to expressing their opinions proceeded to the stage of incongruity; whereas others just reached the ability to state their minds openly. In addition, a relation between traditional teaching of Mr. B (see p. 101) and

[31] The 'Centre' was an auditorium owned by the church, situated next to the church's main premises. Acting as a community centre, different cultural events were hosted there and it was an inextricable part of the town's social life.

racism was revealed after the project; this was present also in other applications (see p. 154) showing that racism is indeed present in pupils' beliefs although it is not allowed to be expressed openly.

Conclusions

In terms of reviewing the drama teaching and the research tools, this pilot revealed some deficiencies that needed attention prior to the following applications. Classroom management was once more an issue (p. 99), and disruptive behaviour had to be dealt with immediately and efficiently. Focus and frame in improvisation should be provided, as children are inexperienced to drama, in order to avoid superficial dramatic plots (p. 107). Children's suggestions must be examined for their implications and reflection should be encouraged (p. 99). Building belief was still an issue to be worked on, as pupils engagement was not always high (p. 98). Minor changes had to take place during the application that followed (cards of enterprises, narration, teacher in role technique details and narration) in order to maintain a quality in the drama sessions (pp. 97-101). Mistakes in interviews were also spotted, such as manipulative or too discreet questions, which were taken into consideration in the next applications (p. 100).

An analysis was included in this pilot concerning racist attitudes and drama impact and revealed interesting findings (see also Appendix Q). Racism and prejudice were present. Prejudices expressed by the Greek pupils were often strongly influenced by the teacher (p. 103) and their parental environment. Mr. B turned a blind eye to non-Greeks ethnic origin, choosing to hush it up (P2.13, p. 102). In terms of the impact drama had on them, the overall impression from the children was positive, whereas the teacher stated that it involved hard intellectual work, and made pupils think in ways they haven't had to before (P2.4, p. 108). Drama planted the seeds of mutual respect and empathy towards immigrants, and incongruity between old and new experiences was recorded among some pupils (pp. 110-111), which was promising. Intense statements coming from feelings of injustice were recorded during the drama, which showed high involvement and empathy (pp. 106, 108 and 109). Albanian children were aware of prejudice towards their ethnicity and drama offered them a voice (see social nature, p. 45); the opportunity to use and share experiences inside the classroom that they did not have the chance to do in their normal class (p. 110).

The lessons learned from the 2nd pilot and the changes which followed for the next applications are summarised below (Table 16).

	Change after 1st pilot	**New change**	**Reason**
Grouping	Non-negotiable composition, mixed-ability pattern	n/a	Co-operation and allocation of tasks was successful
Enterprises	Specific jobs in role	'School', 'church', and 'crop fields' choices were taken out	Have an even distribution of tasks, according to familiar businesses, not services or

			institutions
Ritual	New activity launched	n/a	High engagement, interest and concentration
Guard scene	n/a	Enhance belief with reflection on the implications of the pendants removal	Lack of belief
Classroom management	n/a	Stop the drama if disruptive behaviour occurs	Pupils were uneasy; hard to believe in the drama
Interviews	n/a	Less manipulative Less discreet	Children were copying my expressions, internalising the taboo character and finding it difficult to express themselves freely
Videotaping	n/a	Instructions on - staring at the camera - tripping over the cable Reminders for the change of the disk	Avoid staring Safety Missed recordings
Teacher in Role	n/a	Do not comment as teacher, stay consistent to your role to enhance their belief	Pupils calling me 'Miss' while in a male's role
Improvisation	n/a	Provide focus and frame for their stories, add details and constraints	Shallow and confrontational scenes
Delivering the letter	n/a	Attention must be paid while reading, add pauses and coloured voice in order to provoke involvement	Comments were called out during reading, which showed involvement

Table 16 Changes after the 2nd pilot

1ST APPLICATION

Introduction

This chapter explores drama's impact on the children's attitudes reviewing key moments of its 1st application, examining prejudiced behaviour, racial issues, biased beliefs, drama response and engagement, and drama practise. Moments of high engagement in drama and obvious hints of change in children were recorded, deeply rooted beliefs were successfully challenged through the project. The analysis in each application consists of a) data from observation and interviews before the drama sessions, b) analysis of key moments during drama, c) data from post-drama observation and interviews and d) teaching issues that came up during drama practice.

The project in this case was conducted in a total of five weeks and consisted of six drama sessions of 1.5 to 2 hours each, and two rounds of interviews and observation – before and after the lessons. Interviews were conducted in a separate room of the school while the rest of the class continued with its regular activities. The non-Greek population of the school consisted mainly of pupils originating from Albania (Table 17) – in total, 21% of pupils had an immigrant background. The class consisted of 23 pupils of seven to eight years old: 14 girls and 9 boys (40% non-Greeks; Table 18).

Country of origin	Number
Greece	104
Albania	15
Russia	2
Serbia	1
Germany	2
Poland	1
FYROM	1
Total	**141**

Table 17 School composition (source: questionnaires, school No. 56)

Country of origin	Number
Greece	14
Albania	7
Russia	1
Italy	1
Total	**23**

Table 18 Class composition (source: teacher's and school's database)

Pre-Drama Observation and Interviews

The teacher

Before I move on to Mr. C, the teacher of the class, it is worth discussing briefly the head teacher and staff of this school. The head teacher's attitude was quite traditional. For him,

religion and nationality (i.e. *Orthodox* religion and *Greek* nationality) were important factors in someone's life; he was a kind person overall, but was trying to impose his monoreligious views on the children (AP1.1[32]), for example, boosting the Greek national identity with praises of the 'glorious past of ancient Greece' (*ibid*.) and employing militaristic methods of management (*ibid*.). Also, although I did not have the chance to integrate with the staff of the school in order to gain an opinion on their views on immigration issues (as I was spending break times observing the class) there was a time when in the staff room, talking about a forthcoming community event, a comment was heard identifying the poor financial state of Albanians in a derogatory way: 'Only Albanians go to the Town Council's events. There is free food, that's why' (Field notes, 19-2-2009). There was no reaction by the rest of the staff.

Mr. C was between 36 and 45 years old, he had a working experience of 10 years and this was his second year of teaching this class. He was responsible and passionate about his job, well educated and applying current pedagogues; he prepared worksheets and lesson plans every day; he had organised the classroom into working groups; he respected the personality of each student and their privacy; he valued their opinions and listened to every one of them (AP1.2). Mr. C had worked on the social health of his class. They had a satisfactory level of ability to co-operate, work in groups and discuss, and a good level of discipline. In their regular lesson they were often given opportunities to express their opinion and be appreciated. Compared with the 2nd pilot's children examined earlier (see p. 102) in terms of dealing with arguments, they were used to trying to solve any emerging problem and not refer constantly to Mr. C; the majority of them stated that they would try to intervene when they saw an argument (AP1.12), instead of 'telling the teacher' (see also 2nd application, p. 137).

With regard to intercultural education in Greece, Mr. C stressed the lack of support by the Ministry of Education, concerning deficient and scarce central planning and lack of in-service training: 'The only help we get from the Ministry is… zero.' (AP1.4; see also P2.10, p. 102; 3rd application, AP3.1, p. 158). Also, although he acknowledged and stressed the changes made lately (2006) in the new textbooks, including characters of non-Greek children in an attempt to familiarise pupils with a multicultural society, he pointed out that this helps, 'but is not enough' (AP1.3). In fact, apart from one or two non-Greek names added in the textbooks' characters, there were no significant changes made. Under a mantle of 'interculturalism', the monoreligious views and stereotypes were still there (Tsilimeni et al., 1990). One may say that Mr. C adopted an antiracist approach (see p. 29) concerning racism in his classroom: He acknowledged the responsibility of the Greek students (see the role of power, p. 33) in the emerging racist incidents and his interventions last year were basically on *their* behaviour as culprits. In cases of racist incidents that had come up (pp. 116-119), aware of the family influence, he contacted and collaborated with the parents of the perpetrators, in some cases only to find out that it was they who acted as models for their children's prejudice (Field notes, 19-2-2009). He also stressed that a deeper change requires longitudinal intervention.

[32] See Appendix K, Extract 1.1, etc.

Mr. C: The family background has an important impact in this direction. And we can't intervene there, anyway.
R: And how did you deal with this last year?
Mr. C: I called the parents separately… And I noticed that the parents themselves or rather parents of specific children that had such an attitude treated Albanian children if not fearfully, as if they were inferior to themselves. (...)
R: So, did you talk to the parents?
Mr. C: And the children. In every opportunity we referred to the characters of the books, we didn't miss a chance to extend the discussion about this. (…) They were responding to this but practically, while playing, it [i.e. biased attitude] would come up; at some point. (AP1.15)

In terms of the immigrant children in the Greek school, acknowledging the emerging difficulties, he stressed the importance of the nursery school in the children's integration (AP1.5; see also Preliminary research, p. 88).

> Mr. C: [*Some years ago*] Inside the classroom there was total chaos (…); [they didn't know the language and] this led to restlessness and aggressiveness when there was teasing by the Greek ones. (…) Now this has been decreased in the sense that most of them go through nursery school (AP1.5).

Lastly, Mr. C had attended some drama/theatre seminars in the past and used this knowledge on every opportunity (1st interview, 19-2-2009) as he had noticed the positive effect that drama has on the children personal development.

The children

During the preliminary research conducted in the year before the study, Mr. C had mentioned that 'there are always problems' and had pointed out the examples of a couple of children that had expressed prejudices openly (Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008). In his first interview, the teacher referred once more to the racist comments and behaviour he had spotted the year before, which according to him were reduced:

Mr. C: Last year's very intense differences [between Greeks and foreigners] have calmed down now - these [beliefs] were expressed by some of the children, not the whole class. (…)
R: Have you noticed any nationality-related name calling?
Mr. C: [They used the word] 'Albanian' last year. Last year this was very common. 'The Albanians', 'Albanian', this, that, grouping… But not now.
R: By specific ones?
Mr. C: Yes… (…) But if two or three call them this, it's easily taken up by the rest. But I think this is over now (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

Unfortunately this was not exactly the case. The interviews before the application showed there were prejudices in the classroom and pupils who segregated their classmates and friends according to origin. Three typical examples were Boy B and Girls G and M:

Last year, before the Easter holidays, Boy B had told the class that Judas was Albanian (Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008; Field notes, 3-3-2009; see also p. 81).

This year, his prejudiced beliefs were both expressed in the classroom and during observation (AP1.14). During the interviews he categorised his classmates according to their ethnic identity; he collectively referred to Albanians as a category of children he generally does not befriend, initially giving the reason that 'the rest swear at him', but later stating that they are 'a bit stupid' and 'not so smart' (*ibid.*).

Greek Girls G and M had expressed racism both in their first interview (AP1.16) but also before the application started. The following extract comes from the girls' first interview, when they were talking about befriending or not the boys from their classroom.

> R: You mean among all boys you prefer to play with Boy B.
> Girl M: Yes. Cos all the others are little Albanians (laughs).
> (…)
> R: You've told me that you don't befriend Albanians, right?
> Both: No [we don't].
> Girl G: I never befriend Albanians
> Girl M: Neither do I (*relieving laugh*)
> Girl G: (…) What I don't like is Albanians coming to Greece. This is what I don't like. Everybody should stay in his own country. That's what I say. But… I don't like them coming here (AP1.16).

According to Mr. C (see earlier and also AP1.15) Girl G's behaviour was a result of her family's beliefs; he realised this 'right after I met her mother' (Field notes, 19-2-2009). Parents proved to be an important influence on pupils' views towards non-Greeks and – by extension – their friendships (see also earlier, p. 114, AP1.15; 2nd pilot, p. 104; 2nd application, p. 152). In most of the cases the children accepted their parents' advice. However, the case below was different: Girl R(F) was born in Greece from Russian parents and Girl K was from Greece. The two girls were close friends. In the following extract from their first interview, Girl K reveals her mother's influence on her friendship with Girl R(F) and expresses her determination to continue her friendship despite her mother's opinion. During discussions about isolating children because of their origin, Girl R(F) recalled a time when Girl K did not want to be her friend (AP1.7). While trying to change the subject in the beginning, Girl K later admits that:

> Girl K: My mom doesn't let me be friend with Russians, that's why.
> R: Did your mom say this to you?
> Girl K: Yes.
> R: Have you talked to her about Girl R(F) and that she is your best friend?
> Girl K: Yes, but she doesn't let me, I've told her many-many times, she doesn't let me. Now… (*In a conspiring way*) this is a secret: I say I'm not friends with Girl R(F), but I *am*… (AP1.7).

This was probably a confession on the part of Girl K who did not mention this before to her friend. At the end of the interview, Girl K returned to this issue, struggling to find the correct words to express her feelings:

> Girl K: Miss, may I say something? I was keeping it inside me for a long time now… I wanted to say that a friendship cannot be lost due to… A friendship cannot be lost, because…

because… A friendship cannot be lost because… because friendship is very pure. And nothing can set it apart. (…) And I'm sad when she [Girl R(F)] is sad (*ibid*.).

In terms of isolates, there were clearly pupils in this classroom isolated due to their origin, and the most common examples were Girl U(F) and Boy O(F). Mr. C was familiar with his class's social relations and had already noticed it: 'Girl U(F) is [isolated] still… I believe… this year it's better, last year she was more isolated; also Boy O(F) (AP1.6a).' Albanian Girl U(F) had come to Greece two years previously and did not have the chance to attend nursery school; this resulted in learning difficulties that successively led to her social isolation. She was never seen playing with the Greek children of the class during playtime; she was mostly by herself watching the other children, eating her lunch or sometimes hanging around with another Albanian girl of the class (AP1.6c). During drama classes there were moments when she was obviously ostracised by her classmates. She was seen being isolated by her group (Session A, Disk 2, 16.30-20.18), or by other classmates who did not give her attention and space (Session B, Disk 1, 02.30; 23.57; 25.30) (see also Picture 15).

Picture 15 Girl U(F) (under the red arrow) squeezed between Girls H and M

A similar case was that of Boy O(F) who was treated equally badly during classes, but had a better social response from the boys of the class during play time (Field notes, 12-1-2009; 19-1-2009). Playing ball games with the rest of the boys made it easier for him to befriend them than for Girl U(F) to befriend the girls of the class (see a similar case in 3rd application, p. 160). The discrimination was revealed in his first interview, where he and his Albanian friends stated they were ostracised (although they did not report anything – see AP1.6b).

R:	Was there any time that you felt someone does not befriend you because you're from Albania?
Boy P(F):	Yes.
Boy O(F):	They don't befriend us because they say… ehm… 'Albanian, you're Albanian!' (…)
R:	They say you're Albanian and don't befriend you? Have they told you this?
Boy Q(F):	Yes but I don't say anything because they are younger than me. (…)
R:	What about you Boy P(F)?
Boy P(F):	Yes, they've told me.
Boy Q(F):	Me too.
Boy O(F):	Me too. Many times. (AP1.6)

In fact, during drama, Boy O(F), was also caught struggling to be integrated in his group during the price lists task (Session A, Disk 2, 19.00 and 21.13). In Pictures 16 and 17 he is seen to be seated away from the group, even lying on the table in order to reach the rest of his teammates. However, promisingly enough, both Boy O(F) and Girl U(F) were given a completely different treatment at the end of the drama project, when they were seen working with their groups as equals (see p. 130).

Picture 16 Boy O(F) away from the rest members of the team

Picture 17 Boy O(F) trying to reach the members of his group

Key moments during drama

Drama sessions lasted three weeks and an additional reflective session took place, as a final drama scene was added (see p. 124), which extended the initial time schedule. Mr. C stayed with the class in every session, taking video and photographs, providing useful shots of faces and situations. A couple of times he also put himself in role and joined our drama. Below, some of the moments that stood out during this application are discussed, moments of high level of engagement and specific instances indicative of prejudiced behaviour.

Engagement and emotional experience

In terms of engagement, a good level of belief was achieved. One of the high engagement moments was while examining the chest's material (Picture 18), encountering the great-

grandmother of the chairman and also during the ritual she introduced to the class (see also 1st pilot, p. 93; 2nd pilot, p. 98; 3rd application, p. 161).

Picture 18 Highly engaged when examining the material. Here, reading the sacred anthem.

Picture 19 Performing the ritual with the great-grandmother

Apart from the high level of concentration there was excitement and enjoyment after every time we tried the ritual (AP1.17). During it (Picture 19), all chit-chat stopped and everyone was waiting patiently for great-grandmother's instructions. Some minutes after it was completed, Girls K and S(F), stating their engagement, declared honestly that 'they were moved' by great-grandmother's visit and story (Session B, Disk 1, 01.01.34), and this was a feeling common also in other applications during these moments of the drama (2nd pilot, Field notes, 23-1-2009). Children were not encouraged to express their feelings during their normal classes, usually confined strictly to the syllabus. Drama was one of the chances they had to express their affective side. Such moments provided strong emotional experiences that were stressed many days later (see p. 127), enhancing the feelings of belonging to a group, building their roles and, most importantly, seeing the immigrant's point of view, for example, in the scene of debating with authorities, where the role of power is involved.

Moreover, during this application, when the class was forced to take off their village pendants and wear the collars that identified them as foreigners, they showed remarkable reluctance and challenged the order (Session C, Disk 2, 34.10) showing commitment to their past and roles (*cf.* 2nd pilot, p. 99). The guard scene was pivotal as it signalled the dilemma

between their identities as villagers and the admittance to the new country. The children were involved in a clash of interests that was evident since the guard demanded utter acquiescence on their part to the country's authoritarian rules. They felt particularly uneasy when they were forced to wear the collars and stay in the old warehouse, and this was expressed in the majority of their interviews (see below, pp. 126 and 127). At the same time they admit that 'there is no other way'. The collars caused moans of repulsion every time they were presented to the class and the children were forced to wear them. (For similar feelings of injustice and anger in the guard scene see also 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 98; 2nd application, pp. 144-146; 3rd application, pp. 161-164).

Picture 20a The guard presents the collars

Picture 20b (detail)

Picture 21 Moaning about the collars

The above pictures show a sample of pupils' reaction to the sight of the collars. Picture 20b, taken when the guard starts to explain the law, is a detail of the girl on the left of Picture 20a, showing evidently her disgust. Also, one of the boys in the front commented 'I'm not a dog' (Session C, Disk 2, 34.05); this comment was also present in 2nd application (see p. 145). Picture 21 captures the small talk of two children, referring to the collars they have just worn. The boy's face in role is eloquent of his disappointment and, holding the collar away from his face, he suggested to hiding their pendants: '[we should] keep it inside our bags so they can't see it and never abandon it, because we have lived many years in Nostia' (Session C, Disk 2, 36.00), whereas the girl agrees '[we can] Put it in our pocket, so they won't see it' (*ibid*., 36.24), while her bitter smile shows her awareness of all this being a drama and her being in role. After the session, Mr. C stated that he 'was astonished by their refusal to take off their pendants and wear the collars' (Field notes, 9-3-2009). In the next session, Girl V explained their attitude:

> Girl V: (*Talking out of role*) I think that they didn't want to take them off because it was the only thing we've got left from Nostia (Session D, Disk 1, 07.25).

Many shots were recorded with sad and thoughtful children's faces, especially when warehoused (Pictures 22 and 23, Session D, Disk 1, 20.00-21.00) and during facing hardships in the new land (*ibid*, 35.00-40.00).

Picture 22 In the warehouse I

Picture 23 In the warehouse II

Meetings in role also had moments of high engagement, which gave the children a chance to practice their social skills through problem solving. The majority of the children enjoyed and participated actively in the meetings where the whole class discussed the emerging problems. Even with this class, which was used to discussion, both the teacher and I were surprised by their eagerness and participation: 'They have never sat for two hours in a row to do such kind of work [i.e. intellectual]' (Mr. C in Field notes 3-3-2009). Girl F's comment in one of the meetings was indicative of the pupils' avidity to search for solutions:

R/TiR: (*as the chairman*) There is one more problem –
Girl F: What is it? We can solve it! (Session C, Disk 2, 24.36).

Another example of high involvement was the outcry that took place when the chairman presented the children with the libellous letter (see Appendix O). Girls V and F were calling out phrases, all cross, complaining strongly in every silent moment between the lines of my reading (Session E, Disk 1, 23.23-26.00) (see also 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 106; 3rd application, p. 164).

> Girl V: I'm gonna scream! I can't stand this! (…) Steal their children?! Where did they get this idea from? They provoke us! (Session E, Disk 1, 23.10-23.34)

After reading the letter, the class was deeply agitated and eager to talk. A long and heated discussion in role took place, where a general feeling of injustice was spread.

R/TiR:	(*as the chairman*) Friends, how do you feel after this?
Boy Q(F):	We have to take revenge!
Boy B:	Yes!
R/TiR:	Do you think this can help?
Boy Q(F):	No… (*pause*) Let's write a letter ourselves!
Girl H:	Tell them that *they* were the ones who were treating us badly.
Girl V:	When I first read it… I felt like screaming… I mean… This is outrageous!!
Girl F:	They blame us for something we didn't do! (…)
Boy W(F):	Nonsense…
Girl F:	(*addressing to the class/villagers, leading the discussion*) Do we steal?
All:	No!
Girl F:	(*stirring people up*) Was there any time that anybody saw us stealing?
All:	(*louder*) No!!
Girl V:	They wrote this to get on our nerves! (…) And also they don't have proof. They keep on saying 'it is said, it is said'… they've got no proof… (Session E, Disk 1, 27.22-33.11).

Most of the pupils, especially those who were actively expressing their feelings in the discussion, were fully engaged in the dramatic situation, showing feelings of unfairness. The class examined different angles of solving the problem. They referred to actions of revenge, expressed their anger and explored issues of reliability of the letter with some of them taking the lead on the discussion (such as Girl F above), fomenting reaction from their mates. Their feelings were recorded explicitly in the writing activity where complaint letters to the mayor were composed, with emotional statements expressing anger and pleading for

justice, like: 'We try with every honest way to earn our living. We want to be treated like human beings, like you' (AP1.18).

A successful decision was the addition of an extra scene involving the teacher of the class in the role of the mayor. In this final scene, the letters were read by the mayor through the voice of an immigrant (Picture 24). The scene started with me narrating: '*That morning, the mayor's secretary brought in the letters the Nostians had written to him. The mayor took the first into his hands, and started to read it*' (Session E, Disk 2, 32.35). Mr. C in role followed my narration and a member of each group sat on the chair behind the mayor reading aloud their letter.

Picture 24 Teacher in role as the mayor. Boy O(F) at the back is reading out the letter.

When the last letter was read, my narration brought drama to an end and the class into despair: '*After reading the letters, the mayor, with an expression of disdain on his face, made a paper ball out of them, and threw them in the bin'* (Session E, Disk 2, 39.25). At this point, for a few moments, the class was deadly silent, astonished by the turn of the story. Immediately afterwards, they were heatedly complaining, expressing their frustration both to me and their teacher. There was a fuss in general, an insatiable feeling: they were both astonished and felt betrayed by this attitude (see below, 'I was furious with the mayor', p. 127). The scene was added in order to attain the class's understanding of the drama and demonstrate its impact. And indeed, the results were quite encouraging, providing the pupils with a strong emotional experience, commenting on the treatment of refugees by the authorities. The class was highly engaged, working together with their groups including all pupils (Boy O(F) (p. 118) was one of them – Session E, Disk 2, 34.03). The pace was slow but kept their interest and – despite their frustration – when they were informed that our drama was over and were praised for their job, the whole class clapped excitedly (Session E, Disk 2, 40.10).

Views on immigrants

One of the issues that emerged during the sessions was the importance certain pupils – especially those with a background of prejudice – paid to non-Greek pupils' national identity. Albanians were the first to be mentioned as an example of a 'foreigner', and especially Boy

Q(F), an active boy with a strong personality who seemed used to this treatment (AP1.6b). Boy B (p. 116) was one of the culprits. During the classes he kept reminding me and the class on the different ethnicity of his classmates. In the extract below, Boy B is indicating Albanian Boy Q(F) as a border expert.

R: Have you ever noticed, usually on maps –
Boy B: …that these are the borders?!
R: Hmm… What exactly are the borders?
Boy B: It's… this thing… at… Like… like… this place, (to Boy Q(F)) Boy Q(F), where *you* go to… the borders…
Boy Q(F): (*excited*) Yes, yes! (AP1.8)

Given that foreign pupils are generally reluctant to talk about their origin, and a different ethnicity is usually considered to be a stigma, Boy B's use of Boy Q(F) as an example in this case could not have had completely benign intentions . Boy B's call to his Albanian classmate could have been considered as a benevolent help request with no harming intentions if there was a good relation between the two boys. However, given Boy B's opinion towards the Albanians (see an extract of his interview AP1.14), this is illustrative of the importance Boy B puts on Boy Q(F)'s origin and also his knowledge on immigrants experiences. Boy Q(F) seems to take this as a chance to prove his knowledge and expertise. Quite self-confident, he was happy to play the expert's role, approving Boy B's comment and willing to participate in the discussion. The incident reoccurred in the following session when, during recap, Boy O(F) avoided answering the question and again Boy Q(F) was indicated as an expert (AP1.9). After the session, the teacher commented that he believed Boy O(F) did not admit his expertise because of the stigma related to a foreigner's capacity and also because of his diffident character (Field notes, 6-3-2009), whereas Boy Q(F) would be self-confident enough to admit so, even being aware of the unpleasant connotations. Another example of Boy B finding a chance to make a reference to Boy's Q(F) origin was immediately after I introduced the role of the border guard, in the third session. Boy B suggested that the guard should speak Albanian, since he was from another country.

R: Please bear in mind that when we will cross the border, we will meet a border guard –
Boy B: …who speaks Albanian! Just like Boy Q(F).
R: Yes, he may speak a different language but we will understand him anyway (Session C, Disk 2, 12.30).

In a way, the boy identified foreign countries with Albania, foreign languages with Albanian language and the first example that came to his mind was always Boy Q(F). I accepted Boy B's suggestion that the guard could speak a different language in order to show the class that Albanian is an acceptable language for someone to speak, not a disgraceful one as it is generally regarded. The third time Boy B referred to Boy Q(F)'s ethnic identity was when I referred to real people going through difficulties such as those in our drama. Boy B used Boy Q(F) once more as an example, extending my attempt to bring the real world into our drama.

R: I must tell you that the drama we're doing these days, is a reality for some

people.

Boy B: I was about to say this.

R: And some people indeed go through these hardships. So I'm asking you to take it seriously…

Boy Q(F): (*seriously*) I *am*.

R: … because there are people who go through these.

Boy Q(F): Yes. (*pause*) Very much [sic] …

Boy B: (*to Boy Q(F)*) *You* are too. You're *still* going through this. (*Boy Q(F) doesn't answer*) (AP1.10).

As was evident above, Boy B seemed to be aware that the project was related to immigrants and the living example for him was always Boy Q(F); his statement was half supportive, and – given their unfriendly relationship – half denigrating. Boy B was also aware of the taboo character of the subject and even though during the sessions he was eager to speak his opinion, when in the second interview I tried to understand his behaviour he was completely shut off, dismissive, denying any knowledge of the subject. Skilfully enough, he was manipulating the discussion avoiding mentioning the illustrative examples he used in the lessons (2nd Interview, 18-3-2009).

Apart from Boy B, Girl G also paid attention to Boy Q(F)'s origin, as was evident in the following incident. In a chat during break time she reminded her friends of his origin in comparison to an Italian 'Mafioso' – the children were trying to give a definition of this word and Boy W(F) suggested Boy Q(F) as one. 'He's not a Mafioso, he's just Albanian!' answered Girl G (Field notes, 19-3-2009) smiling benevolently. It is interesting that she related immediately his nationality with Boy W(F)'s comment on Mafia – could it be an identification between the two cultures' stereotypical attitudes? Before the drama (p. 117), the girl's attitude towards Albanians was negative according to her first interview (AP1.16) and the teacher's (AP1.15). Her second interview however showed evidence of change in her views (see below, p. 128), leaving one wondering if it was the drama's impact that made her question her biased beliefs.

Post-drama observation and interviews

After the drama, there was considerable evidence of all the engagement described earlier, when the participants were interviewed for the second time. Their views on the drama project both from the teacher and the children are described below, and also indications of change among the pupils of the class and views on immigrants.

Views on the drama project

In his second interview Mr. C was convinced about the importance and the value of the drama project ('Most of the children were engaged. (…) They were given the opportunity to see from another point of view. (…) they saw it; they felt how hard it is. (…) They did contemplate upon it. That's for sure. And it works (AP1.19a).' He also referred to the fact that the children – especially immigrants – found the courage to speak about their origin and experiences ('they opened up and spoke for themselves whereas they used to have inhibitions (*ibid.*).' Mr. C commented on the lessons he saw in practice, showing an

understanding of drama as a medium for learning (see also his 1st interview, AP1.13), focusing mainly on the concept of slowing down the action for deeper understanding and building belief to the roles. 'The common mistake that we do I think is precipitation; whereas it needs time. I cannot think that it would have worked if we said 'this is the village, now you are its inhabitants'. It wouldn't have worked (AP1.19b).'

Most of the children were satisfied with the drama and had positive comments ('we had a great time' (Girl R(F)), 2nd interview, 19-3-2009); see also the extracts below). They mentioned also moments of the story that made them feel upset, revealing the high level of engagement with their roles ('I was beginning to feel nervous').

R: What did you think of our drama?
Girl K: Perfect! (…) Apart from… That you put us in jail and to the… It was nice in the beginning, but in the end… I was beginning to feel nervous.
Girl R(F): I liked everything so much, but the drama in the end… I was furious with the mayor. Because he threw away the letters. Everything else was very good (2nd interview, 19-3-2009).

In most of the interviews, the initial comments were very positive and right after that, the negative moments were mentioned. Below, Girl F and Girl V are stating the moments of the story they disliked.

R: What did you think of the drama we did?
Girl J: It was very good.
Girl V: Yes, very very good!
Girl F: But it was something I didn't like.
Girl V: Me too.
Girl F: I didn't like it when the mayor threw away all our letters! We made so much effort to write them, it wasn't so easy, and the mayor wasted our efforts!
Girl V: We didn't even have pencils. We did them with feathers.
R: Was it because you were in the old times?
Girl V: Yes. (…) Me, I didn't like it that the Elepadians wrote this letter and I felt like screaming… I don't know what happened; I wanted to let steam out! I mean… I felt… Anger.
Girl J: Me too. Anger. How did they know it was us? They wrote 'it is said' and 'it is said'… They believed rumours for us; but someone may have had spread rumours to kick us out. (2nd interview, 18-3-2009)

Girl F stressed the effort the Nostians made to write these letters and an additional point was revealed, that the group took the initiative to match the means of writing to the era (they decided to write the letters with feathers). The girls referred to the letter describing real intense feelings ('I felt like screaming', 'I wanted to let steam out'), being able to recognise them ('I mean… I felt… anger'), and also acknowledging the role of rumours in the formation of the false information for them ('they believed rumours for us').

Views on immigrants

Along with the feelings of empathy, most of the children in their final interviews were thoughtful about the situation of foreigners. They showed interest in helping people coming

into Greece. It has been pointed out before that it would be impossible to change established beliefs in a 10-hour drama; the attitude and claims recorded might be temporary, influenced by the recent talk that took place and could easily change under the influence of their usual environment, as teacher also mentioned (2nd interview, 20-3-2009). However, statements like Girl K's (who was advised by her mother not to befriend Russian children, see p. 117), show the level of empathy she reached during drama:

> R: What do you think you've learned from our drama?
> Girl K: We've learned that we should respect others; and think how it would be if we were in their shoes (2nd interview, 19-3-2009).

Accordingly, Girls E and L, who in their first interview were not particularly keen on befriending their immigrant classmates (AP1.22), in their follow-up interview, classified 'treating nice' and 'love' immigrants as some of the things they learned from our drama lesson.

> R: Was there something new that you learned from our lessons?
> Girl E: We learned… How to treat people. We learned how to co-operate.
> Girl L: And we learned how to love.
> R: (*to Girl E*) What do you mean when you say 'treat people'?
> Girl E: People that come here. Treat them nice. (…)
> Girl L: And we learned how to love. (…) I mean… Love people (2nd interview, 18-3-2009).

Albanian Boy Q(F) recalled moments from the drama and related them to – also his – reality, making a sentimental and dramatic statement:

> Boy Q(F): We learned to… We learned how it is when you lose your country and when everything collapses around you. These we learned [sic] (2nd interview, 20-3-2009).

Change

Concerning cases of pupils who displayed some change after the drama, apart from the pupils mentioned above, Girls G and M were among them. Both had previously exhibited racial prejudice (see p. 117). In their second interview, however, there was an incongruity present, at least for Girl G. Girl M had missed almost half of the project owing to an illness, so she had no experience of the empathetic drama part. This revealed a difference between the two girls, rendering one of them almost as a control. In their second interview, although Girl G showed some progress, Girl M expressed the same xenophobia. The extracts that follow (an extended extract can be found at AP1.20) show that the difference was obvious between the two. Even though the change was not impressive (as she still expressed xenophobic views) there were promising sentences expressed by Girl G which unveiled the significant level of her engagement and the impact that drama had on her.

> R: Do you think that your non-Greek classmates or their parents had similar problems, like Nostians in Elepadi?
> Girl M: No. No, no.
> Girl G: Yes. Like you could sing Christmas carols and go to a place and receive only 10 or 20 cents.

Girl M: With Albanians… I don't get on well with… I don't befriend Boy Q(F) because I'm scared…; Albanians may steal some kid (AP1.20).

The difference was obvious as even when her friend strongly denied immigrants having problems, Girl G disagreed and gave an example of injustice, reminiscent of their racist incidents in drama (Session D, Disk 1, 46.00-57.15; Disk 2, 00.00-03.30). Girl M insisted in her xenophobic views ('I'm scared, Albanians may steal some kid'):

R: Isn't it what Elepadians said for the Nostians? Haven't they accused them of being thieves?
Girl M: Yes. And this is bad.
Girl G: Yes, they accused them. But they shouldn't have. Did they know them? They should behave *a bit* good in the beginning, and then after they know them well, they should be good to them. (…) At first they should stay a bit with them and give them jobs, eat together like a family, and if they were good, they could keep them. If they were bad, send them away.
Girl M: But you never know with a foreigner. He may pretend that he's good but inside be bad.
R: Does this happen only with foreigners? What about Greeks?
Girl G: Greeks could be bad also.
Girl M: Greeks could… But not many times. Just *sometimes* (AP1.20).

Here, while Girl G suggested people should get to know foreigners and give them a chance like a trial period to prove their honourable intentions, Girl M continued having a negative opinion of her immigrant classmates ('You never know with a foreigner'). At the end of the extract, when I suggested that Greeks could also have a cunning behaviour, it was again Girl M who was less convinced by this assumption: Greeks may be bad, but 'not many times.'

Girl M: Mr. C talks to us about these poor people, and I can't… I try to feel something inside me, but I don't. (*Concerned*) I try a lot, but I can't feel anything.
R: How do you think the Nostians felt when Elepadians treated them badly?
Girl G: They felt bad (*ibid.*).

Girl G had experienced the immigrant's feelings and she could recall those as the above extract shows, whereas Girl M could not respond to my question. Girl M was finding it hard to empathise with anyone in need ('I can't feel anything'). Girl M's statement above also shows clearly the inefficacy of the teaching method of *discussing* such social issues (a normal lesson with Mr. C), compared with a drama session that allows pupils to *feel* the problem. A long discussion took place with both girls talking on the project and the situation of immigrants in the real world. Later on Girl G adopted a clearly empathetic stance, comparing the situation of Nostians and hypothetical statements from their roles to the situation of Albanians.

Girl G: You know… this is not nice. *(Pretends speaking in role, to the local people)* "We came to you; so does this mean that we are thieves? Don't you know us? You do…" Sometimes the Albanians say the same thing. To us [Greeks]: "You do know us, why do you say we're thieves? We have not stolen anyone." (*ibid*.)

Girl G was recorded having opposing views also during the last sessions of the drama, when she challenged a stereotypical belief for foreigners – and probably also *her* beliefs – that foreigner equals thief. She uses an idea from the real world adapted to the drama context.

R: (*In role, discussing about the letter)* Why do you think they were saying these things?

Girl G: (…) Because we were wearing these yellow collars and that means we're foreigners; they think that since we're foreigners, we're also thieves (Session D, Disk 2, 04.44).

This was the first time she was heard to question a stereotype. In the following session, she would get back to this argument:

> Girl G: Being foreigners does not make us bad! That's what we should tell them. If they were in our place and they were asking for some bread and money, we would have helped them. (…) And what if we're foreigners? Does this mean we're bad? That's what we should say to them (Session E, Disk 1, 31.54).

Another example of change in pupils were the typical immigrant isolates of the class (see earlier, p. 116) Girl U(F) and Boy O(F); in this case in the way they were treated *by* the class. During reflection in the last session, Girl U(F) was mentioned as an example of someone who had to deal with difficulties in a new country (Session F, 12.03) and especially language. Whereas before drama she was clearly isolated, her integration – after the application – to the children's play during breaks was obvious, and may be a hint that some of her classmates credited her struggle. The day after drama was over she was seen playing for the first time with the main girl company of the class. She was unusually happy, clapping and hopping around them, taking part in their game as an equal (AP1.21a). The same happened also the next day (AP1.21b), which was the last day I spent with this class. In the following extract from her 2nd interview, Girl L talked about the behaviour of Greeks towards immigrants, comparing their behaviour with the one of their roles in our drama; the example that she mentions is Girl U(F), stressing her own friendly behaviour towards the immigrant girl compared to the typical behaviour of the class (note her prejudice before the project, AP1.22):

Girl L: Now [Greeks] treat them [the immigrants] nice, not badly; because Elepadians treated Nostians badly. (…) We treat them nice. But some children don't treat them so nice, [as far as] I know. *Some* of the children.

R: Do you mean some of the children from your class?

Girl L: Girl U(F). Noone is friends with her, she plays by herself. Sometimes.

R: And you're saying this is not right?

Girl L: Yeah. One time that Girl U(F) didn't have anyone to sit with her on the coach, I sat with her. I was sitting with her (2nd interview, 18-3-2009).

During the writing of the complaint letter to the mayor of the city, both Boy O(F) and Girl U(F) were included cordially inside their groups, working as equals with the rest of the team in the tasks given (Session E, Disk 1, 52.25; Disk 2, 19.00). Right after the last session, there was a rare moment when Girl U(F) participated in the classroom during Numeracy hour, by raising her hand and giving a successful answer. After her praise by the teacher, Boy B –

maybe with a tint of dismissal – acknowledged her achievement: 'This is the first time that Girl U(F) thinks so right!' (AP1.21c). After a few minutes Girl G, who also showed considerable progress after drama (*cf.* p. 117 (before) and p. 128 (after)), was seen taking good care of Girl U(F): when they formed a circle around the teacher's desk to see a demonstration in Numeracy, Girl G made sure there was enough space for Girl U(F) to see, putting her in front of herself and stepping aside, almost hugging her protectively (AP1.21, *cf.* Picture 15, p. 118). In addition, Boy O(F) was chosen by Boy B as a representative to read out the letter of their team during the final scene; when Boy O(F) had difficulties, Boy B assisted him by standing next to him and helping him with the reading (Disk 2, 34.16-36.44). Conclusively, Boy B in the last session showed twice a difference in his attitude towards both Girl U(F) and Boy O(F) whereas in his 1st interview he had referred to the 'stupidity' of the Albanians as a reason for not befriending them (AP1.14b). Finally, the change in the confidence of the two immigrant children was noted also by the teacher in his 2nd interview (AP1.19).

Media and parental influence

Two themes that emerged during this application (but also in others – see 2nd pilot, P2.17b; 2nd application, AP2.40, p. 153), was the influence of media and parents. Girl G brought up the former during the 2nd interview. According to her beliefs, despite the changes mentioned earlier (p. 128) foreigners can steal young children. Her voice showed she was really pondering this and struggling to find an answer, which displays the incongruity discussed earlier. She described the TV images impressed in her mind and showed clearly how TV constructs and perpetuates stereotypes.

Girl G:	(*pondering*) Why Albanians take us? Why do they steal small children? (…) But why… children… Why is it that thieves take children? [I suppose] 'Cause they're mean. (…)
R:	Do you mean that it is the foreigners that steal children?
Girl G:	Yes. Both foreigners and some Greeks…
R:	Have you seen somebody doing this?
Girl G:	No, but I've heard on TV… it shows a little child and makes a scary music and says 'a little child is lost', that's why. That's why. I see it on TV (2nd interview, 19-3-2009).

Apart from mass media influence, it is possible that the image of an Albanian 'taking children' is widespread as a traditional disciplinary method – the same image applied for gypsies some years ago – spreading fear among children, especially in rural areas such as this, among families and parents of low educational level. Even though there is no research on such parental disciplinary methods, the fact that incidents of children's abduction are not common shows that it is probably such stories that make them form these beliefs. The second theme that emerged was parents' influence (Girl K, AP1.7, p. 117). The teacher referred once more to their role (AP1.15, p. 115; Field notes, 19-2-2009, p. 117), since despite the drama impact and experience, some of the families could convince them to the contrary. He stressed the fact that sometimes there is a clash in the opinions of the teacher and those of the family, that inevitably in some cases there is going to be a controversy, until the children reach a maturity level to decide for their selves. In terms of application of such

drama projects within the curriculum Mr. C said that the main issue for a teacher to apply such a project is that firstly he or she must acknowledge that there is problem in the classroom, as 'many of us just close our eyes in front of the problems that emerge [saying] 'never mind, it's all right'' (2nd interview, 20-3-2009; for similar beliefs see also p. 86).

Drama practice

As advice to new drama teachers on process drama is part of this thesis, in the last part of this application it is worth having a closer look at a few points concerning drama practice, which emerged during the sessions. Namely, the issues that emerged in this application concerned mostly the use of visual aids, superficial drama scenes and teacher in role strategy.

Visual aids

In Session C – right after the flood when the class sat in a meeting to decide their next step – the role visual aids could play was evident, enhancing children's imagination, facilitating them into deeper belief in their roles and providing them with help to decode the situation (O'Neill in Taylor & Warner, 2006: 83). When I put the blue gauze on the village's map (Picture 25) signing the flooded territory the children were led more easily towards the solution of emigrating, visualising the disaster previously narrated. Usually the gauze was placed before the meeting, but this time it was – by mistake – placed later. The fact that I delayed the placing of the gauze was an opportunity to realise its impact, which was obvious at the moment I put it up:

Xx[33]:	Ah cool!
Xx:	This is the water!
Xx:	Wow! Really nothing left there!
Girl S(F):	(*returning from the toilet*) Ah cool. The water! (Session C, Disk 2, 07.24)

Picture 25 Positioning the blue gauze on the map

[33] Unidentified pupil.

The third pupil aptly realised the size of the disaster ('nothing left'), whereas the gauze's function was clear even to Girl S(F) who had missed the placing of it. She came in just when I finished putting it up and immediately realised its purpose. Unfeasible solutions – like Girl J's who suggested getting the water out of the village with buckets (*ibid*., 06.27) – which were made just before the positioning of the gauze were crossed out at once. Using such aids at the right time saves the teacher time, in this case from the discussion, as it focuses the discussion point, condenses the meaning and visualises a narration.

Superficial drama

Deficient planning and guidance, led to moments of superficial drama and enactment. The journey to the new country through the woods (see p. 73) was problematic in nearly every application. Most of the groups chose to represent scenes where they were fighting with wild animals, which could be fun for them but did not have any quality or educational benefit. In Picture 26 a group of the class is seen running happily around the room, chased by wild bears (Session C, Disk 1, 17.00).

Picture 26 'Bears chasing us'

As Fleming (2011) puts it, there is a great difference between drama and dramatic playing; in this case, the children were practicing the latter: some of the groups were excitedly having fun, creating a scene with no feeling or depth. Focus on drama is important in order to ensure quality (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988). In this case, inadequate directions and indirect encouragement gave no clear focus on the task and this enhanced pupils' distraction. Influenced by a traditional laissez faire approach, the children were left free to plan their scenes and had no help to make them focused and structured. Prompt and accurate feedback and reflection upon each scene, and a more detailed guiding, considering also implications and feelings, would have prevented ambiguity and could have generated better results giving the pupils the opportunity to enhance dramatic action.

Classroom teacher in role

What was also interesting was that Mr. C got in role by his own initiative, joining the drama along with the class. The first time was during a meeting as a member of the community, to share his experience as a racism victim by his boss – which afterwards was used by the children – also stating that it was disregarded by the local police, thus referring to institutional racism (AP1.11). The children's reaction was giggling at first, feeling awkward in the view of their teacher in role (Cowley, 2007) wearing a collar. The children saw their teacher in role for the first time; viewing him in a different context from the one they have used to was difficult for them. However, if such entries are planned in detail, and time is given, children adjust to this new situation: after the first giggles, pupils actually used Mr. C's suggestions (AP1.11). The most important issue that needs to be prevented when teacher is in role is the clear distinction of his/her capacities. Being in role and behaving as a teacher at the same time obscures drama and disorientates children. This occurred in the final scene when Mr. C played the role of the mayor (see p. 124). Being unfamiliar with the technique, he caused confusion to the children, sometimes speaking to them as their teacher while at the same time wearing the hat that made him the mayor. Apart from the awkward giggling, this had as a result many children accusing *him* (the teacher) of throwing their letters away and nagging after the completion of the drama (Session E, Disk 2, 40.05).

Conclusions

Concerning the findings related to the research objectives, racist beliefs *were* present among this class. Albanian pupils were being isolated and national identity seemed to be important for some Greek children (AP1.6b, AP1.9, pp. 124-126). Drama impact was apparent in children's statements after the project, correlating their experiences with the real world or giving examples from their classmates' life (p. 127). Drama seemed to have a resonance with the children also after the lessons, as there were many moments of high engagement and empathy with immigrants' problems and difficulties (scenes of the ritual, the guard, the warehouse, improvisations and meetings were successful pp.119-126). Some of these children showed a significant incongruity after the project, with their old beliefs opposing their new experiences (pp. 128-131). The project also brought a change in the way two of the Albanian pupils were treated (p. 130). Parental influence came up as an issue in this application and the teacher reported it as one of the factors forming racist behaviour (pp. 115).

In terms of drama practice, accumulating the experience of the first two pilots, the 1st application went relatively smoothly in terms of class management. There were moments of high engagement but also of superficial drama, especially in action scenes where physical activities took place (p.133). With the help of the teacher, the additional scene that was created in this application, with the children reading out the letters to the city's mayor, worked successfully, generating high concentration and strong feelings by the rest of the class during the dramatic action (pp. 124 and 133).

2ND APPLICATION

Introduction

The 2nd application of the project will be analysed using the same structure as in the previous one after a description of the setting: a) pre-drama observation and interviews, b) key moments during drama, c) post-drama observation and interviews, and d) drama practice issues. The analysis focuses on showing the impact drama had on the children, examining key moments that show their engagement, to end with the follow-up interviews where links from the drama to real life were drawn by pupils and their previous beliefs were challenged. The main presence in this application was the teacher of the class (hereafter: Ms. D). Her authoritarian teaching suppressed the children, and under a cloak of benignity, racism was still present.

The application lasted six weeks including Easter holidays, interviews and class observation. The last two took place one week before and one week after the project. The interviews were held in groups of two to four pupils, privately, either in the empty staff room or in any available classroom of the school while the rest of the class went on with the regular lessons. During drama, the teacher remained in the classroom in most of the five sessions. 25% of the pupils in this school were born to non-Greek parents (Table 19). The class consisted of 16 boys and six girls of seven to eight years old. 36% of the class pupils had a foreign background, originating from Georgia and Albania (Table 20).

Country of origin	Number
Greece	114
Albania	15
Bulgaria	4
Georgia	19
Total	**152**

Table 19 School composition (source: questionnaires, school No. 52)

Country of origin	Number
Greece	14
Albania	3
Georgia	5
Total	**22**

Table 20 Class composition (source: teacher's and school's database)

Pre-Drama Observation and Interviews

The first round of interviews and observation lasted one week. The disturbing issue in this application was the violence that reigned in the school. Bullying was omnipresent, exerted both by pupils *and* teachers. Although Greek legislation is quite clear, and corporal punishment is explicitly prohibited by law (Government Gazette 1998; Law 3500/06),

unfortunately a large part of Greek society still considers corporal punishment a disciplinary method. Studies are scarce on this field but it is evident that little has changed in beliefs in a time span of almost 15 years: still 'corporal punishment is considered a parents' right', (Fereti & Stavrianaki, 1997), and a large percentage of students have been hit by their educators (Nikolaidis et al., 2006). According to Ignatiadis (2010) corporal punishment is still present but is now a taboo issue: parents are still using it although they do not openly admit it.

The teacher

Unfortunately, an example of a teacher applying such methods was Ms. D, despite her 36 years of teaching experience. The most prominent of the observation findings was her authoritarian teaching. She displayed a mixture of altruism and ferocity, promoting Christian morality and at the same time severely sanctioning. Her disciplinary methods were as harsh as dragging pupils out of the classroom by the hair or by smacking and kicking them (AP2.1[34]) and exerting insulting reprimands in public (AP2.2; AP2.3) – methods I was forced to listen to and watch nearly every day. Her public comments made every child aware of the 'bad' pupils of the class. This made some of the 'good' ones back her up by calling out statements to their classmates such as 'Miss[35] says this is for your own good' (AP2.4). Ms. D did not challenge this behaviour but rather enhanced it (AP2.9), letting some of them believe in their superiority and position of power (see also 2nd pilot, p. 102; 3rd application, p. 158). The head teacher's methods of retributive justice were quite similar (AP2.5). However, although I was deeply concerned about this situation, I chose not to interfere with the school's internal life. I considered myself a researcher looking for the most objective setting and any intervention from my part could possibly have changed the data I was collecting. This was a huge dilemma for me and a difficult decision to make. I chose not to condemn Ms. D's physical sanctions when asked by her (AP2.6) or when I witnessed severe incidents during the lessons (AP2.1). However, retrospectively, reading again the transcriptions of the interviews and my field notes, I incline to the view that the social, psychic and physical health of the pupils are more important than the data of a research, and that preventing physical harm of the pupils by the teachers should have taken priority over the validity of my data.

Ms. D was deeply religious and indoctrinated the class with Christian Orthodox ideas which she considered 'the only' and 'true' religion (AP2.7). Religious principles of mercifulness were usually mentioned in her teaching, demanding the children to be benevolent and charitable almost by force (AP2.19). Consequently the pupils were always proud to show they were altruists and good Christians (AP2.8). Sharing, giving and human concern were values inculcated in this class. They exceptionally shared their possessions and cared for each other without being fraudulent (*ibid.*) compared with other classes in this project and their average age, which, according to Piaget, is on the verge of surpassing the stage of egocentrism (Davenport, 1994; Gupta & Richardson, 1995). Ms. D was aware of her influence on the children and was trying to instill her philosophy in them, making them

[34] See Appendix L, Extract 2.1, etc.

[35] In Greek school female teachers are addressed as 'Ma'am', irrespective of age or marital status. In this thesis, 'Miss' was kept for ease of the English reader.

'copy' it (AP2.9-2.10) according to Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1977; Davenport, 1994) stating that people learn from one another, by observing different behaviours or attitudes, imitating and modelling (Riddall-Leech, 2008). Her traditional views were evident when she referred to I.Q. as an indicator of attainment that defines the children's future classifying the children as 'good' and 'bad' ones (AP2.16b); she reinforced stereotypes, dismissing Africa as a 'poor' continent where 'they drink dirty water', comparing it to Greece which has a 'cultural heritage', talking about 'inferior' and 'superior' cultures (AP2.17). Another important characteristic that had an impact in my project was her monologue (see also Neelands in O'Connor, 2010: xxiv; p. 44 'monologue is the language of dictatorships'): she chose to restrict pupils' voices to the minimum; she possessed all the answers and pupils were highly dependent upon her (see also 2nd pilot, p. 102 for a teacher with a similar approach), deprived of any responsibility (AP2.10). She did not leave them space for discussion, and pupils were not used to expressing their own opinions. Long pauses were common during the interviews when the children were asked to think critically (AP2.11); during our drama, in moments of reflection the pupils were waiting for ready-made answers (AP2.34b). In addition, they were not familiar with team work (also noted in the 2nd pilot and 3rd application): Ms. D had not arranged the classroom into groups and she claimed the reason was pressure for curriculum coverage (AP2.12). She seemed afraid of the noise class discussion brings (Heathcote, 1991d: 63; Morgan & Saxton, 1994:14), reluctant to address substantial questions from her students lest wasting time (AP2.12). The children were aware of this practice and in some cases longed for the collaborative methods of their previous teacher in Year 1 (AP2.13).

Regarding her views on immigrants, Ms. D's religious beliefs dictated that she should treat them with charitable and compassionate feelings, maintaining a feeling of superiority (AP2.14). However, as she applied this only to Greek returnees (of the 1970s and '80s) and disabled children (as an example of people in need, she related them to immigrants), not referring to modern cases of immigrant children from other countries, her answers raise questions on whether she could share positive feelings and make sacrifices also for non-Greek people. In fact, the few times she referred to immigrants of other ethnicities one could discern a tinge of arrogance in her statements as she posed assimilation as a prerequisite for their acceptance, stressing also *their* violent behaviour to be a problem (AP2.15; AP2.16). Following a functionalistic approach according to which education is one of those public goods that can improve the people's place in the market (Katsikas & Politou, 1999) the teacher expressed low expectations for immigrant children as she considered it quite an achievement that some of them 'moved on to high school and college' (AP2.16); or deterred Boy B (with learning disabilities) from becoming anything else but a council worker (AP2.16c). These are indicative examples of institutional racism which hamper pupils' ability, setting low standards for them (Lechota, 2007).

She denied the class had particular problems with racism (AP2.18) and rushed to claim that she tackled any racist behaviour in her classroom. Using a rather behaviouristic approach (see 'negative reinforcements' in Davenport, 1995:105), she appealed to the pupils' reflexes rather than critical thinking in order to combat racism, preventing the repetition of the action by severely sanctioning the child, impelling children to befriend non-Greeks, 'whether

they like it or not' (AP2.19). She also believed that racism is mainly an issue for older pupils (AP2.19), a common belief as was shown in Preliminary research (p. 87). However, when she had to deal with it during the project, her approach was more one of covering up and closing issues rather than challenging and solving them: an incident with a racist joke was indicative of her approach. She chose to hush it up, separate the action from the intention (see Macpherson cited in Gillborn, 2008: 123; Pearce, 2010; also Stephen Lawrence case, p. 27) and rationalise the culprit, certain that the Albanian pupils were too young to understand the insult (AP2.20).

The children

The pre-observation and interviews provided many examples of violence being a crucial element of the setting. Hitting others was a common way of problem solving: 'If he swears at me, I smack him one!' (AP2.21; AP2.22) or a way to stop a fight between others: 'he beats up the one who beats up' (AP2.23). Both after school and between the afternoon classes, bullying (among pupils) was taking place almost every day. Children reported to me sentences the bullies said like 'today when school finishes I'm gonna kill you'; there were also cases of children who were too intimidated to attend school because of the threats and beating they often suffered (AP2.23).

Another interesting point in this application was that in some cases, friendships between children seemed to have been formed according to the socioeconomic level of their families. The stratification could easily be discerned: Boys C, I and J were Greeks, using elaborate language, having adequate support by their families and high attainment, whereas the working-class group consisted of pupils with obvious family issues and low attainment, both Greeks and immigrants. This classification resonated also in their beliefs towards immigrants: Whereas middle-class pupils appeared to be more inclusive: 'we're all equals, we don't mind, appearance is not an issue' (AP2.24), the elite group of the class discreetly avoided immigrants and pupils from lower income families, and although they did not isolate them blatantly, they stuck to their own class playing almost exclusively together (AP2.25). When they were asked, they mentioned no foreign child as their best friend and – as they were educated enough to be aware of the taboo character of such questions – did not confess ostracising others but rather found a polite way to put it (for a correlation between racism and social level see also UNICEF, 2001; Preliminary research, p. 90).

R: What about Albanian children? Do you befriend them? Or do you prefer to play with Greek children?
Boy J: I prefer Greeks.
Boy C: Because we can communicate better. They *speak* [Greek] (1st interview, 30-3-2009).

The justification they gave for their preference was easier communication even though none of the foreign children of this class had serious language problems. In one of her examples of promoting humbleness in her classroom, the teacher also referred to the high economic status of Boy J (AP2.26), which makes one assume that since she acknowledged this fact publicly, it would affect also her teaching, making the difference known to the rest of the

pupils and perpetuating segregation. Moreover, segregation was not always known to Ms. D as the children chose not to inform her about it (see also 2nd pilot, p. 103; 1st application, AP1.6b, p. 118; 3rd application, p. 160). Girl V(F) in her 1st interview stated that her current friends were ostracising her last year because of her origin. However she did not turn to the teacher, but to her parents who were considering moving her to another school (AP2.27). Studies (Hinas & Hrisafidis, 2000) have shown that the majority of students prefer to tell such problems to their parents rather than their teachers. Ms. D's suggestion in such cases was to forget about any incident that happened, 'put a full stop and start over again' (AP2.28). Consequently, Ms. D could be partly justified when she stated that there is no racism in her classroom (AP2.18) as in such cases she did not have a clear image of the situation.

Regarding their perception of minorities, children seemed to be aware of the taboo subject of origin. During the 1st interview of Boys C, I and J, at the moments when they were talking about their Albanian classmates or their friendships with foreign children (and *only* then), a constant nervous scratching was heard between their pauses (it was not identified by whom) giving out a strong feeling of tension that was spread out in the room (AP2.29). This feeling was noticed also in other groups – sighs of relief when the subject changed – and shows the pupils' awareness of the sensitive character of the subject (see Literature Review, p. 35, Jeffcoat's study in Short & Carrington, 1992). Being an Albanian was not considered respectful by some of the pupils, even for non-Greeks. During the 1st interview of Boys G(F), H(F) and U(F) who all came from Georgia, Boy U(F) showed his repulsion for Albanians. Boy G(F) seems to identify the word 'Albanian' with 'foreigner'; for him, whoever speaks a different language could be an Albanian (i.e. 'a foreigner'). However, that was an opportunity for Boy U(F) to express his bigoted feelings by dismissing the Albanian origin with the exclamation 'shoo!'.

(talking about their non-Greek classmates)
Boy G(F): We also have an Albanian here, who now knows Greek.
Boys H(F) and U(F): Boy O(F).
Boy H(F): Also Boy R(F).
Boy G(F): (*to Boy U(F)*) And you.
Boy U(F): Am I an Albanian? Shoo! (1st interview, 31-3-2009).

On the other hand, immigrant pupils had internalised the prejudice against them and were wary of stating that they suffered harassment. In their 1st interview, Albanian Boys O(F) and R(F) were positive that no one discriminated against them (AP2.30). However, it seems that they were censoring themselves as some minutes later, when talking about ostracism, Boy O(F) admitted that it had happened to him 'once, in Year 1', and only when he made friends with Greek Boy L, who was quite popular, was he accepted in the company and 'no one hit me any more' (AP2.30). While talking about this, his posture expressed nervousness, as he had turned his body away from me, not looking at me and speaking to the opposite direction, so quietly I could barely hear him (AP2.31; for inward-looking and defensive isolates, for whom fear and anxiety are inhibitors of interaction, see Eaude, 2010).

From all the above it is apparent that the class had racist issues stemming both from the pupils and from the teacher, even though none of them admitted it openly. Some of the key moments during the drama lessons will now be examined, focusing on the children's engagement during drama, creating the potential for deeper understanding, and also the practice of their social skills.

Key moments during drama

Drama lessons lasted four weeks – five sessions of 1.5 to 2 hours each. The conditions under which the drama took place in this case were quite adverse, mainly owing to Ms. D's presence, which very often was disturbing. She remained inside the classroom during the lessons, mainly marking assignments behind her desk. Obtrusively enough, she also acted rather like a guard, interfering with insulting reprimands, banging on her desk to restore order according to her standards or even commenting on assignments while the children were in role, spoiling the dramatic context and destroying any belief achieved (AP2.32). The children were obliged to get out of role abruptly also by people entering the classroom (AP2.33). Ms. D also intervened to correct their 'acting' (AP2.32b); and continued her tactics of providing readymade solutions to the pupils, not allowing them critical thinking (AP2.34).

Engagement and social skills

Moments of commitment in the drama clearly show its depth and revealed the potential of drama to offer the opportunity of reaching a different understanding. Meetings were an example of moments of high engagement that triggered critical thinking and provided pupils with the chance to practise their social skills as the following extract shows. The children were eager to reach a solution to the problem of their homelessness, even though discussion in class was not something they were familiar with. Ms. D also acknowledged this: 'even though they were not used to it, I noticed that the children were trying to find the answers for you. (…)They offered you their ideas; they offered you clear answers, didn't they?' (AP2.35).

(*meeting after the flood*)

R/TiR[36]: I don't know what we should do…

Boy C: Let's go to the next town!

Boy F: Yes, let's go to Elepadi!

R/TiR: To do what?

Boy N: Ask for help.

R/TiR: (*demoralised*) What kind of help? Our houses are completely destroyed. The water can't be removed from there not even after 10 years.

Boy T: If our shops are gone, then it's a big disaster. It hailed, so everything is gone! If we stayed back… how could we save our homes…?

Boy B: And all this water that is down to the ground must now go to a lake…

Boy C: Maybe it will be absorbed by the trees…

Boy F: Come on now! The trees?

Boy L: What if we build new houses around here?

R/TiR: I'm afraid we've got nothing left, no tools, nothing…

Girl P: The people from Elepadi could help us.

[36] R/TiR= Researcher applying Teacher in role strategy

R/TiR: (*pondering*) We *could* go to Elepadi –
Boy N: - And we could build some houses there.
Girl P: Yeah!
Boy C: But we have no tools.
Boy N: We'll borrow some from them.
R/TiR: I'm not sure if Elepadians would help us…
Girl D: They may be nice people…
Girl P: Yes (Session C, Disk 2, 00.30-03.14).

The children seemed significantly involved in the drama, realising the size of the problem ('then it's a big disaster'); concerned about their future in role ('how could we save our homes?'); suggesting solutions ('what if we build new houses?') and questioning them ('but we have no tools'), providing evidence that drama was truthful for them. Subsequently, when the villagers realised they had no other choice than flee to the neighbouring country, it could be discerned in their lines that they had established a belief in their role.

(In role as the chairman, examining the issue of border crossing with no papers)
R/TiR: So we've got to convince them somehow that we have to go into Elepadi.
Boy F: Let's show them the disaster.
Girl P: And they will feel sorry for us.
Boy N: What if they won't believe us?
Boy C: We'll show them. It's close.
Girl P: We could go back and show them.
R/TiR: Do you think we could find a job there? It's a big city…
Many: Yes.
Boy C: We may co-operate with someone. It's fine with us, we don't need to have our own houses or shops... We may have different shops, not the same ones, and be together with another family.
R/TiR: They may give us work. To get some money to make ends meet.
Boy B: And are we going to forget our shops? Where are we going to work?
Boy N: We'll find another job there.
Boy C: In Elepadi.
R/TiR: I'm afraid under these circumstances we have to forget about our shops… The only thing that is left to us is this [*I touch the medallion. Some of the pupils also touch it instinctively*.]. The only thing that reminds us of our village…
Boy K: But your great-grandmother… We… In Nostia… She relied on us.
R/TiR: We promised her that we'll look after Nostia and now this disaster came… Fortunately she gave us these little axes that remind us of our village.
Girl P: We can set up new shops.
Girl M: Elepadians will help us.
Boy B: They may not help us.
Boy T: But they're alive. They didn't have the rain (*he points at the map with the blue gauze on to prove it).*
R/TiR: Boy B you're saying that they may not help us?
Boy B: I'm saying they may not help us and we may not know where to find them in order to ask for help.
Boy T: When we see houses, we'll see their name on the doorbell and we'll ring the bell and they will let us in.
Boy N: There is another way. We could talk to them when they leave their houses to go to work.
R/TiR: And tell them what?
Boy N: That our village is destroyed and we need jobs (Session C, Disk 2, 04.25-08.00).

The pupils examine ways of convincing the locals to help them ('show them the disaster'), stating willing to 'co-operate' and share the responsibility of a shop with the locals. The prospect of starting a new business brought up some complaint recalling previous moments of their (in role) life ('are we going to forget our shops?') which allowed me to intervene reminding them of the symbol of our village. This made Boy K ponder and remind the rest of the class the promise they gave to the great-grandmother, of keeping their tradition alive ('But your great-grandmother… We… In Nostia… She relied on us'). Such record of links to previous moments, expressing distress and concern, show that the children have accessed commitment to the dramatic action, internalising the experiences they already had in the previous sessions, and provides evidence of an established common past and identity. As put by Morgan and Saxton, 'summoning past experience to the demands of the present dramatic situation' (Morgan & Saxton, 1989: 23). In the last section of the extract the class discussed on the different attitudes they may face from the locals in their quest of a job and a new life, examining difficulties ('they may not help us', 'we may not know where to find them') and solutions ('we'll ring their bells', 'we'll talk to them when they go to work'), showing strong interest on the problems their roles were facing.

Another example of high commitment to the drama, but also of moments where the social skills of the class were practiced and different points of views were explored was the following, in a meeting held as them being immigrants in Elepadi. In role, the class was talking about the unfair treatment they get in their work, and unequal payment. However, in this application an interesting suggestion occurred: Boy T, rather naively but seriously, changed the subject, suggesting they should get the money they need by stealing. A debate started:

Boy T:	(*Seriously*) I say we put a ski-mask on, so that they can't recognise us, break the glass and take the money.
	(*Complaints from many pupils*): 'What?' 'What are you talking about?'
R/TiR:	(*as the Chairman*) You're suggesting that we should steal?
Boy T:	Yes.
Boy F:	What are you saying now?!
Girl D:	Why should we be criminals, since we are nice people?!
Boy T:	But they won't recognise us.
Girl P:	Yes, but we'd be thieves!
Boy N:	They'll recognise us from the collar!
R/TiR:	Even if they don't know who did it? Would you feel nice inside?
Boy C:	(*in a didactic manner*) Boy T, it's absolutely wrong what you're saying.
Girl D:	(*to Boy T*) Boy… [*corrects it*] Mr. T[37], We can't be criminals! We're nice people!
Girl P:	We'd better stay in the barn than steal!
R/TiR:	Mr. T I understand that we are in a difficult position. We don't have any money…
Girl P:	But it's not right to steal.
Boy F:	They will recognise us and they will tell the police that it was us…
Boy N:	And how would they know? We'll have the ski-mask on..
Boy F:	They'll surely know it was us!
Boy C:	From your fingerprints.
Boy N:	Yes. Because they know each other well. (Session D, Disk 1, 39.36-44.14).

[37] Boy T in role becomes 'Mr. T'.

This discussion took place to help pupils form the situation of unequal treatment and racism, before going on to create their own scenes of racist incidents (see p. 74). The participation was at a good level, and the class was reflecting, collaborating and negotiating, sharing thoughts and feelings in order to solve the problem. In the first part, Boy T's suggestion was an interjection to the main discussion about racist incidents which continued after this (see extract below). It seems his solution intrigued the rest of the class's moral values ('it's absolutely wrong what you're saying'). It took a large part of the conversation and pupils mostly expressed their opposition, but in a rather diametric approach ('but we'd be thieves', 'good people' vs 'stealing') (for the morality of right and wrong in young children's roleplay see also Papadopoulou, 2012: 588; also in 2nd Pilot, p. 108); Boy N seems to think it over for a moment ('How would they know? We'll have the ski-mask on'). Boy T's suggestion could be utilised to examine the choices some refugees may make under pressure of poverty or hunger but this chance was missed. The suggestion seemed to be dismissed from the body of the assembly, so discussion went on as follows, regarding their mistreatment:

Girl D: I said 'good morning' to an Elepadian, 'how are you' and stuff, and he… called me stupid!
R/TiR: He swore at you.
Boy C: (*he makes an indirect contribution to the imaginary script*) He told you 'Don't give me this good morning stuff, you, foreigner!' didn't he?'
Girl D: (*acknowledging his contribution*) Yes…Mr. C was there also.
Girl P: Today was hot, I took off the collar, and when I got out of my house, they beat the socks out of me. (*giggling from some, which stops when I speak*)
R/TiR: Yes, we should be careful and not take them off. Did they say anything to you?
Girl P: (*disappointed*) No, but they are bad people…
(*some of the boys, empathising with the incident and clearly angry, call out authentically to the imaginary bullies*)
Boy F: Oh, c'mon!
Boy U(F): Oh spare me! What's their problem!?
Girl M: When they don't treat us well, we should not treat them well. We should treat them badly if they do.
R/TiR: You are saying taking revenge? Do the same to them?
Girl P: (*opposing Girl M*) If we treat them badly they'll beat us up again…
Boy N: How would they like it if they were poor?
Girl M: Yes. If they were given one euro a day.
R/TiR: If we do the same we'll be like them.
Girl P: If we treat them like this they'll beat us up. We wouldn't beat them up.
Girl V(F): They treat us like slaves, they make us work for two days with no food and drink, and they sleep and drink all right in their houses. And they leave us working.
Boy O(F): (*awkward smile*) If they beat us, we'll beat them too.
Boy N: (*seriously*) That's the way war is done. With violence! (Session D, Disk 1, 39.36-44.14).

Boy C and Girl D collaborated successfully, improvising on the scenario they created on the spur of the moment above, with Boy C conceptualising the incident towards racism: 'he called you a foreigner, didn't he?' The children complained quite seriously about the locals' attitude (Girl P's cry that 'they are bad people' was quite genuine), trying to find solutions, suggesting both 'an eye for an eye' and empathetic ones ('How would they like it if they were poor?'). The answers and suggestions that were particular to their roles show that the children had internalised the latter. However, Boy N in the end offered a different view,

when he made it clear that it's a state of war between them and the Elepadians ('that's the way war is done'), and that they were legitimised to use violence against them. It should be stressed here that the research was conducted right after extensive riots had taken place in Greek cities, following the murder of a 15-year-old by a policeman (see BBC, 2008; Percival, 2008), so looting and violence were familiar to the children through images from their TV. It is my belief that statements like Boy N's – or Boy T's above who suggested to 'put a ski-mask on' – were strongly influenced by that situation (similar terms were also present in children's statements in the 1st pilot, when one of their games during break time was 'looters and cops' (Field notes, 8-12-2008).

Emotional experience

An example of emotional experience and co-operation through drama lays once more in the meeting of the four representatives with the border guard (see Planning, p. 73). The law of the yellow collars was received with gasps of disapproval (see below). In the following extract, based on forum theatre, the four representatives spoke in the name of the rest, but when the class had a suggestion for them they could raise their hands and stop the drama.

Girl V(F):	(*to the guard*) We wanna go inside
R/TiR:	To do what?
Girl V(F):	Find a job.
Boy C:	Live ourselves. 'Cos without a job we can't eat, we can't do anything.
R/TiR:	And what are you good at?
	(*children from the 'audience' are calling out their jobs*)
Boy F:	I know how to cut wood. I'm a woodcutter.
R:	(*I take off the vest. Out of role*) Children, don't talk all together. If you have a suggestion, raise your hand and we'll stop the drama. (*I take their suggestions for the representatives.*)
Boy J:	We know how to clean up.
Boy Q(F):	Clean up houses.
Boy O(F):	Serve.
Boy N:	Cutting wood.
Girl P:	And baking.
Boy O(F):	I know how to build houses.
Boy B:	Miss, the pricelists are gone in the water.
R/TiR:	(*putting on the vest*) So, what is it that you can do?
Boy F:	We know how to build houses; some of us know how to bake…
Boy C:	We know how to clean, prepare coffees.
R/TiR:	Hmm… these sound good… You may find a job… But I've got to say something to you. In Elepadi, you'll be foreigners. Everybody else is Elepadian, they're born here. We have a law: All foreigners… (*I turn back to bring the collars and teacher interrupts for a pupil's assignment.*)
Ms. D:	Boy Q(F), work on what I'm noting down in your exercise book.
R/TiR:	…must distinguish from the rest of the people. Anyway I can't take responsibility for you. I've got to ask the minister. Until the minister decides what to do with you, you'll go to an old warehouse that way – it's deserted, I don't know what state it is in – and stay there. I'll give you some bread to feed yourselves until the decision is definite.
Girl P:	Does it have mice?
R/TiR:	It may have mice lady, what can I do about it? This is what I've got.
Boy B:	But we'll get bitten by the mice!
R/TiR:	If you don't like it, you can go back to your village.

Girl D: But we're telling you, it's flooded…
R/TiR: Listen up now. The law is clear. Everyone who is a foreigner has to wear… (I show them the collar.)
All: *gasps*
R/TiR: …a collar.
Girl P: (*awkward smile*) Why Miss? We're not dogs…
R/TiR: This is the law honey! I can't do anything about it.
(*pupils are raising hands eagerly and whispering Miss, Miss. I pause*.)
R/TiR: Each one of you should take off these silly things you're wearing…
Boy C: They're not silly! (*he holds it*)
(*Most of the pupils are taking the medallions off. Some are just staring at the guard.*)
R/TiR: …and you'll wear this. *If* you want to get inside. Do you understand?
All: Yes…
(*I stop the drama to take their suggestions, as some of them have got off their chairs, raising their hands eagerly.*) (Session C, Disk 2, 35.40-40.20)

During this scene the pupils worked together co-operatively in and out of role – despite the teacher's interruption on Boy Q(F)'s work – to find arguments, negotiating and practicing their social skills. The guard was quite harsh; he had a raw and provoking attitude, quite in accordance to the average attitude of Greek policemen, who usually abuse their power (Amnesty International, 2009; 2012). This rudeness may have been an additional reason for why the children did not feel confident to question him when in role; there were however some who tried to argue with him: 'but we're telling you, it's flooded', or 'they're not silly!' Even though the pupils were quite angry about the order, they obeyed it yieldingly, living through the psychological state of an immigrant who has no power in front of the border's authority. Confronting the guard and his attitude, drama provided them with the opportunity to experience institutional racism and abuse of power, and the feelings of someone under oppression. In Picture 27 great disappointment can be seen on the faces of the representatives in front (especially the three boys) when the guard announces the collar law. The line of Girl P 'we are not dogs' (see also 1st application, p. 122) also shows the disappointment and engagement paralleling the symbol of oppression; a collar is placed on a dog by its master, not used for human beings. At the back of Picture 27 one can see the strong interest of the class as they excitedly raise their hands to suggest ideas and offer new arguments in the discussion.

Picture 27 The guard announces the 'collar law'

The following dialogue took place right after the encounter with the guard, out of role. The tension and excitement in this out-of role-reflection shows once more their commitment to the drama that had just preceded. It was this high involvement that later would lead to understanding and incongruity (see 'Connections to the real world', p. 151 and 'Incongruity', p. 152).

R: What did you think of what the guard told you, that you must take off your little axes and wear the collars?
Girl V: He is not at all polite with the rest of the towns [sic].
R: (*I rephrase*) He was not polite with you because you were from a different country.
Girl A: We're gonna be like dogs.
Girl P: It wasn't kind of him to tell us to stay in the warehouse!
Girl D: It's not kind to tell us 'take these silly things off.'
Boy N: We'll forget our village!
R: [You mean that] if we take this off…
Boy N: …we'll forget our village!
Boy C: These are not 'silly things'!
R: They are definitely not silly for us.
Boy N: They are for them… (…)
Girl A: The little axes are a good thing for us but for them is something silly.
Boy F: 'Cause if they came to our village and their village was flooded, would they like to be put in a warehouse?
Boy N: Yeah!
Boy C: And [would they like it] if we made them wear these stupid collars?
Girl P: And they're not nice. With these collars you look like a clown! (*Relieving laughs*) (Session C, Disk 2, 41.12-43.11).

Meeting the guard was an intense part of the drama in most applications. The children felt the injustice and the insult on their identity, and expressed their anger quite seriously, especially out of role when they felt safer to speak. The importance of the axe pendants as an element of their identity is clear in their statements, emphasising the difference in the significance of their identity marks for them and for the other nation, showing that they were able to see the locals' viewpoint. They use the argument of putting them (the new country's citizens) in their (the refugees') position to defend themselves – 'would they like it…?' – suggesting empathy to the guard and the locals. Since the collars were actual signs of both a new identity and oppression, it was easier for them to see and feel the humiliation, hence they used derogative words to describe the new state they were supposed to abide by (Girl P now chooses to compare their image with a 'clown'). It must be noted here that even though the relation of the collars to the Jews' yellow stars during Second World War was apparent (see also Planning, p. 73), it was out of the scope of this study to mention this example; but the sign was present for anyone to read. Regarding the 'relieving laughs' in the end of this extract, given that the discussion was quite serious until then and the pupils were exhibiting significant engagement by their statements, they happily took this opportunity to relieve and remind themselves of the fictional character of the situation (see also Taylor & Warner, 2006: 46, on relieving breaks after being in role) .

Above, one can clearly see that the same arguments are circulated and stated by different pupils. These were not owing to lack of interest or concentration but they were rather part of a dialogic procedure where the thinking of the listeners was formed by ideas expressed by classmates who were more active in the discussion (see also scaffolding, p. 48). According to Bakhtin's dialogic theory, Wilhelm and Edmiston (1998) alleged that 'students construct understanding as they talk, interact and reflect on their experiences of the world *with* others, adults and peers' (emphasis in the original text) (p. 18). For most of the children listening to others' thoughts helps them understand, acknowledge and finally articulate their own; and this applied to all meetings of our drama. It must be also noted that in this extract this acknowledgement came exclusively by Greek pupils, who through the realisation of the importance of their identity seemed to realise the hardships of an immigrant. Lastly, the fact that during such meetings the children exhibited an improvement in their social skills (negotiating, critical thinking, problem solving, and so forth) was stressed also by Ms. D during and after the project, who acknowledged as a flaw in her teaching the limited time for discussion (AP2.35).

The writing activity (see p. 75) of the last session was another example of emotional experience. Even though the class were not used to articulating their thoughts, their writing in role showed clearly their involvement. All the letters displayed substantial empathy through anger expressed in their texts. Some of the children tried to sustain a formal writing fitting for the kind of text (i.e. a formal letter), whereas others just blatantly expressed their feelings of being treated with injustice:

> We write this letter to tell you that we are not thieves. But we have some complaints about our salary, the way people treat us like we were thieves, even out in the streets and the shops. They make fun of us and the letter that was published in the paper was lies (P2.38).

In comparison, Boy Q(F) wrote quite frankly:

> Don't make fun of us because we wear these collars, don't pick on us, do you understand mayor?
> I tell you what I want: more money. Do you get it mayor? (P2.38).

The latter, simple and provocative as it may be, captures the feeling the children had during the discussion about the libellous letter and unequal payments. Although such writing could also imply a playful mood by the child, the overall attitude of Boy Q(F) during the project rather suggested that the above statements were not fake but expressed mere truthful feelings; the child either did not possess or did not want to bother with formalities. Both of the letters are indicative of the feelings created by the dramatic action.

The extracts presented above show commitment of the pupils during pivotal moments in the drama, internalised participation with congruent answers and suspension of disbelief, refining feelings and concerns (Morgan & Saxton, 1989), deeply empathising with an

immigrant's life, which leads to understanding and reviewing of their past beliefs (see 2nd interviews, p. 151, Boys N and F).

Connections with the real world and empathy

In the town where the application took place there were many immigrant workers looking for a job and their presence on the streets was evident (AP2.36). In their scenes, children used themes derived from labour incidents such as unfair working conditions, relating their roleplay to the situation in the town's streets. Discussing the treatment the locals gave them in their role as immigrants, drama gave pupils the opportunity to utilise their knowledge and experiences, bring the real world inside the classroom, and make connections to it. In the following extracts, children contributed with scenarios, mentioning typical immigration problems such as hard jobs, unequal treatment, exploitation and racist attacks.

Girl P: Why do Elepadians treat us like this?
R/TiR: (*as the chairman*) How do they treat you?
Girl P: Lousy. (…) They tell us to do hard jobs.
R/TiR: They give us hard jobs. Do they at least pay you enough money?
Girl D: No.
Boy N: No.
Boy C: They don't give me enough money. When we go [to work] in their shops they don't respect us, they tell us that we didn't do 'this' or 'that' right… As if we are foreigners. We *are* foreigners…
Boy F: As if we were their servants (Session D, Disk 1, 30.10-31.21).

In the extract above, the allocation of hard jobs and the unequal treatment of the immigrants were mentioned. The last statement of Boy C revealed the common belief and tactic of treating foreign people unequally: 'As if we're foreigners' suggests that it is a given for non-Greeks to be treated badly or unequally; his very last sentence was a way of realising what he had just said – but 'we *are* foreigners'. Boy F in a sense of correction, made a more mediated comparison not involving nationality, identifying them with 'servants'. Right after the above extract, the children chose to show the exploitation of the workers who were unequally paid, a common situation outside the classroom.

Boy C: They did it because we're not Elepadians, we are Nostians; and they think Elepadians have more value.
Boy J: They give us so little money! We work all day long and still they give us one Euro!
Boy N: For two months they pay us 50 euros. For five months 50 euros again! This can't go on! (…)
Boy F: And even in hard jobs, they pay us the same.
Boy N: (*really angry by now*) And tell us we're not doing the job well!
R: Whereas you are.
Boy N: Yeah! [They say this] in order to pay us less!
R: Whereas the Elepadians…? When they work, are they paid well?
All: Yes! (…)
Girl P: They think they're important and we're useless. But we all have the same value!
Boy N: When it's the time for the payment, they pay the Elepadians all right although they're doing the light work. And we're working like dogs, but [they don't pay us enough].

Boy O(F): They give us all the hard jobs and they pay us 50 cents…
Boy U(F): Why do they hit us with no reason?
R/TiR: Why do you think?
Girl P: Like we were dogs…
Boy U(F): I don't know. Because they want us to do all the hard jobs. Until late in the evening, until 7 o'clock. Let *them* do all the hard jobs. They all sit and sing and we're working!
Boy K: They say that we're not doing the job correctly so as to pay us less. (Session D, Disk 1, 32.00-36.15).

The children had a high degree of involvement especially when they were comparing the Nostians with the Elepadians, with statements indicative of engagement and of a good level of identification with their roles, stating the unequal treatment between the two, with tones of voice and tension clearly showing their anger. The imaginary incidents of unequal allocation of jobs and payment they created, even though the money mentioned was arbitrary ('50 euros', '50 cents'), were an opportunity to contemplate upon injustice and inequality in the working market and in society, as the conclusive line of Girl P shows: 'They think they're important and we're useless. But we all have the same value!'

Post-drama observation and Interviews

After the drama application, approximately one week of follow-up observation and interviews took place. Statements revealing the impact drama had upon the pupils and their beliefs, along with their opinion about the project are presented here.

Views on the drama project

After the project, the children unanimously expressed their positive opinion about it, both in the feedback paper slips (see p. 63) and in two essays that their teacher requested as a writing activity. In the essays one could discern involvement and excitement: 'I enjoyed this class so much'; 'When I got back home, I was thinking of great-grandmother all the time!!!!!'; 'I was impressed' (AP2.39). Once more, the emotional moments of the drama were recalled in the follow-up interviews:

Boy N: Everything seemed good to me. I liked it when we sang the anthem and we put on the little axes when the great-grandmother came and explained to us everything. (…) I didn't like it when we were at Elepadi and the border guard put us in the warehouse. Because it's not kind for someone who comes a long way to treat him like that.
Boy F: I didn't like it when we went to Elepadi and everybody treated us bad. For example, they were swearing at us (2nd interview, 30-4-2009).

Picture 28 In the warehouse

The feelings while being in the warehouse were too intense to be forgotten (see Picture 28) as the boys above mention. In addition, Ms. D was content with the intellectual work in the project, and the call for critical thinking, features which she acknowledged were absent in her teaching. Ms. D was 'thrilled about' the fact that children were expressing themselves and acknowledged that the project 'made them more mature' and 'called for contemplation and musing' (AP2.35) (see also 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, p. 123; 3rd application, p. 170). Critical thinking in the drama was stressed also by the pupils, along with other features they discerned. Comparing it with a school performance they had prepared some time ago, they acknowledged the importance of imagination and co-operation in our project: 'we learned to have much imagination and co-operate with the children'; the truthfulness of their acting and the moments of metaxis: 'It was somehow like real'; also the lack of scripts: 'here, we could speak freely', 'we had to think our lines ourselves' (AP2.13; 2.45; 2.49). But the intellectual character of it was easy to spot. For them it surely was not an hour of mere fun activities, but also serious intellectual work. It is quite encouraging when children acknowledge the learning character of drama, apart from the 'fun' one (see also 3rd application, p. 170)

> Girl P: But you know what? I was tired. It was the most tiring class. I don't mean boring; I was just… getting tired. It was tiring to think many things (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

Emotional experience, empathy

Encouragingly enough, post-drama interviews revealed the significant amount of positive impact drama had pertaining to the emotional experience of the students and the feelings of empathy generated. It seemed that the experience the pupils had was quite rich and strong, as the resonance of the feelings was still present in the follow-up interviews (some of them had a distance of 20 days from the initial drama experience). The interviews provided indication that drama facilitated some students to think differently, empathise and recall feelings (the Nostians felt 'awfully', 'badly', 'bad').

R: How did the Nostians feel?
Girl S: They felt differently, that they treated them terribly. [They felt] awfully.

Girl M: Badly. (…) (AP2.42)

R: Do you think it was easy for them to leave their homes?
Boys O(F) and L: No. (…) Because they will always remember it and they'll feel bad (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

Connections with the real world

In addition, as was stressed earlier, drama helped the students draw parallels with the real world and identify the main difficulties immigrants face. In the interviews that followed their intense experience, the children were using examples from the drama to describe reality and understand the world around them. Boy I made a connection between real immigrants (two of his classmates who were planning to emigrate to Germany) and their roles in drama ('like the Nostians'):

R: Do you know why are they leaving [your classmates]?
Boy C: Because… Their dad is over there. Because he can't find a job here, he gets very little money.
Boy I: But their relatives have forgotten them and they will be like the Nostians (2nd interview, 29-4-2009).

He aptly used his living through experiences in the real world, and even if the subject at that moment was their classmates, Boy I automatically made a connection between the real and the fictional, using examples from his drama experience to interpret reality. Boys N and F in their 2nd interview gave details on how bosses treat immigrants as potential workers, clearly showing their empathy and support to the latter (see also before: p. 149):

Boy N: When you come in a new country, the main problem is the language; to learn how to speak it well. (…) And if they have a position for a worker and he looks ugly, and doesn't wear nice clothes, they may say 'Get out of here you clown!'
Boy F: Yeah. And not take him.
Boy N: And the poor guy just looks for a job (2nd interview, 30-4-2009).

Girl V(F) was another living example of the real world and was brave enough to share her story during the drama reflection time with the children of the class (AP2.50), who subsequently remembered her statements and utilised her answers in the follow-up interviews: 'Girl V(F)'s mom was looking for a job and house, her dad too. Where they were it was difficult to find a job and a home' (AP2.42). In her final interview, Girl V(F) bravely mentioned again her parents story in front of Girl P who seemed unexpectedly supportive as the two girls had had arguments in the past (Girls M and P, 1st interview, 30-3-2009).

Girl V(F): Because when I was born in Topos[38] [i.e. a Greek town], I grew up a bit and I did not know Greek well. I spoke… - (*she stops*). I didn't speak well because I couldn't learn Greek.
R: Do your parents speak Greek?
Girl V(F): Mom does; because dad can't. He didn't go to school. (…) He went to school in Albania. (…) But mom lives here eight years; whereas dad, seven.
(…)

[38] A pseudonym.

R: Was it difficult for your parents?
Girl V(F): Yes, but there was a friend of my dad, who was Greek, and he could help him learn Greek. So then they all learned Greek.
Girl P: Girl V(F) can speak Greek really good (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

Boy I – uniquely enough – drew parallels with Greek history, comparing the feeling of enslavement in the drama with the Greek enslavement during the Ottoman Empire rule.

> Boy I: Because we were enslaved and put into the warehouse, and they were shouting at us (AP2.43).

Even though the boy had missed half of the classes owing to a serious illness, the emotional experience was deep enough to be able to connect it with the stories of oppression he had already heard or been taught about in school. Notably stories concerning times when Greece was under the Ottoman Empire occupation in primary school can be extremely emotional and nation-centred (Fragkoudaki & Dragona, 1997). Regarding making connections to the real world, Boy N exhibited knowledge on international history (AP2.44), widening the subject and drawing parallels based on his experience.

R: Why do people treat foreigners badly?
Boy N: Possibly because they consider them dumber, that their species is better. We don't know. I suppose that's why. Like cowboys in old times, they killed the Indians! (…)
Boy N: I mean how… I've been thinking about it… I wonder how come people speak different languages … I mean why do we consider them foreigners but they also consider us foreigners…? This is an issue… (AP2.44).

Boy N expressed his deep concern on the subject of ethnicity, the notion of 'the other' and the origin of languages in his 2nd interview. When he stated the above, he was seriously musing on the notion of a foreigner and the relativity of it. It is apparent that the project drama encouraged and developed philosophical thinking and enquiry (Baldwin, 2008) to seven-year-old Boy N, yielding thoughts on identity and the relative relations between nations, subjects difficult to conceive even in the 'grown ups' world. It is also interesting that this comment, contemplating on the issue of different identities, came from a child who in his first interview, even though he claimed he was playing with all children, had made it clear that his mother does not want him to play with Boy U(F) (for parents influence see also 2nd pilot, p. 104; 1st application, p. 115), the Georgian boy, because he's a 'bad boy' (1st interview, 1-4-2009); thus giving an indication of a potential incongruity in his mind.

Incongruity and change

A clearer example of incongruity and potential change was Boy J. In his 1st interview he had stated openly that he preferred befriending Greeks (see p. 138, 'I prefer Greeks'), whereas in his follow-up interview he exhibited a good level of empathy:

R: What kind of problems could classmates of yours who do not speak Greek have?
Boy J: They may feel bad because they can't…. they won't like it at all because if it's that way [i.e. they don't know the language] they would feel very bad because they

will be alone, they won't have many friends, they won't be able to speak well even if they have many friends, if we don't help them, and they will start to be scared when they read in the classroom.

R: Do you think we could help them in any way?

Boy I: We could play with him, for him to grow up, go to Year 2 and we can teach him more Greek.

Boy J: We must help him because… Both to do something good but also for him to learn better Greek and when he'll grow up Greek will be very useful to him. Otherwise he won't be able to speak with anyone when he grows up (2nd interview, 29-4-2009).

Boy J empathises with an immigrant's feelings ('they may feel bad') and difficulties ('they will be alone, they won't have many friends') but also acknowledged and mentioned a typical scene of frightened foreign children who lack confidence in Greek language expressing a high level of empathy and emotional intelligence. This was a commonplace in the schools I visited as there were many examples of isolated and self-conscious non-Greek children (see 2nd pilot, Boy L(F), p. 103; 1st application, Girl U(F) and Boy O(F), p. 118; 3rd application, Girl V(F) and Boys U(F) and W(F), p. 160). Consequently, this was everyday routine for Boy J, who identified the emotions of isolation of his classmates after his drama experience, differentiating his attitude from his first biased statement towards his classmates (p. 138). However, in his last sentence, Boy J mentioned his teacher's Christian way of thinking, according to which being good seems to be an end in itself, and the benefit to the immigrant seems to be secondary: 'to do something good, but *also* for him…'

Social class

As was stressed earlier (see p. 138), interestingly enough, the segregation between upper-, middle- and working-class background pupils was apparent in this application. After the follow-up interviews were completed it could be deduced that the members of the upper class (Boys C, J and I) a) avoided befriending non-Greek children, but in a discreet manner, b) enjoyed more the intellectual activities of drama (for example, discussing, solving problems and taking decisions) (AP2.13; AP2.45) compared to their working class classmates who were rather fond of the physical ones (such as action scenes) and c) showed more concentration and responsibility during drama. These observations surely go beyond the scope of this research but the correlation between the social background of the participants and their involvement with drama would be an interesting subject to examine in a further study.

Racist views revealed after the project

It is an important finding in this application that aside from the positive impact drama had on the students, in some cases it caused the expression of racist and biased statements in the follow-up interviews (see also 2nd pilot, p. 110). As much as this sounds like a defect, in fact it is a step forward for these pupils who were not used – and sometimes afraid – to express their opinion openly. As Ms. D mentioned (see earlier, p. 140), this project was rather a spark which ignited critical thinking in this classroom. Given that her teaching approach (monologue, intimidation and corporal sanctions) was an additional factor acting as a hindrance to free expression, it took a considerable amount of time for these pupils to

bravely dig in their beliefs and take out such ideas. The second round of interviews (questions can be accessed at Appendix D) in some cases revealed negative comments and biased beliefs making it clear that prejudice had deep roots which were difficult to eradicate; however, drama helped the children open up for the first time. Girl P, for example, after the project stated that her mother does not let her play with Turks and Germans, trying to justify her choices (AP2.40). Even if this claim was not true and consisted of just a way to contribute actively to the interview (on lies in interviews, see also Methodology, p. 61; 2nd pilot, p. 100) the fact that the girl chose to mention these specific nationalities as 'bad', shows the power of stereotypes as these are the common 'enemies of Greece' as they are presented in school life (Fragkoudaki & Dragona, 1997). Boys B and T expressed prejudice namely towards the Albanians, who they considered to be 'thieves' and that 'they steal a lot' (AP2.41). In Boy N and F's interview, stereotypes clearly nurtured by the mass media occurred. They stated that Albanians' malevolence is not something that they are sure about, but 'it seems so; it's on the news' (AP2.51). However it was evident that their prejudice had deep roots when they supplemented their statements with the 'malicious Turk' stereotype, showing once more (see also 1st application, p. 131) clearly the influence of the media ('on the news') in shaping their beliefs:

> Boy F: If a Greek guy goes there [in Turkey] they chop his head off! (AP2.51)
>
> Boy C: On the news they say these people [foreigners] will come here and take over the city like the Turks. (2nd interview, 29-4-2009)

Despite the negative views presented above, it is quite promising that after the drama experience, the pupils were emancipated to verbalise hidden thoughts. Such reactions after the project reveal a deeper issue in the educational system, which, by overlooking authoritative teaching behaviours from the educational community, perpetuates the concealment of bias and racism, which remain unchallenged, ready to come up when the fear of sanction will not be present, e.g. in adulthood. Consequently, despite the ostensible failure of the project to deal with such attitudes here, this was in fact the first step towards the path of consciousness for those children, the opportunity to express their views freely. From then on, it fell to the teacher to challenge the emerged attitudes, which is why I believe such projects should take place over a longer time span.

Drama practice

In this case study, there were some interesting and challenging moments pertaining to drama practice like the use of objects and sound; their analysis can be proved valuable for teachers new to drama, like myself.

Use of objects

The use of objects can be both a hindrance and a tool in drama. A real object can easily become a block to credibility for the rest of the class, even if in the beginning it seems to work and boost the creativity of the group. Pupils in this class, as in Slade's (1958) projected play, were eager to use objects as pivots to their imagination (Vygotsky, 1994): tissues

moistened by saliva used as cleaning cloths for tables (not so hygienic for their shops I suppose!) and markers used as rolling pins in the bakery (AP2.46); modern coloured books found in the class, acting as reading for the family. In the group's minds the above seemed truthful. But when the time came for the scene to be presented to the rest of the class-audience, the objects became problematic, as the class-audience could only see a tissue, a marker and a modern book. Private (i.e. for the group) and public (i.e. for the audience) natures of drama (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988) serve different causes and consist of different objectives. Because the actors' choice of objects was inappropriate, the audience was deprived of its ability to see truthful objects matching the context. Inappropriate use of desks also occurred. In the first session they were used for the writing activity of price lists, but later their presence became constrictive. They had the roles of tills or working spaces, but often children were climbing or lying on them (AP2.47) in such a way that credibility was lost. Drama could be more truthful if tables were kept away and used only when their presence was justified by the activity, such as the writing (see a similar point in Bowell, 2011). Conclusively, the use of actual objects in the dramatic action is best to be constricted, unless these are truthful ones acting as genuine signs of the scene's atmosphere and mood.

Use of sound

The use of sound can enhance the dramatic tension and add to the atmosphere of a scene, but at the same time block the imagination of the participants. I chose to use storm sound effects during the flood scenes in classes with low social level and difficulty concentrating, such as this one. The sounds kept the children focused and still; there was limited fidgeting, helping them visualise the rain moments. The children themselves gave positive feedback and also asked to dress their scenes with the same sounds (AP2.48). Limiting as they may be for students experienced to drama, I consider such sounds to be useful when establishing an atmosphere in a class with no previous drama experience.

Conclusions

In this school, racism and corporal punishment were alarmingly present (AP2.1-AP2.10, p. 136; AP2.19, p. 137). Excessive violence was a pivotal issue both on the part of the pupils and the teachers on an everyday basis. The teacher's approach promoted institutional racism, teaching in a monocultural and monoreligious fashion, expressing stereotypical views on other cultures. Her antiracist methods consisted either of concealing racism (AP2.27, pp. 138-139) or intimidating biased students (AP2.7-AP2.10, AP2.19, p. 136). However, the level of engagement and empathy in this application was quite satisfactory, offering indications that drama works, creating new experiences for the children according to experiential learning (p. 46). Even though they were not used to it, they expressed thoughts and were eager to suggest solutions to the problems posed and contemplate upon them (pp. 137-145) creating the potential to become active and critical democratic citizens (p. 43). Both the teacher (AP2.35; p. 140) and the pupils found this process challenging and successful (AP2.13b, AP2.45, AP2.49, p. 150; Girl P, p. 150). Their commitment was apparent, during the drama (pp. 140-143), in their writing and in the follow up interviews (pp. 150-151). The children related drama with reality, either using *their* experience in the drama, or

using their *drama* experience to explore social issues of the real world. The project even made children express elaborated musing such as the reciprocal concept of 'foreigner' and the creation of national identity in peoples (AP2.44, p. 152). Since the pupils were used to hiding their emotions and beliefs for fear of punishment, a prevalent impact of the project in this application was the disclosure of prejudice after the drama lessons. As drama gave the opportunity to children to think critically and express their own thoughts freely, well hidden biased ideas were brought out (pp. 153-154). It was also apparent that children were aware of the taboo character of the subject and they shaped their attitude and statements accordingly (AP2.29, p. 139). Also, there was an evident segregation between pupils' social classes (p. 153), which showed different attitudes towards their non-Greek classmates, drama activities and different levels of commitment to the drama which constitutes an interesting strand to be looked upon.

In terms of drama teaching, some of the emerging themes in this case were the improper use of objects which may spoil the belief in drama; and a similar use of desks which can also block both the dramatic action and the participants' imagination (p. 154). The teacher should be conscious of their use during drama.

3RD APPLICATION

Introduction

This section will analyse the findings of the 3rd application, the attitudes and views that were detected towards immigrants, the impact the drama had on the children and key moments during the sessions, interviews and observation that took place. The structure is identical to the ones that preceded: a) data from the pre-drama interviews and observation, b) analysis of the key moments of the drama application, c) findings from the post-drama interviews and observation and d) issues pertaining to drama practice as a reference to teachers, particularly novices to process drama.

The application lasted six weeks in total. The drama lessons were conducted within three weeks. Observation of the class and interviews of the pupils and their teacher took place before and after the drama lessons, and lasted one-and-a-half weeks each. The student interviews were conducted in groups of two to three pupils, in a separate classroom of the school during school hours while the rest of the class continued their lessons with the teacher of the class (hereafter Ms. E). The class was part of the same school as that studied in the 2nd pilot and consisted of 27 % non-Greek pupils (see p. 96). The class had 13 girls and 10 boys, of seven to eight years old. Eight out of the 23 pupils (35%) were considered to be foreigners (Table 21), although only three of them were born abroad. In their interviews, the children considered as foreigners mostly those three since they were the ones having difficulties with the Greek language; however, according to the legislation during my research (see p. 15), the school's records stated differently, partly display a form of institutional racism:

Country of origin	Number
Greece	15
Bulgaria	3
FYROM	3
Armenia	1
Kazakhstan	1
Total	**23**

Table 21 Class composition (source: teacher's and school's database)

Pre-drama observation and Interviews

In this last application several cases of racism and prejudice were recorded, which were challenged through the project. The main receivers of racist exclusion were the three children from FYROM, recently enrolled in the school, who still had language difficulties, and an Albanian girl who had recently been a victim of racist name calling. Spending a week with this class before the application of the drama, gave me the opportunity to examine their social relations and health, their friendships and their views towards immigrants. Interviews that took place during this initial week provided additional data both from the children and the teacher of the class, which are presented below.

The teacher

Ms. E was 46 years old with 25 years of teaching experience. She had been working for two years in this school teaching this particular class and had no particular experience in intercultural education practices (AP3.1[39]). Ms. E did not teach in groups, just like the majority of the teachers in the classes I visited. She also had the common practice to express her opinion about her pupils publicly in front of the class (see also 2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 136). She commented upon pupils' attainment or behaviour, and consequently her opinion was adopted widely by the children. She gave permission to the rest of the children to comment on the attainment of the newcomers (Girl V(F) and Boys U(F) and W(F)); in a way acknowledging different expectations from pupils in her class, herself belittling them with derogatory language ('these little ones do not understand') (AP3.4). Regarding drama experience, Ms. E never applied classroom drama; the only drama experience she had was of the school performances she often organised. She considered drama as an art form, emphasising that children enjoy these activities and also 'some of them have got talent I wouldn't have imagined (*cf.* 'worship of individual talent', p. 38). They are little actors' (AP3.9a). Some children also mentioned going to the weekly afternoon drama classes in the school which mainly consisted of playing theatrical games and dramatising stories (for example, Girl B, 1st interview, AP3.9b) (for the content of drama in Greek school see pp. 20 and 38).

Monoreligiousness in teaching was the norm also for Ms. E (see also head teacher in 1st application, p. 115; Ms. D in 2nd application, p. 136). In order not to generate disturbance, pupils' religious views were kept secret: 'We don't know, but we don't ask either. We don't care [if they have a different religion] (AP3.7)' (*cf.* colour blindness, Literature review, p. 35). In terms of the immigrant population in Greek schools, Ms. E believed that since they came, the cognitive level of the classes had been deteriorated (AP3.22), which seems to be a common belief among teachers (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). She claimed that immigrant parents in the majority are indifferent to their children's progress 'because their main issue is to survive' (AP3.3). She was reinforcing the non-Greeks' 'deficiency' by comparing it constantly to the rest of the pupils' with phrases like 'it is normal not to understand because they are from another country', 'Greek is not their language' (Field notes, 6-5-2009) or 'Poor boy… He doesn't know. Could you help him?' (Field notes, 2-6-2009). Assimilation was the best approach for her (see also 2nd application, p. 137) and she celebrated the fact that some of the immigrant children, no matter their religion, still joined in the Orthodox prayer at the daily assembly (AP3.7); also the fact that parents do not want their offspring to stand out (see also p. 88), according to the widespread belief among teachers (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). For example, she differentiated Albanian Girl L(F) from the rest of the immigrants because of her high attainment level which attributed to her parents' determination to stay in Greece permanently (AP3.3). Dealing with racism in the classroom was constricted to hushing it up and carefully selecting the topics of discussion (AP3.8) (for a similar incident see also 2nd application p. 138).

[39] See Appendix M, Extract 1.3, etc.

The children

Concerning the children's attitude and their social health, along with the feeling of superiority mentioned earlier, there were indications of this class having a high level of competition acknowledged by the teacher (AP3.5) and probably nurtured by her. Some of them when asked 'What do you like in school' answered 'being good' at their lessons and/or getting good marks (*ibid.*). The teacher mentioned competition as a reason for ostracising certain pupils of high attainment (for example, Albanian Girl L(F) (AP3.6).

Regarding this class's interracial relations, racism was present but not widely outspoken. It is indicative that the part of the interviews concerning 'non-Greek classmates' was characterised by nervousness and pupils feeling uncomfortable (see also 2nd application, p. 138). For example, Girl N found it difficult to answer my question about the presence of foreign children inside their classroom and the differences that this had compared with an all-Greek classroom. Her sighs and pauses were indicative of her nervousness:

> R: How do you find it having classmates from other countries? Does it change anything?
>
> Girl N: Yes it does, because… (Sigh)… they… they don't understand many things and… they don't know… and… Boy U(F) doesn't read well; one syllable at a time. And… (Sigh. She stops.)… (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

Such an attitude gives evidence that children knew well the taboo character of the subject as there were instances when they were evidently nervous in answering such questions (see also 2nd application, p. 139). The teacher was aware of some of last year's incidents, which she attributed to competition between the pupils (such as between Girls J and L(F), or towards Girl T) (AP3.6). Commenting on Girl J's attitude towards Girl L(F) (she noted Girl J also nudging other girls to isolate her), she assumed that 'maybe there are more children with such feelings but they haven't dared to say it out loud'; 'whenever someone tries to talk negatively about someone else… It stops right there. *I* stop it; I don't let it go on' (*ibid*.), confirming once more that racism was not dealt with, but just a taboo issue for the class, which was not allowed to be discussed. Girls L(F) and J were two of the examples involving racism; some others will also be examined below.

Albanian Girl L(F) was one of the victims of racism, but also one of the two most adept pupils of the class. Her parents were of a higher educational level; both of them were university graduates but their occupational status was devaluated in Greece since they were now blue collar workers (AP3.11). Her mother was very demanding, and the teacher was complaining that her expectations made Girl L(F) feel upset when she did not manage to reach them (AP3.12). Despite her good level of achievement, the girl kept a low and modest profile compared with other skilful pupils who were displaying competitive behaviour (for example, Girl T's behaviour in AP3.15). She was hurt by the racist name-calling by Girl J described below but did not appear scornful or violent.

Last year, Girl J had called Girl L(F) 'Albanese' (a devised derogatory word for 'Albanian'), upsetting her seriously (Ms. E (1st interview, 6-5-2009; Field notes, 5-5-2009; Girl L(F) Field notes, 11-5-2009). On the contrary, when Girl J was asked about her relations with foreign classmates she tried to cover the incident up.

> Girl J: We got used to Girl L(F) since last year because… She's a good friend, Girl L(F). (…) Also… (*sigh*) sometimes we argue but then we get back together… (pause) Like… (*sigh*) ehm…
> R: Yes?
> Girl J: Nothing. I forgot it (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

Although the pauses and sighs reveal that she was evidently concerned about it, she either did not find the nerve to mention it in her interview, or, understanding the thorny character of ethnic origin, was cautious of her language and statements. Girl J enjoyed playing with older girls and had teen habits and a leading personality (AP3.16), which made her rather competent in social skills thus skilful in manipulating discussion. Important as this incident was, Girl L(F) compensated racism with her high achievement (Mitilis, 1998) and was otherwise generally accepted by the class.

In contrast, Girl V(F) and Boy W(F), who are twins, and their cousin, Boy U(F), were isolated *and* low achievers. The three children had come from FYROM at the beginning of that year and were still struggling with the language. This was the main problem spotted by the teacher (AP3.4; 3.17; 3.21) and consequently, the same opinion was held by most of the children. During their interviews the children ranked their friends in relation to their command of the Greek language, such as Girl K(F), below, who had a good command of Greek despite her foreign background:

> R: Is there someone you don't play with?
> Girl K (F): Girl V(F), Boy W(F)… They don't know Greek, that's why. When they will, we'll be friends with them. (…) When they'll speak better, we'll be more friends [sic] (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

Girl V(F) almost never played with the rest of the girls and rather spent break time alone or with a couple of older Macedonian girls (Field notes, 5-5-2009; 20-5-2009). The two boys were accepted more easily in the boys' company (Boy W(F)'s skills in football allowed him to spend active moments with them (AP3.2), although this was an exception). In their interviews they stated that other children did not befriend them because of their origin:

> Girl V(F): There are many children who don't wanna play with us cause we're from Skopje. (AP3.18)

As ostracised children often do not tell their teacher (Hinas & Hrisafidis, 2000), as was recorded earlier (2nd pilot, p. 103; 1st application, AP1.6b, p. 118; 2nd application, AP2.27, p. 138), the three children dealt with the matter by playing between themselves (AP3.18). However, they mentioned Ms. E as a supporter since she would reprimand the children in cases in which she realised the isolation (*ibid.*). Girl V(F) was more affected since the two boys often played together and she did not fit in with their game. Also, she was sharing her

desk with the Bulgarian Girl D(F) who they had a tense and competitive relationship with; far from friendly (AP3.19).

Girl M (Macedonian Boy W(F)'s desk-mate) was a case of a prejudiced pupil. At the beginning of the project she was seen to be reluctant in helping Boy W(F) during the class, showing it evidently to him, for example, turning her back to cover her answers (AP3.21). During her 1st interview she found excuses to justify her denial of her non-Greek classmates, making a clear distinction between Greeks and foreigners and involving also the parents in such choices (*ibid.*)

> Girl M: Well, I haven't invited foreign kids [to my birthday party] because I didn't have a garden. I also didn't know them well. I mean there is an issue with their parents. If they know each other. For example, my mom knows Girl J's mom. [But] she doesn't know Boy U(F)'s mom and dad (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

Some of the above cases showed progress after the drama, whereas some others kept their biased views. They will be presented after the drama analysis, in the post-drama interviews and observation section (see 'Change', p. 171).

Key moments during drama

As in other applications, some key incidents that emerged during the classes are presented below; cases touching upon racist attitudes and comments, and moments of high engagement which led to empathising with the immigrants are presented below.

Engagement

One of the successful moments with high engagement was once more the ritual scene, as the class remained concentrated, following the 'great-grandmother' carefully (Session B, 52.00). Girl J paralleled the anthem with 25th March's songs, the day of Greek revolution against the Turks (Session B, Disk 1, 46.36). This analogy was mentioned also in the 2nd application (p. 152). Indeed the idea behind the two is the common (national) identity such celebrations seek to imbue. Such moments help accumulate a confidence in the common heritage in role and at the same time are indicative of the emotional experience the pupils had through the drama in order to reach to such connections with reality.

As also in the previous applications (see 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 98; 1st application, pp. 120-122; 2nd application, pp. 145-146), during the scene where the class was negotiating the removal of their axe pendants with the guard, pupils showed a high level of commitment. Some extracts are discussed here.

R/TiR: *(in role as the guard)* You have to take off these things you're wearing.
Boy A: For real?
R/TiR: Of course for real, what do you think?
Boy A: Why?
RTiR: Because that's the law.
Boy A: (*awkward smile with a feeling of aggression*) Our law is to wear these.

R/TiR: Listen here. You are no more in Nostia. Now you are in Elepadi. And if you want to get inside, you must obey *our* laws. (…)

Girl T: But what if you were in our place and you asked for help from us and we didn't let you in…?

Girl J: …and [what if we] told you that you must wear these axes, and not these [the collars]?

R/TiR: I'm not in your place.

Girl J: (*Insisting*) What if you were?

R/TiR: I think the best thing you have to do is obey the rules. If you want me to let you in that is (Session D, Disk 1, 23.45 – 25.36).

When the border guard ordered the class to remove their pendants and wear the distinctive yellow collars, the children were amazed and disappointed, trying to make the guard empathise with them ('what if you were in our place?'). Girl L(F) will pose this question again later:

Girl L(F): (*to the guard*) What would you do if you were in our place?

R/TiR: What kind of a question is this? I would make sure I had my passport with me.

Girl L(F): (*in role, looking to me straight in the eyes, frustrated, disappointed and committed*) But we were sleeping…!

R/TiR: It's not my problem. I've got orders here. Not to let anyone in without a passport (AP3.10a).

In the extract above Girl L(F) was internalising her role. Looking the guard straight in the eyes, with a voice expressing frustration and disappointment for the treatment they were getting dealing with an obstinate officer, the drama experience was working for her, both emotionally and intellectually. Most of the children experienced similar frustration and their body language showed they were trying to protect their identity.

Picture 29 Debating with the guard I

In Picture 29, Girl T (second from left) was crossing her hands, sighing and with the tone in her voice expressing genuine frustration (see her statement above). Girl J (in grey) and Girl K(F) (in pink, on the right) were hugging their axe pendants in a protective and defensive mode – Girl J did this from the moment the guard told them to take the pendants off. Girl N (on the left) was looking desperately at the rest of the class for help in arguments.

Picture 30 Debating with the guard II

In Picture 30 (a few moments later) Girl T (in the middle) looks more aggressive talking to the guard with her hands on her hips, whereas some other pupils can be seen to hold tight onto their pendants (Girl G on the far left and Girl O on the far right side). This was the time when I stopped the drama and the four girls relaxed from the tension with relieving sighs and smiles (Session D, Disk 1, 25.55; see also Taylor & Warner, 2006), and a whole class discussion followed. Boy H recalled their promise to the great-grandmother articulating feelings of guilt, summing up the issue of their identity in a few sentences. Evidently committed to the drama, the boy resists the idea to be forced to deny his identity, reminding the rest of their promise.

> Boy H: (*concerned*) But if we take them off we won't be Nostians anymore. We'll be Elepadians. Why [should we do this]? We promised not to forget our village (Session D, Disk 1, 26.54).

The issue of denying their identity engaged them enough to keep them calm and serious. The silence that followed their denigration by the guard was intense. And here, Girl T tried desperately to defend the symbol of her village:

> R/TiR: Take this stupid thing off. (*The class is deadly quiet after this statement*.) You will only wear the collars around your neck.
> Girl T: (*as a representative*) I want to inform you that this is not a 'stupid thing'.
> R/TiR: For us it is, lady. You will only wear this (*I show the collar*). (Session D, Disk 1, 33.00).

The tension in the guard scene was present long after the application, as it was one of the scenes often mentioned by the children during their 2nd interviews (see below, post-drama interviews, p. 170 for a detailed analysis), showing the depth of the emotional experience they had.

Another scene where the children were engaged in role and seemed to empathise with immigrants unfairly treated, was the 'thoughts inside the warehouse'. The children were asked to enter the warehouse (see p. 74), settle down and articulate their thoughts in role.

The moments that followed the instruction had tension, with the noise level dropping significantly and serious thoughts being heard:

> Girl M: What a day…
> Girl L(F): Please [Lord] let this be over soon…
> Girl G: I wonder how our village is now…
> Boy Q: I wish he'll lets us in...
> Boy C(F): What a night...
> Girl K(F): I wish our village had never flooded…
> Girl J: (*holding the axe pendant*) God bless us all…
> Girl D(F): What a disaster.
> Boy S(F): Is there a chance (the guard) to change his mind and not let us in? (Session D, Disk 2a, 5.50-9.30)

Most of their lines along with their facial expressions expressed high involvement and genuine interest during this scene; especially Girl J (Picture 31), who combined her words with the movement of protectively holding her pendant, the symbol of their village (for a similar movement, see also Picture 30, girls on the far left and far right).

Picture 31 Girl J holding her pendant and articulating her thoughts

Accordingly, the reading of the libellous letter (see p. 75; Appendix O) was again an emotional key moment which revealed interesting statements by the children showing their high concern and engagement. Girl T here articulates her feelings about that:

> Girl T: (*in role*) I can't believe they're saying these things for us. They probably made these up as Mrs. M said. I don't feel very good. I feel bad. These are lies. They are accusing us of things we haven't done (Session E, Disk 1, 28.13).

> Boy Q: [Living in Elepadi was not good] because they were treating us in a bad way. Like –
> Girl T: …a child (*Ibid.*, 02.30).

Again the children's experiences in real life created analogous situations in their minds. The downgrading treatment towards them as children from adults (who are supposed to be the sources of knowledge and faultless examples) finds expression here. Girl T is recalling the same feeling when she is being 'treated like a child', i.e. an inferior being, and uses this experience to relate it and understand the present situation.

Empowering immigrants (The case of Girl L(F))

Drama gave the opportunity to non-Greek children to participate actively and share their knowledge and experience with the rest of the class. Even though during regular classes Girl L(F) was competing with the rest of the girls (see AP3.5c above, p. 159), in drama devoid of cultural and linguistic differences, her precedence was obvious. In the discussion that followed the completion of the racist incidents, Albanian Girl L(F) had given a disarming answer to the reasons for their mistreatment in role. Her statement is important since it came from someone who had hands-on experience in such situations and one inevitably compares it with the superficial claim of Boy A below:

R/TiR: (*as the chairman*) Why did Elepadians do this?
Boy A: 'Cause they are stupid.
Girl L(F): Because we are foreigners. And everyone who is a foreigner, others take advantage of him. (Session E, Disk 1, 05.19 – 05.32)

Later on, when discussing out of role, Girl L(F) contributed again by introducing the word 'immigrants' to the class (see extract below). Giving – one could say bravely – her own parents as an example she also referred to the reasons why they decided to move out of their home, offering parallels with our drama. At the sound of the word 'Albania' a gasp was heard from one of the pupils, reminding us the country's name is taboo and of the sensitive nature of the discussion which made Girl L(F)'s contribution even more valuable.

R: There are also people who are forced to leave their countries and travel to a different one to find a job. Do you know such people?
Girl L(F): (*she was raising her hand right from the start, before I finish my sentence*) My parents.
R: Would you like to tell us more about this?
Girl L(F): They are immigrants. (*Small disruption to define the word 'immigrants'*) My mom comes from Italy and my dad comes from Albania (*a gasp is heard*).
R: And why did they come here in Greece?
Girl L(F): They came here to find a job, and they travelled all the way down here and they got married here.
R: This sounds relative to our story. The Nostians made a long trip to Elepadi also (Session E, Disk 1, 43.41 – 44.34).

Given the prejudiced setting (see gasping), statements like this reveal the feelings of trust developed during the project between the pupils and the researcher. It is evident that drama enhanced the self-confidence of Girl L(F) who was articulating openly and more easily her origin.

During drama, Girl L(F)'s engagement was surprising. Even if her classmates were giggling around her, she continued being seriously in role and engaged. Her interest was evident from the first session when she easily picked up how drama works (Session A, Disk 1, 19.30); in the rest of the sessions she remained serious and found a reason behind her lines (AP3.10a; 3.13). It is worth examining here some of the moments when she contributed actively in the drama, even though my inexperience meant my handling was not always

efficient. The following three extracts even though they may pertain rather to drama practice than the main research questions, still show the opportunity drama gives to non-Greek students to be creative within its framework (see ' a voice to the excluded', p. 45). Girl L(F) was taking high-level initiative in role, aware of the impact that drama had to the rest of the class (McKone, 1997) almost leading and guiding the drama herself. In the extract below, I was questioning the class about their shops in order to provoke them to speak in role and for them to establish belief in their roles as shop managers in the village. Girl L(F) decided to introduce a new element to our drama by adding to our common past the story of her dead father.

R/TiR: (*In role as the* chairman) How are the things going on in the bakery?
Girl J: Baking our lovely breads! People are coming over and buy bread from us.
R/TiR: What about the wood shop?
Group: Fine!
Girl E: We're cutting wood. And we make some very nice chairs.
R/TiR: Is everything ok in the rest of the shops?
All: Yes!
Girl L(F): No! (*Silence. The girl goes on seriously, in role.*) From the day our father died, no one comes into our shop [grocery] any more...
(*The rest of the class, after a moment of puzzlement, burst into laughing. I come out of role and remind them of the roles we are into.*)
R/TiR: (*In role again*) Yes Girl L(F), I know… I know it's been difficult for you after you lost your father.
Girl L(F): Very difficult…(*pause*)
R/TiR: Friends, I called you here today because something very serious came up and I'd like to talk about this with you… (Session B, Disk 1, 14.40 – 16.00)

After questioning the first two groups, given that the time was limited, I chose to move on and not ask everyone about their businesses. Most of the students were happy with this and gave conformed, typical answers, except from Girl L(F). Picking on the allocation of roles in the previous task, she efficiently posed a tension to our drama, providing a past for her role and a potential problem for the group to solve. Highly engaged, talking in role very seriously, she dressed her role with a background, a story behind it. This practice – unknown to the rest of the class – and the reference to a dead man, caused laughter to the pupils. However, I did not utilise Girl L(F)'s contribution, which could have given the opportunity to the class to deepen their experience and enhance their identity. For example, the grocery shop's background could have been explored to facilitate establishing belief in its members and – by extension – to the whole class while at the same time provide a feeling of ownership of the drama. Later on, in the same session, Girl L(F) tried for a second time to actively participate and contribute in the drama creation:

(*Girl T reads the 'sacred anthem', found in the chest with the unfinished material.*)
R/TiR: What do you say about this? What could this be?
Girl L(F): Don't you remember? It's our national anthem! They were singing this, such a long time ago.
R/TiR: But why doesn't anybody now anything about it?
Girl L(F): My father had told me about this.
R/TiR: But you haven't mentioned anything until now.
Girl L(F): No.
Girl K(F): (*to me*) Maybe your great-grandmother put it there.

R/TiR: Oh, maybe my great-grandmother put it there… (…)
(*Discussion about the pictures found in the chest. When examining the picture with the 'first residents of the village', Girl L(F) cries out:*)
Girl L(F): I know them! (*to the girl next to her*) I know them!
R/TiR: (*I pay no attention*) They are the first residents…
Girl L(F): (*She raises her hand eagerly, while the rest of the pictures are examined by the whole class*). I think that… (*I cut her again and don't give her permission to speak yet*) (Session B, Disk 1, 25.00 – 27.50)

In this case, I discouraged Girl L(F)'s new contribution to our drama, for fear that she would try to lead the session. Supposedly, no one in the village knew about the existence of the material in the chest. The thoughts that came to my mind – let the girl show us/sing the anthem – would have taken me out of the ease of my planned session, including the ritual based on the 'sacred anthem' (see p. 70; Appendix E). In addition, allowing her to surpass this given would have possibly created the desire also to her classmates to be among 'the ones who knew about the anthem' and more claims of this kind could have emerged. Hence I accepted Girl K(F)'s suggestion which was more of the kind I expected to hear and matched better my planning. Later on in the same extract, when examining the chest contents and particularly at the picture of 'the first residents' (See Appendix N), Girl L(F) made another attempt to take control of the drama, but once more I did not agree to give her the power. Her intention was to participate actively and honestly in the drama and not just to attract my attention or participate in a playful mood. She was deeply committed to her role and tried to play her part the best she could. My inexperience in this case was the reason for missing an opportunity of deepening drama. The girl's contribution could at least have been encouraged and not challenged by expressing doubts ('But you haven't mentioned anything until now'). She could have been allowed to lead up to the point when it would not have interfered with the aims of the session. The third intervention by Girl L(F) in this session took place during the meeting with the great-grandmother (see p. 71) when the girl asked the lady about her dead father:

Girl L(F): Did you know my father?
R/TiR: (*as the great-grandmother*) Who was your father?
Girl L(F): He's in the picture. (*She points at her 'father' in the picture, just as I did a while ago, presenting the history of the village. Many children gather round the picture*.)
R/TiR: This is a very old picture. This man here… I'm sure it wasn't your father, but your grandfather. This picture is so old… And they look alike... Yes. It's definitely your grandfather… (*Then I move on, change the subject and everyone sits down.*)
Before I go I would like to show you how we did this ritual… (Session B, Disk 1, 43.49 – 45.45)

Eager to restore the 'truth' according to the time that had passed, I had in mind that the picture was at least two generations old, so I accepted partially her suggestion, informing her that this was not her father, but probably her grandfather; an indirect negation. This was another missed opportunity to deepen both the drama and the class's engagement. Additional and anecdotal information and incidents based on the imaginative relatives of the girl could have created a background for the characters and could have enhanced her belief,

rendering her participation valuable and boosting the class's feeling of ownership of the drama.

Girl L(F), although non-Greek – and, as was examined earlier, from time to time isolated – was an exceptional example of an engaged pupil who contributed creatively to the drama. She had a high level of participation as according to Bolton (1999: 199), she was aware of 'what could happen or needs to happen to further the drama' (*ibid*.). This is predicated on the assumption that the facilitator has enough experience to use such contributions. In most of the cases, this involves bestowing some or much of his/her power to the children or one specific child. The fear of passing the power on to the pupils is common for teachers, especially those new to drama facilitation. As was evident, it was not easy for me as a newcomer in process drama to achieve this role of co-worker in the classroom and choose the most efficient path to lead both the children and the drama forward, capitalising on their ideas.

Another occasion when drama gave the opportunity to Girl L(F) as one of the non-Greek children to speak up about her being racially harassed (see p. 159 for the name-calling incident by Girl J) was during the last reflection out of role, when parallels were drawn between drama and school reality. The racist behaviour of Girl J was reported – initially by Girl B, a dark-skinned Greek girl – and one of teachers' common concerns emerged: a fervent discussion that I was not able to control effectively.

R:	There are people who find it funny to call others names because they are of a different colour.
Boy A:	Yeah. Like we don't call Girl B names just because she's a bit darker.
R:	You're careful with your language.
Girl B:	(*resentfully*) Girl J was calling me at Reception 'Blacky blacky blacky'…
Girl J:	(*aggresively*) It was because I couldn't understand. That's for your information. I couldn't understand; I was a baby.
R:	That's it. Some people can't understand that it's just something different and they find it strange, funny.
Girl J:	And *she* [Girl B] was calling me 'White like snow, freezes every heart.'
Girl B:	I didn't say that.
Girl J:	Yes you did.
R:	I think we all agree then that someone who is called names feels bad, right? (*While I say this Girl J is staring cross at Girl B. When Girl B looks away, she uses the collar she is holding as a sling and pretends pointing at her. Girl B raises her hand again but I ignore it for fear that we would have gone on with the same discussion.*) Could you tell me other examples of *foreigners* that you know? (Session E, Disk 1, 52.57 – 54.07

Alert as I was by Boy A's statement and its potential for opening up dangerous paths, I praised his behaviour lest conflict or a further comment from Girl B should come up. My behaviour was identical to that of the teachers avoiding dealing with racism (see p. 86), trying to hush up a thorny issue. Girl B seized the opportunity to report Girl J's behaviour and challenge Boy A's statement. Being accused publicly made Girl J feel threatened so she hurried to fight back and defend herself by claiming it was unintentional (for the connection of intention to racist incidents, see Macpherson cited in Gillborn, 2008: 123; Pearce, 2010),

adding *her* part of the story. Her words 'I couldn't understand' are possibly copied from an adult or adults, since it is such a common argument that young children are 'too young to understand' (see pp. 34 and 87). In addition, she uses the idea of non-intentional action to justify herself, discussed in the literature review (Stephen Lawrence case, p. 27). I brought the discussion to a closure only for it to come up again moments later, even worse this time as the incident to be mentioned was clearly racist. Girl L(F) found the opportunity to bring up the racist name calling she had experienced a year ago by Girl J. The incident was known to most of the children:

Girl L(F):	(*seriously, not vengeful. Maybe worried*) Girl J has called names to me.
Girl J:	When?
Girl L(F):	She called me 'Albanian'.
Girl B:	It's true, I heard it as well.
Girl J:	Yes, but…
R:	(*to Girl L(F)*) How did you feel?
Girl L(F):	(*pause*)
R:	This is true though, no?
Girl L(F):	(*boldly*) Yes, I am Albanian.
Girl J:	Because you said that I don't have a Hannah Montana[40] costume!
Girl L(F):	Was *that* the reason why you called me that?
Girl J:	(*pause*)
Girl L(F):	And you said to me that you went to Athens…
Girl J:	Yes, I *did* go to Athens!
R:	Do we all agree that when we call a name to somebody he/she feels bad? I think everybody knows how this feels.
Girl J:	Yeah. Girl B called my mom 'fat' and I didn't say anything.
Girl B:	(*She answers in a low volume sentence hence incomprehensible*.)
R:	So we agree that calling names is something bad. So what can we do for people who have come here from other countries? (Session E, Disk 1, 56.26 – 57.43)

Girl J had used Girl L(F)'s origin as a pejorative adjective, and even though she acknowledged her nationality, it was insulting for her. Girl J tried to justify herself by claiming Girl L(F) was spreading lies about her (the Hannah Montana outfit) but when her motives were challenged by Girl L(F) she could not provide an answer. My attempt to deal with the incident was to ask about the victim's feelings in order for the class to understand the impact name-calling has on people, since they could recognise the feeling. I tried to draw a conclusion and a rule out of it ('Do we all agree…'), but Girl J went on, evidently trying to share the responsibility by accusing Girl B. At that moment I felt the discussion was getting out of control, with pupils throwing accusations at each other, so I ineptly brought an end to it. In any case, referring to the consequences of this particular racist action was one of the parameters that should have been examined. Even though I should have expected such incidents to come up sooner or later, I was unprepared to face the situation. This was the first time I had experienced a confrontation on racism among the participants. As I was inexperienced in the discussions drama in education can generate (i.e. referring to real world problems) I acted like the majority of the teachers in the research: hush it up and conceal it. The incident clearly shows the difficulty for a teacher to openly challenge such opinions, even when claiming to have such as an objective.

[40] A popular heroine of a girlish TV serial.

Post- drama observation and interviews

During the week that followed the drama sessions, observation and interviews provided additional evidence for the impact the drama had on the class which will be discussed in the following section.

Views on the drama project

The children expressed a positive opinion about the project in the follow-up interviews. When asked about moments recorded in their memory their answers were from scenes with high levels of emotion and dramatic tension, such as meeting the guard, recalling strong feelings of injustice (see also AP3.14 for more examples):

> Girl E: We started [the drama] with the apple[41] but then it got harder. But I didn't like – because you can't have a guard like that! He wanted us to wear some yellow collars and we did and everybody was making fun of us. [We had to put them on] because we had to be different from them. And if we took it off we'd go to jail (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

> Girl J: I went nuts… When the guard… You had told us 'How can we persuade the guard to let us in, since we don't have IDs?' I was mad, but I couldn't think… I … I didn't like it so much. Because my mind couldn't find…
> R: Why didn't you like this?
> Girl J: Because it needed a bit of thinking and…
> R: Was it hard for you?
> Girl J: Yeah, it was hard (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

> Girl L(F): I didn't like it that the guard treated us like that. He made us wear the yellow collars, we were teased by the Elepadians, they were calling us 'bananas', 'they are Nostians, we don't want them here, we don't believe them'… I didn't like it. It was frustrating. The most frustrating thing was when they wrote this letter. I'd never do this (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

They clearly lived through the difficulties of their roles when they acknowledged the feelings they went through ('I went nuts', 'I was mad', 'it was frustrating') (see 1st application for similar expressions, pp. 123 and 127) referring to insults they underwent when they were in role ('they're Nostians, we don't want them here'). One can discern that also in this application the children spotted the difficulties in drama which called for 'thinking' (see 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, pp. 123 and 126-127; 2nd application, p. 150), and even if it started with simple exercises (see Girl E's quote above), it soon got serious and 'harder'. When Boys H and P were asked about the differences between their normal classes and the drama ones, they answered:

> Boy H: Ms. E's classes are a bit tiring. This one you could relieve a bit. I mean… you are both having a class, and have your kicks.
> Boy P: It was easier I mean… the lesson became more and more interesting… A bit more difficult [in the beginning] but then [it got easier]. (…)
> R: Did you learn anything new from our classes?
> Boy H: When children from other countries come here… Ok, children or grown ups… From other countries. We should not treat them like Elepadians did (2nd

[41] An exercise to practice 'drama eyes'.

interview, 1-6-2009).

Boy H commented on the nature of drama as a teaching tool, conceiving the dual role of it, which is both entertaining and educative ('you are both having a class and have your kicks'). He touched the concept of intellectual work in drama (i.e. it's not only fun), just like when Girl J above, found drama 'hard'. This understanding of drama's twofold character seems to be common also in other studies (see Hefferon, 2000: 5 'We were learning, but we were having fun as well'). The last sentence shows his good level of understanding of the drama, correlating the fictional ('Elepadians') and real ('children from other countries come here'), clearly showing that the project succeeded its aim of developing empathy and relating the plot to the problems of reality.

Connections with the real world

The emotions that were experienced by the pupils through drama created new information which the children tried to fit into existing schemas in their minds by connecting them with familiar situations of the real world. In their interviews, there were cases where they were paralleling the fiction with such situations. For example, in his second interview, Boy C(F) used the example of Nostians, to explain the feeling one may have if one has to leave home:

R Is it easy for someone to leave his/her place?
Boy Q: He can be forgotten.
Boy C(F): If your place floods… It will be bit sadness [sic]; you'll miss your neighbours… (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

Children were also trying to explain the motives of racist behaviour:

R: Why do you think Elepadians treated you badly?
Boy H: They may want to be on their own. With no one around.
Boy P: I believe that it was because we were foreigners… I mean if we weren't they wouldn't have treated us like that… I mean that's the reason – that we weren't one of them (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

One can see their effort to put a meaning behind the actions of the drama roles, thus fulfilling drama's aim to lead them into an understanding of the world and social issues. As was presented in p. 49, understanding can bring incongruity in the children's views and a change in their attitude, which seemed to be present in this application.

Change

Promisingly enough, there were cases of pupils for whom drama seemed to work towards positively challenging their previous beliefs, even though some showed no progress, such as Boy I who had expressed biased attitude before the project (AP3.20) but stated in his 2nd interview that he helps non-Greeks (2nd interview, 1-6-2009) – nevertheless, no such data was recorded from the observation. Still, although not dramatic, there was a difference in the interviews of Girls J and M, who both expressed a prejudice before the drama (see pre-drama observation and interviews, pp. 160-161). In the last session of the project, Girl M

(the Macedonian Boy W(F)'s deskmate, see p. 161) was seen to work closely with the Macedonian twins, when writing the letter to the mayor, interestingly paying attention to the discussion the two siblings had in Macedonian (Boy W(F)'s sister was translating for him) and for the first time she seemed willing to share her knowledge with her deskmate, contributing to the conversation of the two siblings (AP3.23). Before the drama, Girl M claimed that there wasn't enough space for her foreign classmates to be invited to her party (AP3.21). However, after the project, she seemed willing to accept foreigners in Greece, comparing the country to a hotel and foreigners to 'guests', like her friend, Girl J stated (see below).

R: Should we accept those people in our country?
Girl J: I say we accept them because they are guests in our country. Like they came and they are guests in our home.
Girl M: I say accept them because it's like not accepting a person in your hotel. (…) The hotel is the country and the borders are the one who has the hotel and says 'you are going to this room' (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

The analogy with the hotel is apt, even though it could imply a commercial relationship or a master-guest one. The second sentence is clearly influenced by the scene with the border guard, the 'hotel's owner', the person in charge of letting people in or not.

R: Do you think that you learned anything from our class?
Girl J: I learned that some people should have good heart.
Girl M: We learned how to respect others. And how it feels when we don't (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

Girl M here gives the core objective of a drama lesson, i.e. to facilitate children into experiencing, feeling, living through a dramatic situation and approach affective learning. Girl M's change was also noted by Ms. E, who thought that during the last days Girl M was more co-operative with Boy W(F) (Field notes, 9-6-2009). Another two examples of change were Girls O and F: in the 1st interview, Girl O sounded indifferent to having immigrant classmates, in an interview having the tension that was mentioned also in other cases (see 2nd application, p. 139), with sentences full of awkward pauses when talking about immigrants (AP3.26). However, in the follow-up discussion they referred to the implications of the natives' actions, and the following extract, even though it seems that Girl F exaggerates, shows a good level of understanding by Girl O, in contrast with her previous statements.

Girl O: [We should] accept/welcome them [in Greece]. Because if they don't have a home and we won't accept them, they…
Girl F: (*rather worryingly*) …will die (2nd interview, 4-6-2009).

On the other hand – regarding non-Greek pupils – during drama Girl V(F) was being more sociable: by the end of the drama sessions she joined in for the first time with a discussion the rest of the girls had during break time (AP3.11). After the completion of the drama she was seen during both the breaks of the day hanging around and playing with the girls – again for the first time during my visit there. Her expression was not showing reticence as usual, but she was smiling and seemed more self-confident (AP3.24). Her change was also

confirmed by Ms. E who stated that during the last days she was showing progress in the classroom (Field notes, 9-6-2009). After the project, according to the follow-up observation, during the last classes with the teacher, Girl V(F) was actively participating in different subjects (AP3.25), raising her hand, giving answers and being fluent in reading exercises. Accordingly, her brother was also seen playing with Boy A after the drama (AP3.25c) (whereas usually he stayed with his Macedonian friends); also being more confident and participating actively in the class, even if sometimes he had to face the low expectations of his teacher (AP3.25b). This could be attributed to drama since its first occurrence was after my visit. Unfortunately, Ms. E had missed all the drama sessions, so she denied having an interview after the project as she saw no point. We did, however, have an informal discussion after the project, recorded in my field notes, where *inter alia* she pointed out an important issue, wondering if the drama was the main factor in the indications of change that were spotted in some of the children (Field notes, 9-6-2009). Bearing in mind also the short time the project took place for, the temporal character of such changes and the brief observation time (one week) in order to fully follow such changes, the discussion on the impact of the project must be extremely careful in order to avoid unreliable conclusions. Despite these limitations, the importance of those hints is indisputable.

Drama practice

In the final section of this application, some of the moments pertaining to drama practice are highlighted, useful for novice teachers in drama. Old mistakes recurred here, which shows the difficulty for a novice in process drama in pinning down some of its main principles.

Arrangement of space

In this session there was another example of desk misuse (see also 2nd application, p. 155), where the arrangement of the space proved constrictive for the action and the scenes' setting up.

Picture 32 Still image titled 'Before the rain', showing villagers at home, sleeping.

In Picture 32 (Session C, Disk 1, 30.00) is clearly shown that the task assigned to the class (to create the image of the night before the flood) could not be accomplished in the space

provided, using their desks to suggest their homes: the children were climbing and lying on the desks using them as 'beds', leaning against walls and tables trying to pretend being asleep. This prevented them from forming a truthful image. Their posture and place were not consistent with the situation they were in. Avoiding the use of desks completely would be an alternative solution. The children could be asked to form their image on one side of the room, using it as a stage, or in the middle of the circle their chairs formed. Each team could thus create the levels they needed to use to represent (a bed or a sofa, for example), either by chairs or desks, or using the floor.

Teacher in Role

During the application of teacher in role technique in this case, I realised the delicate balance between me in role as the border guard and the children while improvising. Small phrases, even imperceptible changes in the intonation of my voice, could cause disappointment and discouragement for the class, or, on the other hand, excitement and eagerness to go on. Every subtle difference in my voice when negotiating with the children, every pause and different use of words, caused a different reaction from the class. Their interest, their concentration and their participation rose and dropped depending on small choices I made during the discussion in role (for an indicative example of the dramatic encounter with the guard see AP3.10). Conclusively, the teacher in role must tune the questions in detail, in such a way that the pupils will not be demoralised by their complexity; questioning should be challenging enough to keep a balance of the class's interest. An experienced drama teacher would have been able to detect and prevent these vacillations in children in order to make the drama flow smoothly.

Conclusions

Racism was present also in this classroom, by isolating and name-calling specific pupils (AP3.16, AP3.18, AP3.21, p. 159). Isolation was mainly due to language difficulties but also due to competition in achievement (AP3.4; 3.5; 3.17, 3.21; p. 159). The teacher believed non-Greeks deteriorated the classroom's achievement level (AP3.22, p. 158). However, the findings regarding the project were encouraging, having children commenting on the intellectual character of the class (Boy H, Girl J and Girl E, p. 170). Pupils showed deep involvement in drama (pp. 161-164), revealing a high level of emotional experience (Girl J, Girl L(F), p. 170) and by extension, empathy towards immigrants in the real world (Girl M, p. 172), as is the objective of intercultural education (p.30). There were some indications of change in certain pupils (pp. 171-173), acknowledging openly the difficulties of immigrants, expressing positive feelings towards them and being more tolerant in choosing their friends, changing their attitude towards non-Greeks according to the research aims (p. 48). Consequently, there were also differences spotted in the progress and confidence of some non-Greek pupils of the class to use their experiences in the class (pp. 165-169). Although sometimes handled clumsily (p. 169), it seems as though in this last application the drama worked better, with more potential in the scenes created.

Relating to drama practice, my handling however did not always take full advantage of children's suggestions and a more experienced teacher could have made more out of the pupils' contributions, for example by balancing the questioning when in role to prevent constricting the drama's potential (p. 174). Also, when dealing with issues that lead to discussion the drama teacher needs to be prepared in detail and plan thoroughly the aims of the discussion, the points that the children need to learn and the way to deal with a potential conflict (pp. 167-169).

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter consists of three parts. First, the main findings are recapitulated and research questions are answered taking into consideration the categories mentioned in the beginning of the analysis (p. 76). The Drama Practice Lessons section follows, where the main issues applying to the teaching of drama, especially for a novice teacher, are discussed, as these emerged during the research. Last, the Final Reflections section examines limitations and suggestions for further research.

MAIN FINDINGS

Introduction

Before moving on to the closure of this dissertation, I will attempt to summarise the most important findings, evaluate the advantages and benefits, and review the questions posed in the beginning of this research (p. 55) through the analysis of the thematic categories (p.76). A table of the main findings can be accessed in Appendix Q, in order to offer the reader an overall view.

The thematic categories

The setting

Concerning the basic statistical data gathered about the setting where the research was conducted, the average presence of non-Greek pupils in the participating schools was 25%, rising to 33% in the participating classes. Two of the class teachers were between 36 and 45 years old with up to 15 years of teaching experience, and two of them were above 45 years old, having an experience of 25 to 36 years. None of them or their classes had any experience in process drama (2nd pilot, p. 102; 1st application, p. 116; 2nd application, Ms. D's 1st interview, 6-4-2009; 3rd application, p. 158).

As was examined in the literature review the novelty of this project lays in the fact that such a research has never been conducted in Greece, given that drama is still a new subject in schools (see p. 20). In addition, certain particularities of Greek culture – in and out of school –render this research unique. For example, the power of orthodox religion and Greek national identity are obvious in the schools. Monocultural customs such as orthodox morning prayer, flag hoisting, army-like students marching on national holidays and Orthodox celebrations (like the 40-day Easter fast) were an inextricable part of the participating schools (2nd pilot, p. 101; 1st application, p. 115; 3rd application, p. 158) – but as it is directed by law (Government Gazette, 1998) this is a norm in most public schools. Greek

nationality along with the Orthodox religion of all pupils, are taken for granted. The two following sections show that immigrant children are taught in an environment that is hostile towards other religions, since the identity of minorities is in many ways denied.

The teachers and staff

The present research showed that there is prejudice and racism also among teachers and staff as the literature suggested (p. 16; Samanidis, 2006; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Many of the participating teachers had low expectations of their immigrant pupils (1st pilot, p. 95; 2nd pilot, p. 103; 2nd application, p. 137; 3rd application, p. 158); assimilative approaches (2nd pilot, p. 102; 3rd application, p. 158) were present; colour-blindness was common – three out of four stated that they try not to talk about the different origin of their students nor their religion (2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, Ms. D's 1st interview, 4-5-2009; 3rd application, p. 158). Denying the multicultural reality we live in, teachers were 'presenting students with distorted values and endangering the polity' (Gundara, 2000: 70). Denial, or concealment of racism was also present. Two of them hushed up racist jokes that were mentioned during class (2nd application, p.138; 3rd application, p. 158). Such approaches reinforce the idea of taboo which is internalised by the pupils who eventually regard themselves as superior (Edmiston, 1998), something that one of the teachers also believed (2nd application, p. 137). In general, a conclusion could be drawn relating authoritarian teaching to racism. At least in two of the cases, repressed (hushed up) racism found its way out after the drama (2nd pilot, p. 111; 2nd application, p. 153), with pupils expressing racist ideas after the drama application (see 'Emergent themes' below).

All the participating teachers admitted their deficiency in intercultural teaching and asked for in-service training (2nd pilot, p. 102; 1st application, p. 115; 2nd application, Ms. D's 1st interview, 4-5-2009; 3rd application, p. 158). They stated that they deal with their multicultural classes, and the issues that emerge, pragmatically. The teachers' ignorance on intercultural issues and their demand for training are also present in literature (Spinthourakis & Katsillis, 2003; Tsokalidou, 2005; Akram & Richardson, 2011; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Regarding drama in school, three out of the four teachers considered drama to be an entertaining, joyful break for the children from everyday schooling reality (2nd pilot, p. 108; 2nd application, Ms. D's 1st interview, 4-5-2009; 3rd application, p. 158), not giving it a deeper educational value (Bolton, 1980; Bolton in Davis, 2010). Only one tried to stress the need for a deeper educational approach, beyond this playful character (AP1.13, 1st application, p. 126). This is a common view in education, spotted also by other drama practitioners, as deficient perspective does not take all the potentialities of drama under consideration.

An array of teaching methods were encountered, both during the preliminary research (see p. 85) and the main research, ranging from a teacher following current educational approaches, interested to new methods (1st application, p. 115) to one who dragged pupils out of the classroom in order to beat them (2nd application, p. 136). However, traditional and authoritarian teaching seemed to be the prevalent method in the cases studied. It was actually disturbing to find that, as recent articles also show (Ignatiadis, 2010) corporal punishment is still present in Greek schools. The 2nd application's school had severe incidents

of this kind, a situation that posed serious dilemmas to me and my role as a researcher (p. 136). In addition, monologue prevailed in schools rather than dialogue (O'Neill in Taylor & Warner, 2006: 119). In at least two cases (2nd pilot, 2nd application), no voice was given to the children and there was tight guiding of thinking. Critical thinking was discouraged, especially in the two cases of authoritative teaching (2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 137) and the children were not educated to take responsibility (for critical approach in teaching, see also Gorski, 2011: 4). Teachers' statements after my project, claiming that reflection time was a difficult activity for the children as they were not used to expressing their thoughts (1st pilot, P1.5b; 2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, pp. 123 and 126; 2nd application, AP2.35, p. 137) makes it apparent that critical discussion and problem solving was not included in their teaching. In some cases children were found insecure in making decisions and thinking away from the guidance of the teachers, something that proved an obstacle both for the progress of the drama, and the research. Also, it was a common practice (three out of four teachers) to reprimand publicly and to accept pupils criticising one another in front of classmates (2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 136; 3rd application, p. 158), seconding the teacher's reprimanding, creating levels of attitude between the children and superior and inferior pupils. Foreign children in particular received disciplinary comments from their Greek peers on their language attainment or their behaviour in general.

Views on immigrants - Racism

Racism among children was present in all applications, either overt or concealed, despite their young age (pp. 16 and 34). Its prevalent forms were ostracising and name-calling (2nd pilot, p. 103; 1st application, p. 116; 2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 159); language and performance seemed to be the most important hindrance in the classmates' social relations (Preliminary research, p. 88; 2nd pilot, P2.19, p. 103; 1st application, p. 117; 2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 159) and competition was also recorded (3rd application, p. 159). Origin (especially for pupils from Albania) was found to be an important issue forming a person's identity (1st application, p. 124). However, racism and immigrants were taboo issues, judging from the awkward moments in interviews: some pupils were cautious with their words and disclosure of true beliefs; in many cases nervousness occurred and students seemed uncomfortable to answer 'sensitive' questions having to do with people of different cultures, especially before the project (2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 159). In addition, racism was often hidden from the teachers, as the victims chose not to report it (AP1.6b; AP2.27). As has been previously shown (Hinas & Hrisafidis, 2000), usually children deal with racist comments themselves, staying alone, befriending children from their own origin or telling only their parents (AP2.27; AP3.18). The idea that even young children are aware of the sensitivity of racism as a social subject was presented earlier (p. 34) as from an early age they are subjected to adults' concealment of such issues, with their teachers playing a prevailing role in such secretive attitude (see 2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 158). Racist incidents and comments were not challenged by the teachers unless they were obvious and severe (according to them). Everyday comments and jokes were not considered to be serious enough even to be identified as such (see Preliminary research, p. 86).

Engagement

The aforementioned setting (e.g. authoritarian teaching methods, racism from pupils and teachers, orthodox prevalence) determined the conditions in which the drama project took place. Process drama was a new experience for the participating classes, who had previously been involved only in school shows and dramatising stories in the classroom (2nd pilot, p. 102; 1st application, p. 116; 2nd application, Ms. D's 1st interview, 6-4-2009; 3rd application, p. 158). However, despite the challenges, the pupils responded successfully, empathising with immigrants, as was the aim of the intercultural project, and learning to see 'the other's' point of view (p. 41). There were moments of high engagement, mostly seen in their informed responses and suggestions, but also evident in less fidgeting, more concentration and in facial expressions and looks. The pupils identified with the imagined roles and situations; they agreed to operate 'as if'; and participated in a congruent, appropriate and supportive manner, which according to Morgan and Saxton (1989: 23) is evidence of high involvement. Working in role was enjoyable to the majority of the children (mentioned in all interviews, see Appendix Q) and 'satisfaction in the experience' (Morgan & Saxton, *ibid*.) was achieved, as an additional evidence of engagement. They enjoyed teacher in role scenes – the great-grandmother and the ritual (1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 98; 1st application, p. 120; 2nd application, p. 141) and the guard scene (1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 98; 1st application, pp. 120-122; 2nd application, pp. 144-146; 3rd application, pp. 161-163). Consequently, there were many cases of pupils who spotted and referred to the use and importance of imagination during the project comparing it with the extent of imagination used in their everyday classes and school shows (Appendix Q, row 40). Also pupils in role as refugees facing hardships during their new life in the new country were of these moments where engagement (see Morgan & Saxton's taxonomy, 1989: 22) was evidently present: their interest in the racist incidents they devised and their willingness to solve problems (see 1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, p. 123; 2nd application, p. 140 and 150), and even the parallels they drew (see 2nd application, p. 151; 3rd application, pp. 161 and 171) demonstrate this. Also, discussion during meetings was appreciated by many students and their commitment was present as they were expressing 'creative ideas through the attitude and concerns of the role' (Morgan & Saxton, 1989: 24). Discussion involved what Edmiston (1994) calls 'internalized dialogue' – a prerequisite for a change in understanding – when the children were creating meaning, experiencing different perspectives. This applies both to their classmates' different views, as well as (for the Greek pupils) experiencing the view of an immigrant. There were also cases of children who found it demanding and tiring (see 2nd application, p. 150; 3rd application, p. 170), and this is deemed to be a positive result, showing the challenging task the pupils were dealing with. Accordingly, many children enjoyed the unprecedented challenge of intellectual work (see 1st pilot, p. 94; 1st application, pp. 123 and 127; 2nd application, p. 150; 3rd application, p. 170). Overall, the majority of the pupils enjoyed the project and teachers commented positively on its intellectual character (1st pilot, p. 94; 2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, p. 126; 2nd application, pp. 140 and 150; 3rd application, p. 170).

Connections with the real world and understanding

Living through racism and experiencing strong and deep feelings helped children contemplate and verge on understanding (p. 48), to 'challenge prevailing ideas and absolute

truths' (p. 44). Their engagement allowed most of the children to make connections with the real world, create analogies and draw parallels between the scenario in which they lived and reality (see 2nd application, pp. 145 and 148; 3rd application, p. 165). Pupils were collaboratively creating knowledge; thus their previous experiences and knowledge were shared in drama classroom (Heathcote in Johnson & O'Neill, 1991; Wilhelm & Edmiston, 1998). Both Greek and foreign pupils were sharing ideas and showing social awareness, awareness of the world they live in, even expressing deeper thoughts and pondering on society's structures (see 2nd application, pp. 151-152). Regarding the subject of racial harassment, both cognitive and emotional experiences of bullying were recalled and used in the racist incidents improvisations. In addition, the children contributed with truthful stories on unequal treatment, working conditions, exploitation, mistreatment and racism (2nd pilot, p. 107; 2nd application, pp. 145 and 148; 3rd application, p. 164). Drama enhanced this knowledge, offering hands-on experience of immigrants' lives to the Greek children which was recalled in the second round of interviews (2nd pilot, p. 108; 1st application, p. 127; 2nd application, p. 150; 3rd application, p. 170), going beyond sterile knowledge and understanding the values behind it (Bolton, 1979; 1992). Tucker (1985) stresses that there are two kinds of moralities: the intellectual (i.e. children *know* what is right) and the affective (i.e. they *feel* it). As children were already taught the former (see e.g. 2nd application's Christian teacher, p. 136), drama has helped them develop also the latter, with the living through experience it offered them.

Empowering immigrants

The benefit of the project to the pupils was twofold: Greek pupils, through empathy, experienced elements of an immigrant's life and hints of understanding emerged. They were the main subject of the research as it was mainly their behaviour the project tried to have an influence on. However, at the same time, pupils of an immigrant background benefited from it, being offered a voice although being a minority group (p. 45). They became more confident in talking about their immigrant lives and sharing their experiences with their classmates and the researcher (Appendix Q, rows 44-45). They were given the opportunity to contribute with their knowledge on immigration matters (passports, 'papers', police patrolling at the borders, etc.) (*ibid*.) even though many times they were cautious of sharing such knowledge as it was denoting of their different – especially Albanian – origin and this would stigmatise them. In addition, Greeks' understanding had a direct and clear impact on the non-Greeks' schooling life: they were more easily accepted in the main peer groups of the class and moments of happiness were recorded for the first time for the young immigrants (e.g. 1st application, p. 130; 3rd application, p. 172; Appendix Q, rows 45 and 47), rendering such projects a good practice in the classroom.

Social skills

Concerning the social skills practiced through drama (see the social nature of drama, p. 43), group work was another approach that was new to most of the participants (Appendix Q, row 46). Furthermore, a competition between the pupils in the classes was registered (2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 137; 3rd application, p. 158), sometimes with the teachers overtly promoting it. However, as Edmiston (1998) notes, 'monologic discourse needs to be resisted' as it involves the danger of dehumanising (see also p. 44). Traditional teaching

seems to be the norm in Greek schools, with many pupils not having the opportunity to participate in collaborative learning. This is another challenge for the drama teachers and one that drama is a tool to deal with. There is a need to move from competing to co-operating and drama can be a means to this goal. Thus it is important that after the project, both in feedback slips and 2nd interviews, many children referred to the advantages of group work, stressing their preference towards this method, and creating rules for better collaboration themselves (2nd and 3rd application, Appendix Q, cells 46D and 46E).

Incongruity and change

Encouragingly enough, there were hints of incongruity (p. 46) and change (p. 48) after the project. There were cases of pupils who seemed to challenge and put into question their previous beliefs, torn between two contradicting views (prejudice vs. empathy) (see p. 47). There were cases recorded in which they were more inclusive and receptive to their non-Greek classmates and their culture (for example in the 2nd pilot, p. 110; 1st application, p. 128; 2nd application, p. 152; 3rd application, p. 171) whereas they were initially found to be restrained, indicating that they had reached a higher level of moral reasoning (see p. 48). Non-Greeks who were ostracised before the project were now included, and were invited more often to join the main company of the class during play time after the completion of the project (1st application, p. 130; 3rd application, p. 172). Moreover, the immigrant pupil's attainment was enhanced, their self-confidence boosted and their participation in the main class more active during the post-drama observation and interviews (3rd application, p. 173). These examples (both of Greek and non-Greek pupils) render this study promising, as change was evidently – although in a small scale – present.

Emergent themes

Lastly, examining the emergent themes (see p. 76), there were cases where racism was revealed after the project, especially in classes where authoritative teaching was applied (2nd pilot, p. 110; 2nd application, p. 153) leading to the conclusion that such teaching and restriction of critical thinking covers up and perpetuates racism. Drama gave the opportunity to some pupils to speak out their prejudices, giving the potential to teachers to combat the revealed attitudes. Secondly, it was evident that parents and media (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992; Giroux, 2001; Sinclair et al., 2005) were informing children's beliefs on immigrants and prejudices. The role of mass media in the construction of identity has been noted before (Giroux, 1998) and the examples in the applications showed that children undoubtedly adopt TV's negative images and stereotypic views on immigrants (1st application, p. 131; 2nd application, p. 154; AP2.51). Also, many of the Greek children willing to isolate their immigrant classmates did it – as they stated – after parental encouragement; in almost every application there was a case of a pupil who claimed s/he had instructions from his/her parents regarding the ethnic origin of her/his friends (2nd pilot, p. 104; 1st application, p. 117; 2nd application, p. 152; 3rd application, p. 161). Mr. C confirmed this stressing the difficulty of dealing with the parents' influence (p. 115).

Answering the research questions

The research questions (see Methodology, p. 55) were split into three groups. One set of questions referred to issues that needed to be exemplified before the main study. Literature review and preliminary research covered most of these questions, although palpable examples were recorded also in the main research, just to prove the truth of the above findings. More specifically:

a) Investigating the extent of Greek Primary pupils' racist attitudes towards their immigrant schoolmates and the reasons for these attitudes

Unfortunately, although the studies are still contradictory, Greek students seem to be among the most prejudiced in the EU (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003), mirroring a xenophobic society. The findings of my research showed a similar situation applying both to children and teachers, even though the teachers claimed that the racist incidents in schools have been mitigated (Preliminary research, p. 88; 2nd pilot, Mr. B's 1st interview, 12-1-2009 2nd application, p. 137). The main forms of racism found in this research were ostracising and name calling, especially towards those with impairment in their language command (see 2nd pilot, p. 103; 1st application, p. 116; 2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 159). Both literature review (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992; Giroux, 1998; Sinclair, 2005; Lane, 2008) and the main research findings (see above, 'Emergent themes', p. 181) showed that social interaction – involving teachers and parents – and also mass media can play an important role in the creation of these attitudes.

b) Investigating to what extent teachers tackle racism inside the classroom and, if they do, which methods they use

Once more, both literature (Tsokalidou, 2005; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011) and the fieldwork (see 'Preliminary Research') showed the inadequacies of the Greek teachers in the context of a multicultural classroom. The majority of them claimed to be unable to deal with the issues emanating from ethnic coexistence in their classrooms (2nd pilot, p. 102; 1st application, p. 115; 3rd application, p. 158). In cases of racism, they usually hushed up the incident rather than deal openly with it (2nd application, p. 138; 3rd application, p. 158, Appendix Q, row 13). Moreover, they themselves were found to be prejudiced or in some cases racists (2nd pilot, p. 101; 1st application, p. 115; 2nd application, p. 137; 3rd application, p. 158; Appendix Q, rows 7-10).

Secondly, this study's main concern was **to explore if drama constitutes an effective agent in abating racist attitudes in young children in Greece; to explore whether the intervention of such a drama project could generate any hints of change in their attitudes towards non-Greeks**. The evidence stemming from the earlier sections in this thesis showed that there is a strong potential in drama to affect children's attitudes. Drama caused a substantial incongruence to pupils, which is considered to be the door to understanding (p. 48). As was recorded above (p. 181), there were cases where changes were registered in the attitudes of Greek pupils during the study, providing serious indications for the truthfulness of this question. Thus, provided that the drama is applied for adequate time and is not constricted to the narrow framework of a research (see 'Limitations of the study', p. 189) but involves the teachers' active participation (Mr. C, p. 126; AP1.19), it can be an effective agent

towards this direction. Namely, referring to the goals of intercultural education (see p. 30), it can be seen that most of them were fulfilled by the project: the children had the experience of critical thinking, contributed their experiences by taking 'an active role in their own education', practiced decision making and problem solving and developed positive attitudes towards the notion of 'the other'. Experiencing a series of activities common in a refugee's life (such as loss of their homes; dangerous journey fleeing their country; negotiating with authorities; living in a transitionary camp; dealing with racial harassment and bullying) resulted in more receptiveness and awareness of a refugee's hardships from the Greek children (see 'Incongruity and change', p. 181). Drama offered the pupils the chance to live in this reality, providing the Greek pupils with a hands-on experience. This was evident in the follow-up interviews where many Greek children talked explicitly about an immigrant's life, providing adequate information on this matter. As Girl M convincingly stated, indicating the level of engagement in drama, they experienced 'how it *feels'* not to be respected (see p. 172).

'Is it possible for a novice drama teacher with a Greek drama teaching background to use process drama effectively in order to challenge racist attitudes in young children?'

Lastly, the main question of this research involved also my inexperience in process drama techniques. Given that drama proved to be effective despite awkward moments and inadequacies (for example, 1st pilot, pp. 92-94; 2nd pilot, pp. 97-101; 3rd application, pp.165-169), the answer still seems to be positive. Taking into account the time span over which the project was applied and the inexperience of both the researcher and the participants in process drama, the quality of the project was high. Drama can be effective even in the hands of novice drama teachers, as long as they plan in detail and pose their rules and thresholds carefully (Heathcote, 1991d: 63). Regarding Greek drama teachers who are used to older methods of drama teaching (see pp. 20 and 37) they are given a chance to offer their students a deeper experience by exploring the world around them and their own lives, so as to become active members of this society. Certainly additional drama teaching experience generates additional efficacy and Greek teachers have a long way to go. I believe that the following section of this research would be a useful tool for all those who would like to try this method in their teaching, presenting points that this study generated, and I believe them to be important, especially referring to the practices followed by the majority of Greek drama teachers.

DRAMA PRACTICE LESSONS

Introduction

This section is a by-product of the main research, a consequence of my decision to embark upon a subject of which I had little experience. Although as a drama teacher I was familiar with drama techniques, there are certain strategies in process drama that I was trying for the first time. Mistakes were made and questions emerged during the planning and application of the lessons. After completing this venture I achieved an insight of important rules for effective drama, relying on key incidents which were analysed earlier. These will be presented below with the hope they will be useful to newcomers in process drama. The particularity that was found to apply to every school of this study was that traditional teaching methods, authoritative, discouraging critical thinking, are still a reality in the Greek classroom (see 2nd pilot, p. 102; 2nd application, p. 137; 3rd application, p. 158; Appendix Q, row 15). Consequently, the main difficulty that teachers need to overcome is to discard their indoctrinating role, deny their knowledge and authority, and become co-creators in drama; working with their classes equally and co-operatively (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; Cowley, 2007; Flemming, 2011).

Classroom management

Owing to their physical activities, drama lessons require indisputably more discipline and self-control by the pupils than more conventional subjects. Challenging situations may emerge that need to be countered for the drama to work. One of the issues I faced due to my previous drama teaching approaches, was that I used to yield in sliding behaviour for the sake of pupils' 'free expression' (Neelands, 1984; Cowley, 2007). 'Free-expression' is a common mentality in the Greek drama classroom (see p. 21), resulting in natural play superceding discipline. However, the presence of the adult in the classroom, on the premise that it is not manipulative, is pivotal to the quality of a drama lesson (Bowell & Heap, 2001). Without dismissing free expression, drama should be carefully planned and disciplined, with a clear dramatic focus and frame (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988; O'Toole, 1992; see also 'Improvising scenes', p. 186) in order to maintain a teaching quality.

Ground rules and grouping

During their interviews, many pupils recalled as a strong moment the beginning of our project, when drama rules were explained to them. Learning about drama (e.g. that it involves changing identities and imaginary situations) was new to them and their statements showed it was recorded in their memory. Ground rules need to be set from the beginning of the lesson, many times in the form of a contract (Neelands, 1984; Kitson & Spiby, 1997; Baldwin, 2004; Cowley, 2007). This way a series of important points that they need to pay attention to is made clear to those not familiar with this way of teaching: for example, that drama is to be taken seriously; it calls for a certain commitment from their part; respect and responsibility are essential elements during the class that everything said or done during it, although supposed to be truthful, belongs to fiction and not reality. Also, practical issues need to be clear to the class, such as standards and rules of behaviour, stop signals and/or

entry and ending routines. This is important in Greek classrooms, where pupils (in any level of education) are not particularly familiar with drama and its conventions.

In addition, co-operation is one of drama key skills that needs to be stressed in a setting were group work is not the norm (see p. 180, 'Social skills') – as in drama, knowledge is constructed co-operatively, both by teacher and the students – and attention has to be paid to grouping. Allowing the children to choose their own groups could prove problematic and it is suggested that the teacher forms them (Cowley, 2007; Fleming, 2011). It should also be assured that the children will conform to the groups s/he suggests; any changes made after the grouping are likely to undermine the consistency of the decision, so must be handled with care (1st pilot, p. 93).

Building belief

For drama to work successfully belief needs to be established in the participants; pupils have to make drama true, 'make it happen' to themselves (O'Neill in Taylor & Wagner, 2006). As Mr. C in the 1st application realised and stressed in his 2nd interview (AP2.19) teachers usually rush drama, focusing on the plot (see also 'Spaghetti Western' in Morgan & Saxton, 1989: 54); this results in superficial make-belief play. On the contrary, in order to achieve an adequate quality in drama, the teacher must slow action down and devote time to building belief; give the opportunity to pupils to build their roles by placing responsibility on them and letting them create and cement their roles (Bolton, 1992a). As was the case in my drama, tasks and activities allocated to the pupils (such as morning chores in the village, thought tracking, setting up price lists, exploring their history through the unfinished material in the chest) helped them establish their identity and this was kept later as an element of their roles (for example, denying their right to wear their pendants as a symbol of their village's culture) (see 1st pilot, p. 93; 2nd pilot, p. 97; 1st application, p. 119; 2nd application, p. 140; 3rd application, p. 161).

Questioning

Questioning is a pivotal tool in drama and the teacher needs to be skilful in it in order for the lesson to be effective. In my lessons, there were cases where poor planning of my questioning prevented children's musing from going as deep as it could have gone (3rd application, p. 165). In order to be efficient in this area the teacher has to be conscious of many factors, such as the level of the question (challenging enough, not too obvious, not too difficult) and the personality of each student – shy and diffident ones will not easily express their thoughts to their classmates as this may involve exposure and embarrassment (Morgan & Saxton, 1989). Provided it is done carefully and after detailed planning, asking the correct questions can be a successful means for the teacher working with drama to challenge the children's thinking; generate reflection and encourage research; evaluate their experience; and progress the drama or establish its context (Baldwin & Hendy, 1994; Morgan & Saxton, 1994). Especially when in role (see below, 'Teacher in role', p. 186) as was shown clearly in the 3rd application (p. 174) a balance has to be obtained in the teacher's questioning: 'If the teacher demands too much then frustration will lead to loss of interest. On the other hand, a sufficient degree of frustration is a powerful stimulus for learning, and will lead to a feeling of satisfaction and "having won in the end" (Bolton, 1992a: 92).

Improvising scenes

Throughout the lessons, the moments of dramatic tension and clear focus were obviously successful (particularly the guard scene, the great-grandmother and the newspaper letter). Having the class make decisions and deal with the consequences of their actions (O'Neill & Lambert, 1990) was what made these moments dramatically interesting and effective. Attention must be paid to the scenes improvised by the children as mere confrontation was often present (2nd pilot, p. 107). If they are left to themselves, 'pupils are likely to work only at a superficial level in which they repeat or re-enact their existing insights' (O'Neill & Lambert, 1990: 22). The key ingredients of a successful dramatic scene are to clarify the objectives of the theme given (see also 'Detailed planning' below, p. 187), focus the action and provide a frame for the scenes created by the children (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988). Imposing constraints also helps eradicate superficial choices (Bolton, 1992; Fleming, 2011). Lastly, when reviewing the work of the class, implications and consequences of the chosen action in the improvisations need to be stressed in order to deepen the experience for the children and add reasonability to their work.

Action scenes in particular could easily slip to shallow drama and provide an excuse for the most energetic and less committed pupils to have fun by being physical or even violent. Such examples were recorded here, especially in the scenes of the journey to the new country, where images of wild animals attacking the villagers were common (as in the 1st application, p. 133). O'Toole & Haseman (1988) describe a similar 'disastrous' attempt in drama, ending with pupils 'yelling, and wrestling and running everywhere' (p. 43); also Neelands (1984) refers to 'recipes of chaos' (p. 75). The main reason behind such incidents is lack of focus in dramatic action. A clear planning, developing of roles, tension and framing of the action can prevent such situations, in addition to pointing out to the children the implications and feelings that each action relates to, in order to achieve a high level of truthfulness in the drama work. Using conventions such as still images or examining issues from a different angle through framing instead of actually acting out a fight could be some of the ways to avoid the danger of excessive physical action in such scenes.

Teacher in Role

The teacher in role technique could be demanding and difficult for a beginner. There are some basic requirements to be reached, such as the ability to be alert, listen and pick up signals given by the pupils; good questioning skills; the courage to expose oneself and be ready to fail; the readiness to change one's initial plan and be flexible (see also 'Detailed planning', p. 187); or the skill to withhold knowledge and slow down the action for the sake of a detailed exploration of the situation to take place (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; Woolland, 1991; Bowell & Heap, 2001). I will examine these in more detail here, based on the practice of the technique during the application of the project, in order for the newcomers to spot difficulties and pitfalls.

As the dramatic action is being created collectively, negotiation in role often takes place, which needs subtle handling. The children need to be left some space to choose and act; to argue (see 3rd application, p. 174). Monopolising the discussion can be one of the common pitfalls the teacher needs to avoid. One must 'follow and adapt to the children's input'

(Bolton, 1999: 184) and the signals given from the class, in order subsequently to choose the most fruitful path through reflection and give drama the necessary quality. O'Neill (1995) names 'utter watchfulness' as the first necessity for a drama leader: 'an ability to be able to respond immediately to the innumerable variables that may enforce a subtle change of plan' (p. 65). It was hard enough for me, even though I consider myself a fairly new-style teacher (i.e. not employing the rigid old-fashioned style of teaching) to stop being a teacher, to stop providing answers and to think instead of children as collaborators in discovering knowledge, let alone for someone who has taught for years with a traditional teacher-centred approach, as was the case for most of educators in this research.

Regarding acting skills for the teacher, it is claimed that not only are they not among the qualifications one must possess in order to use teacher in role, but it is suggested that s/he should not act, in the sense of a performer or entertainer (Morgan & Saxton, 1989; Bowell & Heap, 2001). However, the experience gained during this project convinced me that such skills can help a teacher be more concentrated, prepared and capture more easily a class's interest; acting skills and sustaining concentration are qualities that can be proved useful when in role. Being the teacher, many things were running through my head while role playing. In addition to elements of my role such as past, character, posture, tone of voice, lines that would push the action forward, I was also conscious of the time left, managing the class, counting the times the pupils have spoken and on forth. Managing all these teaching aspects (and in my case also issues applying to my role as a researcher), along with being accurate to my role, needed concentration skills that can be obtained either with practice or with acting classes. In the latter case, someone experienced in acting could easily draw the above skills from his/her ammunition. Being concentrated helps the teacher create a believable, more elaborate and deeper character and by extent, helps the children believe in the teacher in role. Ackroyd's (2004) study reveals the similarities between the skills required for a teacher in role and an actor. On the other hand, it could be the case that one gets carried away from the focus and learning objectives which are most important when in an educational context, and concentrates on 'interpreting a character' rather than facilitating the educational process; when one uses acting techniques for the sake of learning, the teacher's drama must not be soaked in self-centred acting. In addition, acting is not necessarily excessive, flamboyant and fake; there is a range of acting qualities. By acting is not necessarily meant showing off, which seems to be an out-of-date theatrical interpretation (Fleming (2011: 11), but one that gives importance to the content of the drama, ending up being a valuable tool for the class. As was mentioned above ('Improvising scenes', p. 186) the teacher in role scenes were among the most successful and powerful in this project. Both the chairman and the great-grandmother were characters that allured children into imagining and contemplating.

Detailed planning

Each lesson needs to be carefully planned in detail, preventing and pre-empting children's actions. 'Know what you want to say, have the words clear for the children, know the face you need to put forward, the stance you will take in the classroom, bring comfort to the teacher and assurance to the children' (Fines & Verrier, 2012). The chosen subject needs to be thoroughly studied, doing adequate research. As with my 'old times', I had to be very well

prepared in order to answer questions and/or probe answers and provoke thinking in order to successfully engage my class at an adequate level. In addition, the class tasks should be described in detail when allocated to the children, and the teacher should not assume the class knows how to carry out each activity. Tasks and questions should have the appropriate level of difficulty for each class. As was discussed in the 3rd application when I was in role as the guard (p. 174), the questions put to the children should be neither too easy nor too difficult, but challenging enough to keep their interest and the debate going. In addition, as was mentioned in the 1st pilot (see p. 93), adequate information should be offered to the children prior to the drama, in case it is set in a different era. The more details the class has in hand, the more engagement in ensured.

Use of objects

The use of objects was one of the issues discussed during the 2nd application (p. 154). It was made clear that as much as an object could be a pivot in a child's imagination (Vygotsky, 1994), in dramatic play it usually blocks drama where a scene is to be shown to the rest of the class (O'Toole & Haseman, 1988); it likely deprives belief both from the children playing and of those watching. The use of the desks was also faulty in the 3rd application (p. 173). Bowell's (2011) example, mentioned in the 2nd application (p. 155) – an example of having students sitting on the floor when in the story they are supposed to be in a public and formal meeting, which works against what you are trying to achieve – is pertinent and indicative of this pitfall that proved to be common also in my study.

In this section advice for novice teachers applying process drama were given, as generated from the experience of the applications of this study. The section was conceived to be useful especially for teachers in Greek school who – like me at the beginning of this project – were inexperienced in drama techniques and also applying traditional teaching methods. The last part of the chapter will discuss the limitations of this study and explore ways of moving it forward.

FINAL REFLECTIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD

Introduction

In order to summarise the main findings of this research (see p. 176), one should start with the change of the setting in Greek society which became a multicultural one, with the Albanians being – at the time the thesis was written – the prevalent and most negatively perceived group. Racist name-calling and comments were an everyday phenomenon during my last years of teaching in the primary school, when I decided to embark on this research. After nearly six years, as the economic crisis deepens, there seems to be a significant rise of racist attacks rendering this research particularly timely. Drama on the other hand, is yet to find its place within Greek schools, at present still mainly orientated to kinaesthetic and psychological development approaches.

During the fieldwork of this research, the setting was found to be quite mono-religious and mono-cultural, with prejudice and racism both among children and teachers. The latter were often applying authoritarian methods, also pleading ignorance on intercultural issues; racism related to language and performance was the prevalent form among the former. Process drama was new to everyone; however, pupils responded successfully, empathising with immigrants, creating analogies and pondering on society's structures. Drama offered a voice to non-Greek pupils who were found to be more confident after the drama lessons, whereas significant changes were detected among Greek pupils, who questioned their previous beliefs and became inclusive and receptive to their non-Greek classmates.

As this thesis comes to its end, I would like to refer to the limitations of this work. In addition, since drama is a subject that only recently became a research topic for Greek literature, it is my expectation that the present thesis will act as a springboard for further exploration on the interface of drama in education and antiracist education; some suggestions are discussed below.

Limitations of the study

One limitation that I would like to acknowledge is generalisation. This was stressed from the beginning when I decided to use multiple case studies (p. 56) and purposive sampling (p. 58) and pointed out that the findings could not be generalised beyond the cases studied, because of the limited number of the participating classes.

Interviewing the pupils had some challenging moments since, children of this age do not yet possess the necessary vocabulary to articulate their thoughts and feelings explicitly. In some cases I found it challenging working with such young children and trying to extract data and valid information from their statements. Some lied in order to satisfy me as a researcher (see p. 62), but there were also clearly stated truths, and pure and honest contemplation coming from their affirmations. All the above were seriously taken into consideration when the data were analysed so that ambiguous statements were omitted (see 2nd pilot, p. 100).

Moreover, the sensitive subject of my research may have led to biased results and thus issues of validity and reliability were dealt with. Interview questions were formed and checked (see p. 60) to minimise the potential of influencing my subjects, i.e. teachers, but mostly children who are susceptible to adopting an adult's viewpoint. Dubious answers – that may have been biased were thoroughly examined. Triangulating my findings was another means of ensuring valid and reliable results. All teachers – but one (see p. 173) – were present during the lessons and thus they could act as an additional observer. Their opinions were recorded both during the lessons and – mainly – at the end of the lesson at a formal meeting and interview. In order to maximise reliability additional sources were used also, like video and audio recordings, pupils' writing inside and outside role and also my personal comments in the form of field notes from the research diary which was held from the very beginning of the research. Another issue pertaining to the interviews was the lack of specific questions in the first round that would allow the researcher to gauge more accurately the change after the intervention, and respectively, the lack of detailed questions in the follow-up interviews in order to examine some of the attitudes present during the drama lessons. More specifically, I avoided such questions in the first round of interviews for fear of biasing my subjects; however this resulted in not having a measure to compare the two attitudes (before and after the intervention).

One of the most important ethical issues that emerged during the field work was the violent incidents that were taking place before my eyes as a teaching method by the class teacher – mainly of the 2nd application, but physical punishment seems to go unchallenged also in other cases. This put me into serious contemplation upon my role as a researcher versus my educator and human being capacity (see p. 136). Surely it was an awkward situation because of my presence as a visitor and one could say my intervening options were limited. However, judging retrospectively, my actions should have been more protective towards the children of the class. Initially stop the teacher on the spot and calm her down, in an assertive manner for both the child and her. Secondly using my capacity as a researcher – which the teacher seemed to value, as she asked my opinion on her teaching (see AP2.6) – have a series of discussions with her to examine the implications of getting physical with pupils.

Lastly, after analysing my data I find that a second research after some months would be important in order to examine the effects on the pupils in the long run. In the sense of evaluation, 'Progression (or regression) in the maturation process is likely to be a long term development which should be evaluated periodically or whenever the necessity arises' (Cook, 1982). This brings out the issue of the importance of post study in the same subject, in order to assess the influence of the lessons in the long term, and it is one of the suggestions I am making to future researchers on this topic, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Recommendations and suggestions for further research

Considering the implications of this research, opening new paths for research and generating new questions and fields of study is essential in a piece of research. My main concern is to explicitly show the potential of drama in combating racial behaviour inside primary schools. Especially in a situation of crisis like Greece is going through these days, there is an

imperative need for new means and tools that a teacher can use to minimise xenophobia and racism into his/her class. I expect and wish this work to act as a springboard for new studies in the field of drama in education, which as was mentioned before is crucial, since my country is taking its first steps towards finding its position in schools. Further research upon drama in the Greek setting could bring progress in drama practice and considerable knowledge for Greek drama practitioners. The possibilities for further research in specific issues that emerged during this project seem to be endless as questions were generated constantly throughout this work; I will discuss a few examples. Firstly, in aiming in the long run at a change in beliefs through an acquisition of knowledge that in its turn will emerge from incongruity (see graph on p. 76), this work touched only upon the first stage – that of understanding and generating incongruity in the participants. Future projects on the same field could examine also the level of gained knowledge and change in the beliefs of the participants, by working either with a bigger sample of subjects, or going into further detail for some cases of children, or by providing more time for the applied project for change to be able to occur and be assessed. More specifically, the research could be extended both in time and across different age groups. Examining in detail one case with a project spanning a whole academic year as was mentioned in the previous paragraph; a longitudinal study to explore the long-term effects of the project on the pupils, months or even years after its application, could be two examples of using time in a different sense of the present approach. In addition, opening up the inquiry to different age groups in primary or even secondary schools could provide interesting data on the different levels of impact and engagement achieved among these groups.

Secondly, this project brought out deficiencies in the whole Greek educational system concerning the teachers' training, which is based on theory but leaves out pragmatic application. Teachers tend to take refuge in traditional methods (in some cases using also corporal sanctions) as seen above, being unable to play a collaborative role in the structure of knowledge or cope with their multicultural classes in issues such as racism. I believe it is a characteristic in Greek teachers that needs to be eliminated, but this goes beyond the scope of this research. Consequently, given the teachers' traditional manner of teaching it would be worth examining the reasons behind the teaching habits of Greek teachers and the difficulties such a teacher would have of complying with the requirements of using process drama, in terms of being collaborative with his/her class. How easy would it be, for example, to replace criticism with approval and acceptance? Does culture plays a role in this situation? Do drama teachers in other countries adapt more easily to the collaborative teaching drama calls for? And if so, is it a matter of culture, policies, education? For example, exploring the differences between the drama teaching methods in Greece and the UK could be a possible strand of research. Do different cultures produce different results and practices?

Lastly, as was mentioned in the 2nd application, the issue of the pupils' social class emerged and questions emerged about its correlation with the participants' involvement into the drama (see pp. 138 and 153). Are pupils from deprived social backgrounds (i.e. low economic and educational level) less responsive to drama? Are they less engaged? What are the drama activities that each social class group enjoy in the drama class? Does classroom drama transcend students' social classes or does it perpetuate these divisions? A study focusing on

the class origin of the students and the impact and repercussions this may have to the drama would be extremely interesting.

Epilogue

The reality of life in Greek school and in Greek society in general is fluid and uncertain nowadays, in times of a global economic crisis. Immigration is one of the most important issues discussed, with many racist incidents taking place on the streets (see p. 13) and neo-Nazi gang Golden Dawn being a member of the parliament[42] (p. 14). Massive demonstrations and general strikes take place forging a turbulent reality. Regarding the current school setting, recent research shows that the level of bullying in schools has increased significantly: it was 12-14% some years ago whereas it now reaches 30% (TVXS, 2011) and dramatic developments occur every day.

The basic aim of this study was to examine the effectiveness of drama as a means of challenging racist attitudes in Greek primary schools. Significant evidence was presented that there is potential in drama as a teaching method to help overcome sensitive issues such as racism; and that an educator not only is able, but has the duty to apply drama in order to challenge racist attitudes in his/her class. One can certainly not claim that this study is a concrete and palpable proof of drama's efficacy in challenging children's racism, but it contributes significant indications that this may be the case.

After the completion of this study one wonders about the extent to which education can play a crucial part in social change. Could inequalities inside schools ever be eradicated while living in a biased and unequal society? After conducting my research I conclude that education's essential role is to lay the foundations for the transformation of society and for the elimination of oppression and injustice. If future citizens (i.e. today's children) are brought up to be active and responsible members of our society, there is a possibility of change after all. As Brandt stated many years ago (1986), although it is the case that school is racist by definition, since it inevitably perpetuates the existing social structures, it has at the same time – by default – an important potential: it can be a place for both oppositional and emancipatory action (Brandt, 1986). As teachers working for social equality we need to use this potential and make school a better place to live in, teach our pupils the way to become active citizens. Drama can help us.

[42] When this thesis was submitted, after one year in the Greek parliament Golden Dawn was accused of forming a criminal organisation and charges were pressed against many of its MPs and members (BBC, 2013b).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Indicative Lessons Plan

(Subtle changes may apply in different applications)

Time	Activity	Instructions	Main Objectives
SESSION A			
15 mins	Children imagining holding a bird or an apple. Various activities	Drama introduction	Familiarising with drama rules
5 mins	Sharing their knowledge on the 'old times'	Introduction to the story	Engaging with the subject. Reflect and gather information on past years
30 mins	Put up the cards with the buildings and form the village's map	Mapping the village Allocating the shops to the groups	Co-operating. Visualising the setting
25 mins	Decide their family roles. Work on morning chores in role	Form families and work on morning tasks of their shops	Establishing an identity
20 mins	Write down the products of their shops and prices	Create price lists	Building belief
Total: 95 mins			
SESSION B			
30 mins	Examining the material in the chest. Guessing	Meeting the chairman. Presentation of the old chest	Analysing the information given. Combining the facts given
30 mins	Question the great-grandmother about the contents of the chest	Hot seating the great-grandmother	Explore background information. Establish a common past and history
10 mins	Singing the sacred anthem with the great-grandmother	Ritual	Enhance their identity
25 mins	Forming still images in their homes. Expressing their thoughts on the history they just found out about	Thought tracking after meeting the great-grandmother	Reflect on feelings and deepen the experience
Total: 95 mins			
SESSION C			
5 mins	Sit in their homes or asleep	Flood narration	
25 mins	Forming still images and bringing them to life	Still images while surviving the flood	Living the flood moments. Establishing a common past
10 mins	Suggest solutions	After the flood meeting. What should we do?	Decision making

25 mins	Forming still images of the journey and bringing them to life	Journey to the new country. Still images of key moments	Establish a common past and strengthen their roles
30 mins	Talk the border guard into letting them into the country	Meeting the border guard. He informs them about the obligatory collars for foreigners	Articulating arguments, debating
Total: 95 mins			
SESSION D			
20 mins	Discuss the previous scene	Reflective meeting on the guards suggestions. Final decision to wear the collars.	Decision making. Examining political pressure and implications of each suggestion
15 mins	Imagine the warehouse. Enter one at a time, articulating their thoughts	Creating the imaginary setting of the warehouse – refugee camp. Enter it. First thoughts	Deepen the experience. Reflect on feelings (insecurity, longing, fear). Empathising with people in refugee camps with deplorable conditions.
30 mins	They face mistreatment and racism from the locals. Description of incidents.	(After a few months). Problems in the new country Meeting with the chairman.	Reflect on feelings and empathising with refugees
30 mins	Forming an incident with their group	Setting up short scenes of racist incidents	
Total: 95 mins			
SESSION E			
15 mins	Reflect on the locals' behaviour	Reflection on the racist incidents. Why are they doing this? Out of role discussion	Relating drama with reality. Drawing parallels
30 min	Reading the letter in groups. Whole class discussion in role	Presentation and reading of the libellous letter and meeting. What should we do?	Reading skills. Empathising with defamed immigrants
40 mins	Writing in role	Writing to the mayor	Writing skills. Expressing feelings
10 mins		Narration of the mayor's response. End of the drama	
Total: 95 mins			

APPENDIX B: Preliminary research questionnaire

The following questionnaire aims at detecting small scale or more serious conflicts inside school life, mainly between Greek and foreign pupils. A conflict may start with name-calling or jokes and escalate to physical violence. Please indicate any form of aggressiveness you can recall, even those considered to be completely harmless.

Your answers will be used in selecting the schools where an original educational project will be conducted. The project will concern conflict resolution between Greek and foreign pupils using drama within the scope of my Phd Dissertation. Agreement to complete the questionnaire does not imply commitment to take part in the research.

The questionnaire has two types of questions. Some apply to all pupils, some specifically to conflicts between Greek and foreign pupils.

Fill in instructions:
Head teachers fill in pages 1, 2and 3, and if s/he teaches a class, pages 4, 5 and 6 also.
Teachers should fill in all pages, leaving out page 2.

Thank you for your co-operation,
Hara Lioliou, Drama teacher

(please fill in)

School Unit:……

Position in the school:(If you are teaching a class while being a head teacher please select two answers)

Head teacher	☐
Teacher in Year 1	☐
Teacher in Year 2	☐
Teacher in Year 3	☐
Teacher in Year 4	☐
Teacher in Year 5	☐
Teacher in Year 6	☐

PART A. QUESTIONS TO HEAD TEACHERS ONLY
(please write down in numbers)

1. Number of the school pupils: ……

2. Number of foreign school pupils: ……

3. Number of pupils in Year 1: ……

4. Number of foreign pupils in Year 1: ……..

5. Please write down the number of the school's foreign pupils coming from the following countries:

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF PUPILS
Albania	
Bulgaria	
Georgia	
Russia	
Ukraine	
Romania	
Other:	
Other:	
Other:	

6. Please write down the number of Year 1's foreign pupils coming from the following countries:

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF PUPILS
Albania	
Bulgaria	
Georgia	
Russia	
Ukraine	
Romania	
Other:	
Other:	
Other:	

PART B. QUESTIONS TO TEACHERS
(Please tick in the appropriate box)

<u>INSIDE THE SCHOOL</u>

1. Have you noticed any conflicts/aggressive behaviour among pupils in your school?

Everyday	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(If you answered 'Never' please proceed to question number 2)

1a. Please tick the sort of conflict and the frequency

	EVERYDAY	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
Refusal to co-operate with other pupils/Exclusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name-calling/Jokes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal abuse/Derogatory insults	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Threats/Bullying	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. Have you noticed behaviour problems by specific pupils or would you say the conflicts emerge from any pupil?

Specific pupils are causing trouble	☐
Conflicts emerge from any pupil	☐

2α. If you answered 'specific pupils': Do you think that their common feature is: (You can tick more than one answer)

Gender	☐
Social class	☐
Ethnic origin	☐
Age	☐
Family troubles (one-parent families, divorced parents etc.)	☐
Other ……	☐

3. Have you noticed any conflicts/aggressive behaviour between Greek and foreign pupils in your school?

Everyday	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(If you answered 'Never' please proceed to question number 4)

3a. Please tick the sort of conflict and the frequency

	EVERYDAY	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER

Refusal to co-operate with other pupils/Exclusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name-calling/Jokes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal abuse/Derogatory insults	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Threats/Bullying	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

4. Have you noticed any conflicts/aggressive behaviour among pupils in your class?

Everyday	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you answered 'Never' please proceed to question number 5

4a. Please tick the sort of conflict and the frequency

	EVERYDAY	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
Refusal to co-operate with other pupils/Exclusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name-calling/Jokes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal abuse/Derogatory insults	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Threats/Bullying	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Have you noticed any conflicts/aggressive behaviour between Greek and foreign pupils in your class?

Everyday	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you answered 'Never' please proceed to question number 6

5a. Please tick the sort of conflict and the frequency

	EVERYDAY	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
Refusal to co-operate with other pupils/Exclusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name-calling/Jokes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal abuse/Derogatory insults	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Threats/Bullying	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: ……..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Please add any comment you would consider important.

7. If you would be interested into taking part personally in this project during its application in your school please write down your name:

APPENDIX C: Interview questions to teachers

PRE-INTERVENTION QUESTIONS TO TEACHERS
Statistic details:
Age group: 25-35 , 36-45 , 45+
Years of teaching
Years of teaching in this school
Years of teaching in this class

Intercultural Education
How do you conceive intercultural education? How would you define it?
Do you use intercultural methods in your teaching? In what form? Have you used it with this class?
Do you think the material given to you by the state about intercultural teaching (seminars, ideas for projects, audiovisual material etc.) is adequate? Would you like something else? Such as?

Immigrants in Greek School
How have you seen schools evolve in the last ten years? Do you think Greek school has changed because of the presence of immigrant students? In what way?
Do you think the presence of immigrants affects your way of teaching generally/with this class?
Do you think it affects your class/the rest of the students?

Conflicts
Do you witness name-calling between your students? / Do you witness physical violence between them?
How often?
Can you recall any names that are used?
Are there specific victims among the students? Are there any isolates in the classroom?
Do you think this has anything to do with the nationality of the pupils?
Have you heard any racial comment from any of your students? Any comment about someone's different origin?
How do you deal with such incidents?
Have you put down any rules about fighting?
Does the school have any rules about it?
Do you think that foreign students are more violent than Greek students? Or the opposite?

Drama
Have you applied drama before in your teaching? What kind of drama?
Have you applied drama in this class? What kind of drama?
How did your pupils respond to it?
Were there any difficulties?

Is there anything you would like to add to our discussion?

POST-INTERVENTION QUESTIONS TO TEACHERS
Drama application
Do you believe that your pupils responded positively to the drama lessons?

Have you noted any difficulties in applying such a project? How could one get through such difficulties?

Drama effect

Have you noticed any difference in your pupils' attitude after the application of the drama project?
Any difference in the frequency of the conflicts?
Any difference in the causes?
Do you think that this project affected the pupils' relations? In what way?

APPENDIX D: Interview questions to pupils

PRE-DRAMA QUESTIONS TO PUPILS

Questions that will trigger discussion about general issues[43]
Do you like coming at school?
What do you like about it?
What do you dislike?
What is it that you like about your teacher?
Which is your favourite subject?
Do you think you have a lot of homework? Do you have enough time to play?
Where do you go for excursions? Where would you like to go? What do you do during an excursion?

Attitudes of foreigners towards their Greek classmates - Attitudes of Greeks towards their foreign classmates - To what extend is nationality a factor in forming friendships.
What do you do during breaks?
Do you have any favourite game?
Who do you usually play with?
If somebody you don't usually play with wants to join in, do you welcome him/her?
Is your house away from school – Do you have to get up early in the morning? Do you all live here? Were you all born here?
What do you usually do on holidays (in the summer or during Christmas vacation)?[44]
Do you pay visits to your friends' houses? Do you have some friends you visit more than the others? Have you visited many of your classmates?
Do you organise parties? Are they big; do you invite the whole class? How was the last one?

Nature of tensions. Forms and causes. Are there specific pupils in the position of the victims?
When I used to go to school, sometimes, when a new pupil came, the others used to tease him/her. I suppose you don't do that now.
In what way do you tease them? Do you call them names? When was the last time you did such a thing? What about? Why do you do this? Is it a joke or do you intend to make him/her feel bad?
Do you ever have fights? When was the last time? Who do you have fights with? Why?
What happens when you are arguing? What do you say to each other? Why do you choose to say that?
Do you ever argue with your friends? Why?

Conflict resolution
Can you avoid a fight? How?
If someone gives you a hard time what do you do?
If you see somebody pick on somebody else what do you do?
If you see somebody hit somebody else what do you do?
Do you tell your teacher about your fights?
Does your teacher talk to you about fighting?

[43] They will open the discussion and then they can be spread out during the whole talk, to conceal my objective.
[44] Many Albanian children visit their relatives in Albania during holidays, so this may make the other children want to inform me about his/her origin; thus give me the opportunity to ask 'Do you have friends from other countries? Do you get on well with them? Have you visited their houses? Do you invite them to yours?'

Are there any rules you have made in your class/school for such moments/moments of teasing or even fighting?

Drama experience
Have you ever done some kind of drama in school?
What kind of drama?
Could you describe to me what you did?
Did you find it interesting compared to a regular lesson? Why?
Do you think one can learn things by doing drama?

POST-DRAMA QUESTIONS TO PUPILS

Drama lessons
What did you like the most in our drama?
What do you remember most?
Were there moments when you felt good? When? Why?
Were there moments when you felt awkward/sad? When? Why?
Was our lesson different from a regular lesson?
Was it different from the drama lessons you've had before? In what way?
Do you think you learned anything from this lesson? What?

Parallelisms
Did you at any time lately see or hear something that reminded you of our lessons?
The story that we played, is it in any way similar to the story of someone you know? Do you know anybody with a similar story (in the school, in your neighbourhood, in the village)? Is there anybody whose life is like that (of the village)?
Could someone help such people? Do you think you could help them in any way? Would you like to?
Have you ever had problems like that – Like the incidents the villagers were facing in the town they went to?
How did you solve them?
Did somebody help you?

Drama Effect[45]
Did you recently have a fight? Why?
Did you call anybody a name lately? [Who?] Why?
Were you called a name lately? [What was that?]

[45] Questions about the effect of the drama lessons on the students' relationships depend on the answers the pupils gave in the first interview

APPENDIX E: Sacred Anthem of Nostia

(one) I swear it, I shall always struggle, I shall lead my life forward
(all) I shall never let my hands stop working
(one) No I shall not
(one) No I shall not
(one) I shall never give up (all: never!)
(all) No I shall not
(all) No I shall not
(all) I shall never give up!

'I swear it on my village!'

APPENDIX F: Interviews archive

2nd Pilot

Pre-Drama Interviews

	Date	Interviewee	Duration
1	12-01-2009	Mr. B	19.41
2	13-01-2009	Girl T – Girl Q	26.51
3	13-01-2009	Girls during break time	05.48
4	13-01-2009	Boy D – Boy U	34.40
5	14-01-2009	Girl G – Girl B	32.43
6	14-01-2009	Girl J(F) – Boy K(F) – Boy I(F)	31.18
7	15-01-2009	Boy H – Boy N – Boy M(F)	30.48
8	15-01-2009	Girl J(F) – Girl R during break time	04.14
9	16-01-2009	Girl C(F) – Girl F(F)	17.46
10	16-01-2009	Girl I – Girl S	10.44
12	16-01-2009	Boy E – Boy P(F) – Boy V (1)	13.34
13	16-01-2009	Girl R – Girl O	27.50
14	19-01-2009	Boy E – Boy P(F) – Boy V (2)	14.10
15	05-02-2009	Boy L(F)	19.44

Post-Drama Interviews

16	10-02-2009	Boy H – Boy N	20.41
17	10-02-2009	Boy U – Boy V	21.45
18	10-02-2009	Girl O – Girl B (1)	11.30
19	10-02-2009	Girl O – Girl B (2)	05.38
20	11-02-2009	Boy D – Boy E	16.56
21	11-02-2009	Girl C – Girl F – Girl J (1)	20.44
22	11-02-2009	Girl C – Girl F – Girl J (2)	29.03
23	11-02-2009	Boy A(F) – Boy K(F) – Boy L(F)	21.45
24	11-02-2009	Girl I – Girl R – Girl S	32.13
25	12-02-2009	Boy M(F) – Boy P(F) (1)	21.01
26	12-02-2009	Boy M(F) – Boy P(F) (2)	07.26
27	16-02-2009	Mr. B	22.13
28	16-02-2009	Girl G – Girl Q – Girl T (2)	24.33
29	16-02-2009	Girl G – Girl Q – Girl T (2)	05.33

Total 2nd pilot duration: 09.11.01

1st Application

Pre-Drama Interviews

30	19-02-2009	Girl N(F) – Girl U(F)	25.18
31	19-02-2009	Girl F – Girl J	33.39
32	19-02-2009	Girl G – Girl M	30.27
33	19-02-2009	Mr. C	29.40
34	20-02-2009	Boy A – Boy B	25.35
35	20-02-2009	Boy W(F) – Boy T(F)	28.36
36	24-02-2009	Girl E – Girl L	24.05
37	24-02-2009	Girl V – Girl H – Girl I	41.08

38	24-02-2009	Girl V – Girl I during break time (1)	04.39
39	24-02-2009	Girl V – Girl I during break time (2)	01.39
40	24-02-2009	Girl V – Girl I during break time (3)	03.32
41	27-02-2009	Boy O(F) – Boy P(F) – Boy Q(F) (1)	17.13
42	03-03-2009	Girl K – Girl R(F) – Girl S(F)	55.52
43	03-03-2009	Boy O(F) – Boy P(F) – Boy Q(F) (2)	22.20
44	03-03-2009	Boy C – Boy D	30.18

Post-Drama Interviews

45	18-03-2009	Boy A – Boy B	15.31
46	18-03-2009	Girl H – Girl I	16.55
47	18-03-2009	Girl E – Girl L	14.59
48	18-03-2009	Girl F – Girl J – Girl V	29.11
49	19-03-2009	Girl R(F) – Girl K	20.18
50	19-03-2009	Girl G – Girl M	41.51
51	19-03-2009	Girl N(F) – Girl S(F) – Girl U(F)	22.53
52	20-03-2009	Mr. C (1)	06.09
53	20-03-2009	Mr. C (2)	21.11
54	20-03-2009	Boy D – Boy T(F)	15.41
55	20-03-2009	Boy Q(F) – Boy O(F)	27.31
56	20-03-2009	Boy W(F) – Boy P(F)	17.26

Total 1st application duration: 10.23.37

2nd Application

Pre-Drama Interviews

57	30-03-2009	Boy E(F) – Boy Q(F)	22.55
58	30-03-2009	Girl A – Girl D – Girl S	22.57
59	30-03-2009	Boy C – Boy J – Boy K	24.53
60	30-03-2009	Girl M – Girl P (1)	24.03
61	30-03-2009	Girl M – Girl P (2)	01.58
62	31-03-2009	Boy G(F) – Boy H(F) – Boy G(F) (1)	15.48
63	31-03-2009	Boy G(F) – Boy H(F) – Boy G(F) (2)	09.28
64	31-03-2009	Girl V(F)	15.20
65	01-04-2009	Boy B – Boy L – Boy T	17.29
66	01-04-2009	Boy F – Boy N (1)	23.57
67	01-04-2009	Boy F – Boy N (2)	01.07
68	01-04-2009	Boy O(F) – Boy R(F)	20.55
69	06-04-2009	Mrs. D (1)	14.30
70	06-04-2009	Mrs. D (2)	29.26
71	06-04-2009	Mrs. D (3)	07.03

Post-Drama Interviews

72	29-04-2009	Boy C – Boy I – Boy J – Boy K (1)	08.58
73	29-04-2009	Boy C – Boy I – Boy J – Boy K (2)	01.00
74	29-04-2009	Boy C – Boy I – Boy J – Boy K (3)	21.47
75	30-04-2009	Boy B – Boy T (1)	20.45
76	30-04-2009	Boy B – Boy T (2)	02.41
77	30-04-2009	Boy E(F) – Boy Q(F)	14.07
78	30-04-2009	Boy G (F) – Boy H(F) – Boy U(F) (1)	06.22
79	30-04-2009	Boy G (F) – Boy H(F) – Boy U(F) (2)	18.23
80	30-04-2009	Girl M – Girl S (1)	06.36

81	30-04-2009	Girl M – Girl S (2)	13.10
82	30-04-2009	Boy F – Boy N	22.46
83	04-05-2009	Mrs. D	41.06
84	04-05-2009	Girl P – Girl V(F)	35.58
85	04-05-2009	Boy L – Boy O(F)	21.39

Total 2nd application duration: 08.07.07

3rd Application

Pre-Drama Interviews

86	6-5-2009	Mrs. E	35.29
87	7-5-2009	Girl E – Girl K(F)	25.09
88	7-5-2009	Girl B – Girl N	26.32
89	7-5-2009	Girl J – Girl M	30.01
90	8-5-2009	Boy U(F) – Girl V(F) – Boy W(F)	24.10
91	8-5-2009	Boy P – Boy H	26.32
92	8-5-2009	Boy A – Boy I	21.11
93	8-5-2009	Boy R(F) – Boy S(F)	28.56
94	8-5-2009	Boy C(F) – Boy Q	26.51
95	11-5-2009	Girl T – Girl G	20.04
96	11-5-2009	Girl O – Girl F	28.48

Post-Drama Interviews

97	1-6-2009	Boy C(F) – Boy Q	19.00
98	1-6-2009	Girl L(F) – Girl D(F)	31.15
99	1-6-2009	Boy P – Boy H	26.06
100	1-6-2009	Boy A – Boy I	16.58
101	2-6-2009	Girl B – Girl E	24.42
102	2-6-2009	Girl T – Girl G	26.18
103	2-6-2009	Girl J – Girl M	34.19
104	3-6-2009	Boy R(F) – Boy S(F)	23.51
105	3-6-2009	Girl N – Girl K(F)	29.02
106	4-6-2009	Girl V(F) – Boy W(F)	26.59
107	4-6-2009	Girl F – Girl O	19.09
108	4-6-2009	Notes of discussion with Mrs. E	02.12
109	9-6-2009	Boy U(F)	18.57

Total 3rd application duration: 09.50.19

Total interviews: 37.32.04

APPENDIX G: Videos archive

		2nd Pilot (P)	**1st Appl. (1A)**	**2nd Appl. (2A)**	**3rd Appl. (3A)**
Session A	Disk1 (a)	01.01.54	01.00.58	01.01.52	01.01.39
	Disk2 (b)	n/a[46]	00.31.28	n/a	00.42.20
Session B	Disk1 (a)	00.42.39	01.01.54	01.01.50	01.01.37
	Disk2 (b)	00.40.13	00.11.42	00.44.00	00.04.27
Session C	Disk1 (a)	01.01.54	00.31.12	00.57.57	01.01.38
	Disk2 (b)	n/a	00.39.41	00.46.24	00.25.20
Session D	Disk1 (a)	01.01.52	00.58.46	01.01.49	00.38.15
	Disk2 (b)	n/a	00.12.39	00.16.05	00.20.49 00.30.46
Session E	Disk1 (a)	01.01.52	00.39.42	01.01.49	01.01.37
	Disk2 (b)	n/a	00.44.11	00.16.04	n/a
(Session F[47])			(tape recording)		
Short videos on camera (All sessions)		00.03.19	00.01.54	00.01.05	00.05.44
Total		**05.33.43**	**06.34.07**	**06.08.55**	**06.58.12**

Total duration: 24.34.57 hours

[46] Disk is missing (see 2nd pilot, p. 101)
[47] An additional session offered by the teacher only in the 1st application.

APPENDIX H: Written material archive

	Date
2nd pilot	
Feedback slips 1 (23)	3-2-2009
Feedback slips 2 (22)	6-2-2009
1st application	
Letters to the mayor (5)	16-3-2009
Feedback slips (21)	17-3-2009
2nd application	
Nostia essays (10)	2-4-2009
Grandmother essays (13)	3-4-2009
Letters to the mayor (11)	27-4-2009
Feedback slips (20)	28-4-2009
3rd application	
Letters to the mayor (4)	29-5-2009
Feedback slips (20)	25-5-2009

APPENDIX I: Preliminary research findings

Preliminary research general findings

	STATISTICS					COMMENTS											
	School	Questionnaires completed	Number of students	School immigrants (%)	1st grade immigrants[48] (%)	Staff eagerness	Racial incidents (orally)	Racial incidents (written)	Type of teachers	Hostility is common	No problem here	Children are too young	Racism has been left behind	Language as a factor of inclusion	A chip on their shoulder	Social status as a factor of inclusion	Comments
DISTRICT 1 – RURAL	1										Y						Reluctant
	2[49]	4	220	5%	9%							Y		Y			
	3	3	355	8%	5%		Y	N		Y		Y					
	4																No imm/s
	5	11	121	7%	0%					Y	Y			Y			
	6										Y						
	7	1	137	2%	6%	1[50]											Avoided conduct after speaking with LEA
	8																No imm/s
	9										Y						Permit from LEA only, not the PI.
	10																No imm/s
	11								Teacher getting physical					Y			No head teacher. Fire in his house. (twice)
	12										Y						

[48] Proportion may pertain only to that particular school year, not the following when the research took place.
[49] Schools with grey filling are the ones that were interested and completed the questionnaires. Numbers with red highlight are schools finally selected for the project.
[50] 1: either teacher or head teacher stated interest, 2: both teacher and head teacher stated interest

13										Y						
14	8	107	3%	13%	2			Conscious of hidden racism	Y			Y				
15	1	6	50%	0%	1								Y			School will probably close next year.
16										Y						Reluctant
17																No imm/s
18																No imm/s
19	3	22	9%	0%	2	Y	Y		Y					Y		
20													Y			No imm/s
21																No imm/s
22										Y						
23								Harsh reprimanding		Y						'He's a good student'
24	3	10	30%	33%		Y	N									
25	4	114	2%	5%		Y	N			Y						The project will open the tin of worms.
26											Y					No imm/s
27										Y			Y			
28 /29 /30										Y						The main problem was the permission, which was not from the LEA
31										Y						
32	3	24	0%	0%	1											Ostracising, but all pupils are Greek.
33										Y						
34										Y			Y			Contradicting info. 2 immigrants stated, the 2nd time was no

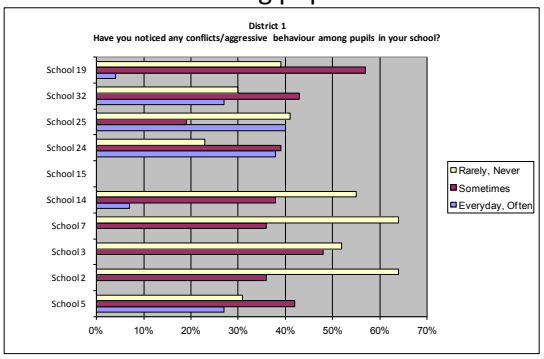
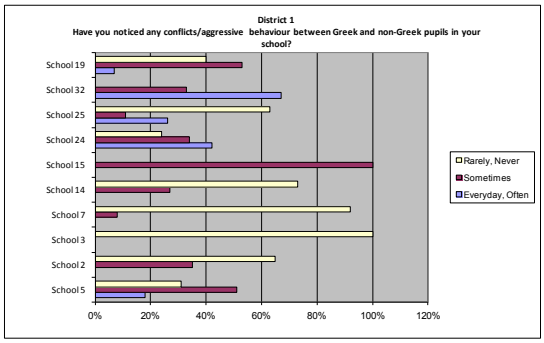
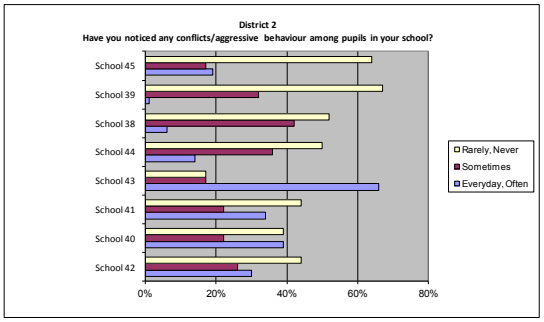
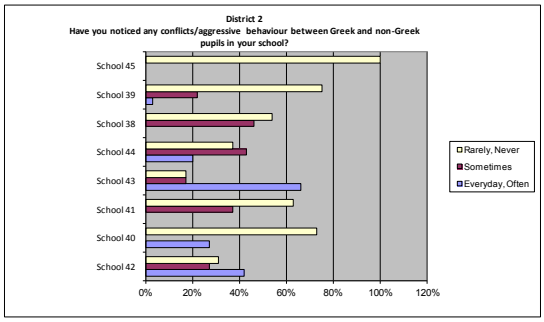
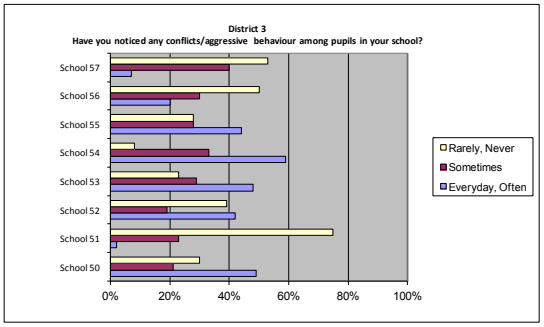
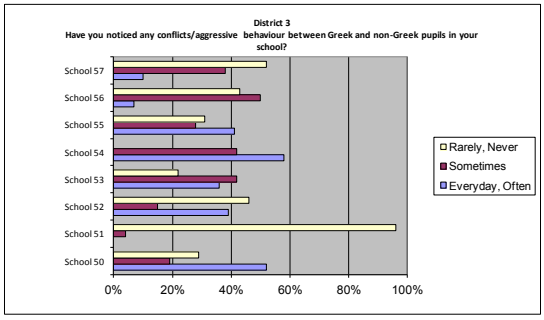
																	one.
	35						Y		One conscious of racism (mentioned the word). Another stated that they don't have problem								I did not find the head teacher twice.
TOTAL		41	111,6	11,60%	7,10%												
DISTRICT 2 – URBAN	36										Y		Y	Y			Participating in religious ceremonies
	37					1					Y	Y					
	38	3	241	36%	48%	1											
	39	3	236	44%	58%	1	N		Two types of teachers in the two 1st grades: One using elaborate language and pedagogies' theory, the other considered the presence of immigrant 'bad luck'.			Y		Y			
	40	3	312	9%	9%												
	41	3	284	9%	14%	1					Y			Y			
	42	5	278	12%	20%	2					Y				Y		
	43	2	331	14%	20%	2	Y							Y			Pupil with learning difficulties in need of professional help.
	44	3	413	9%	13%	1	Y										

	45	1	278	3%	8%						Y					Y	
	46										Y					Y	
	47									Y		Y	Y				Mostly Roma pupils. Between them.
	48					1											No imm/s
	49																Mostly between roma pupils
TOTAL		23	296,625	17%	24%												
DISTRICT 3 – RURAL	50	5	265	25%	33%												
	51	3	258	22%	29%	1											
	52 SCHOOL D (2nd application)	6	152	25%	27%	2	Y										
	53	4	125	24%	42%	1							Y	Y		Y	
	54	2	88	25%	42%	1								Y			
	55 SCHOOL B (2nd pilot & 3rd application)	5	248	26%	33%	1				Y				Y			
	56 SCHOOL C (1st application)	2	141	26%	36%	2	Y		Talkative Elaborate language Conscious of racial issues								
	57 SCHOOL A (1st Pilot)	3	123	24%	18%	2	Y							Y			
TO		30	175	25%	32.5%												

TAL																	
						Staff eagerness	Racial incidents (orally)	Racial incidents (written)	Type of teachers that I came in contact with	Hostility is common	No problem here	Children are too young	Racism has been left behind	Language is a factor of inclusion	A chip on their shoulder	Immigrants' social status as a factor of inclusion	Comments

Conflict frequencies between districts

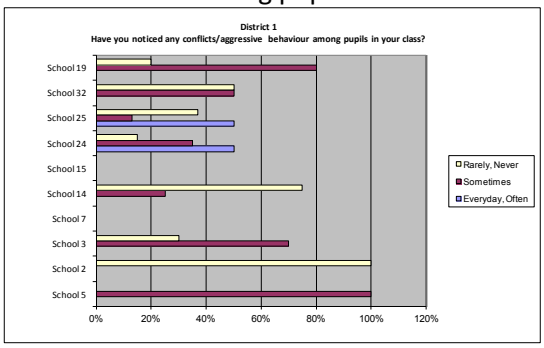
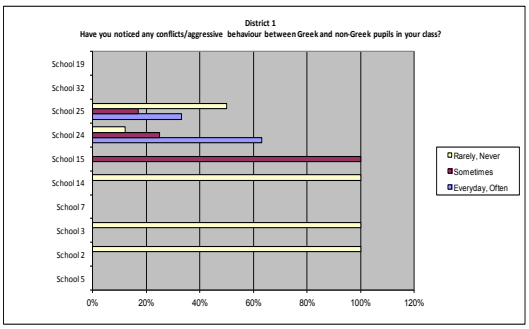
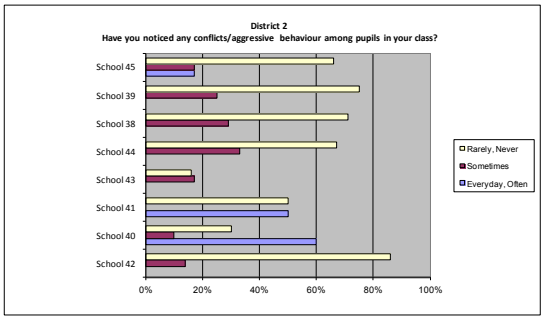
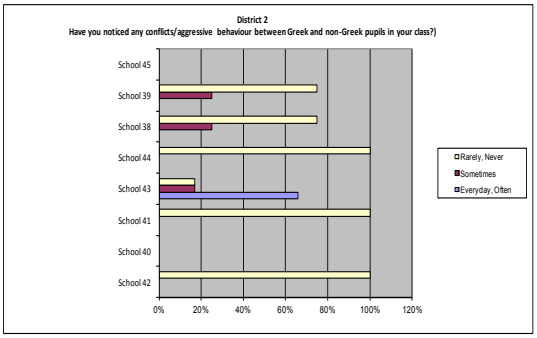
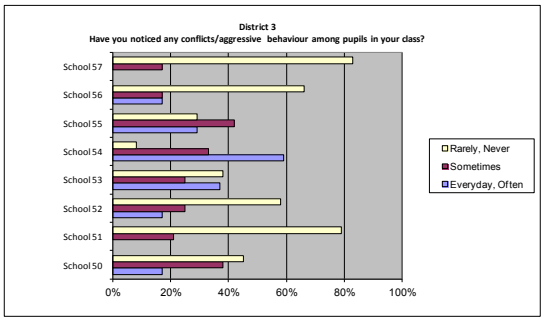
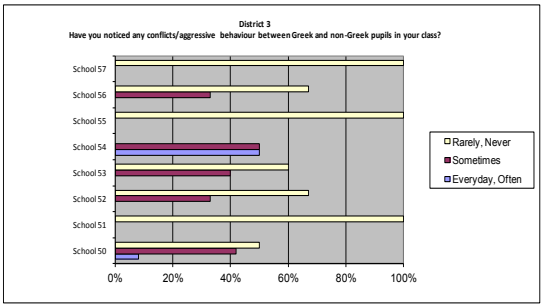
Conflicts inside school
(as stated by teachers)

	Among pupils	Between Greek and non-Greek pupils
District 1		
District 2		
District 3		

Conflict frequencies between districts

Conflicts inside Year 1

(as stated by Year 1 teachers)

	Among pupils	Between Greek and non-Greek pupils
District 1		
District 2		
District 3		

APPENDIX J: Pilots Extracts

(From Field Notes, Interviews and Video recordings[51])

P1.1
a) Session A: The drama was superficial and the children were not fully engaged; many times they did not take it seriously and giggled or mocked each other (Field notes, 8-12-2008).

b) Setting up the map of the village. After I gave the groups the cards with the buildings to put on the map, I simply called out to the children the direction 'now go and put your cards on the map, wherever you think best'. Total chaos followed, with pupils pushing each other, racing and trying to reach the map first, etc (Field notes, 8-12-2008).

P1.2
a) Session B: Some asked me to change group. I didn't let them. They don't see themselves as part of a team. There are isolated pupils inside them (Field notes, 9-12-2008).

b) Session C: Groups don't work. The children don't work together, there is no tight bonding. Some children are absent today so the rest asked to change the groups' composition, some claimed 'I don't want to work with him, we're not friends any more'. I let some changes to take place. The lesson was delayed because of negotiations (Field notes, 12-12-2008).

P1.3
Session A: In the activity of setting up still images working in their shops they couldn't stay still, pulling faces to each other and giggling; it's superficial. They were not engaged, did not believe in it (Field notes, 8-12-2008).

P1.4
Session B: When meeting the great-grandmother: they were getting excited listening to her, with every line, and could not take turns, they called out their ideas. They find it difficult to stay still (Field notes, 9-12-2008).

P1.5
a) Session B: The twin boys (Greek, but bad command of the language) had poor participation in the lesson. This was called to my attention by Ms. A in front of the classroom: 'Let those two do something else, they are not much of a help anyway' (Field notes, 9-12-08). I did not suggest an alternative activity to them but neither did I challenge their decision later to draw quietly on their desks whenever they thought they could not participate or they *did not want* to participate.

b) Session D: Meeting in role, after their acceptance to the new country: two Albanian girls, who could not follow the discussion we were having with the rest of the class, decided not to participate. They sat aside and started drawing. The teacher during the break said to me that they are not able to follow because 'you were having a high standard discussion with the class – The class is not used to this kind of work.' I tried to speak to them during the break but they either did not understand me or were too timid to answer. No discussion was accomplished (Field notes, 15-12-2008).

P1.6
Session A: The children chose professions, not helpful to the drama, e.g. judge, policeman, nail artist. I need to *guide* them to specific shops and professions (Field notes, 8-12-2008).

P 1.7
Session B: The children looked so excited, uneasy on their chairs, eager to find out more about the past of the village, asking questions to the great-grandmother. In the meeting that followed there were many ideas to enshrine the tradition and inform the villagers about the content of the chest.

[51] For a transcription key see p. 77.

'Make amulets for the rest of the villagers, for all the children.'
'Let's copy and put the anthem up on the walls of our shops.'
'We can sell copies in our shops.'
'Two people could be sent out every day to sing it around the village' (Field notes, 9-12-2008).

P1.8
Session D: (Lines from the meeting in role, after the encounter with the border guard):
'It's ridiculous!'
'They're must be joking!'
'We had no choice. Our homes were flooded.'
'Let's rip them!'
'But if we rip them they will think we're bad [and they won't let us in their country]...'
'I'll take it out and wear the collar; I want to be one of them.'
'I won't wear it. Ok. I'll wear it [the collar] in winter and live there and I'll take it off in summer when the weather is good. I'll live out in the mountains wearing my axe pendant until the next winter…'
'We can wear them [the pendants] inside our vests. They won't see them.'
'We can lie to them.'
'No, we shouldn't' (Field notes, 15-12-2008).

P1.9
Session D: (Meeting after entering the country)
'They don't want us.'
'They are mean.'
'They don't play with us.'
'They see us as different people with these collars on.'
'Let's write a letter to them.'
'Let's talk to them, one by one' (Field notes, 15-12-2008).

P2.1

R:	Have you got friends from other countries?
Boy N:	Yes we do.
Boy H:	Boy L(F), Boy A(F), Girl F(F)…
Boy N:	Are they your friends? Do you play with them?
Boy H:	Classmates [xxx]. I play with Girl F(F). I do.
Boy N:	Yeah, ok. But she doesn't hit.
Boy H:	And Boy A(F)
Boy N:	No, I don't play with him. He hits.
Boy H:	Boy A(F) though is from…(*he stops*)…; from another country (1st interview, 15-1-2009).

P2.2
a)

R:	Tell me about your friends here. Who do you usually play with among your classmates?
Boy K(F):	With Boys D and E (1st interview, 14-1-2009).

b)

R:	Usually who do you play with among your classmates?
Boy E:	I play with my cousins. Boy H and Girl T. And Boy D (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

c)

R:	Who are your best friends?
Boy U:	Boy E…
Boy D:	Boy H, Girl T and Boy N.
R:	Who do you play with?
Boy U:	Everyone.
Boy D:	Everyone.
Boy U:	Apart from girls.

Boy D: Yeah. Sometimes Boy A(F), Boy L(F)… they don't play with us.
R: They don't want to play with you? Or you don't want to play with them?
Boy D: Ehm… They… They don't want to play with us.
Boy U: *We* don't want to play with them (*emphasis in the original*) (13-1-2009).

P2.3

R: Since you told me you know people who fled their country… When they came to Greece, did the locals treat them nice?
Both: No.
R: What did they do to them?
Boy K(F): (*seriously*) They killed them. (…) Somebody. A Greek guy.
Boy M(F): With a knife. (*To Boy K(F)*): Or was it with a gun?
Boy K(F): With a gun.
Boy M(F): I remember it.
Boy K(F): (*To Boy M(F)*) I'd told you back then (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

P2.4

After Session E (last session) Mr. B said to me that intellectual work is hard for the class. 'You make them think too much, that's why they're uneasy' (Field notes, 6-2-2009).

P2.5

a)

R: Why do you think Mr. B is good?
Boy D: He's not; he pulls our hair a lot… (1st interview, 13-1-2009)

b)

R: What do you like in Mr. B's teaching?
Girl G: I don't get told off by him because I am a good student… (1st interview, 14-1-2009)

c)

Girl C(F): (*for Mr. B*) He's strict. And he hits children.
Girl F(F): Girl C(F), this is what teachers do.
Girl C(F): (*smiling*) He pulls ears a little bit... he pulls hair a little bit...
Girl F(F): (*giggles*)
R: What do you think Girl F(F)?
Girl F(F): I like it. I don't mind. That's the way I like teachers to be; strict (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

P2.6

Mr. B: Sometimes I get into a tantrum, I yell more that I should, ok...; because you have to have the control sometimes. You can't allow them fooling around over here. They have to learn some things. They say [the academic community] 'don't yell', 'don't lose your temper' but I'm telling you, in reality, you can't do it (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

P2.7

a) Mr. B: Girl R has some psychological issues. Every Monday she claims she's got a bellyache (Field notes, 12-1-2009).

b) At noon, after school, Mr. B admitted that Girl R was afraid of him. She's afraid of him yelling at the children (Field Notes, 3-2-2009).

c) Girl R: He presses me; a lot. Mr. B [I mean]. (…) I don't like it; because… he yells a lot (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

P2.8

a) Today Boy E and H fought for the nth time. Boy H's parents came to school to complain. Mr. B said to me 'I should send one of them [i.e. the pupils] home one day to show them that I'm serious about

this. Matsaggouras[52] said this, to be consistent with your warnings. He was saying things that one could apply in the classroom, not just theories' (Field notes, 10-2-2009).

b) Teacher-centred method of Mr. B. He's got ready-made answers for the pupils (Field notes, 12-1-2009)

c) It seems that the teacher becomes apologetic to me for the fact that he does not have working groups organised. He mentioned a couple of times that there is no time to work like this. He believes time is wasted by setting up the rules for co-operation (Field notes, 13-1-2009).

d)

(*Discussion on the social networks of the class*)

Mr. B: There are some of them who are more popular than others. I mean… If we do the so-called 'sociogram', it would show some cases of more popular pupils. I haven't done it because it's not important for me, but if we did, it would have shown (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

P2.9

a)

R: Are there any rules in the classroom about fighting?

Mr. B: Well, ok, like 'whatever the problem is you should address the teacher, you should never hit each other, never swear… Whatever the problem, go to your teacher and he will try to solve it' (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

b)

R: When you have a problem with someone, when you argue, how do you solve it?

Boy U: We go to Mr. B.

Boy D: Yeah (1st interview, 13-1-2009).

c)

R: What do you do when you see a fight?

Girl Q: We don't see because we sit at the back of the school. But when we do, we tell the teacher when he comes back to the classroom.

R: Do you intervene right then, do you speak to them at all? Or you go to Mr. B?

Girl Q: (…) When he comes back we tell him everything because we can't go to the staff room during the break time, they're busy. They don't let us in.

R: I mean if you speak to *the children* right then.

Girl Q: No.

Girl T: We do.

Girl Q: Hmm… sometimes. Few times.

R: What do you say to them?

Both: (*pause*)

R: When you see someone hitting someone do you intervene? Do you go and say anything?

Girl T: No, we don't go.

Girl Q: (*notes negatively*)

Girl T: No (1st interview, 13-1-2009)

d)

R: When you see someone fighting, do you do anything?

Girl G: Yes. We run, we say stop, we tell the teacher – sometimes the boys pick on us – We tell the teacher and he punishes them or hits them (1st interview, 14-1-2009).

e)

(*Girl I had forgotten her coloured markers and Boy D volunteered to lend her one of his own*)

Boy D: Shall I give her mine?

[52] Ilias Matsaggouras: Greek professor, writer of theoretic and practical books on pedagogy.

Mr. B: No. I'll give one to her. (*to the class*) Haven't I told you to bring your own stuff? (Field notes, 12-1-2009)

P2.10

Mr. B: Us teachers, we should be educated more, attend seminars on these issues. [Work with] specialists like you or others in other fields and learn some ways, some techniques, so that we could visualise projects. We need some guidance on this (2nd interview, 16-2-2009).

P2.11

a)

R: When you tell Mr. B about a fight, what does he usually do?
Boy E: He hits… or he pulls their hair or punishes them.
Boy V: He pulls their ears.
R: Have you got any rules against fighting?
Boy E: Yeah, whoever hits, he puts him in detention, or he has to write dictations 10 times, or he pulls his hair or his ear.
Boy P(F): Now he does not put us in detention.
Boy E: Well, sometimes he *does.*
Boy V: (to Boy P) Sometimes he *does.*
Boy P(F): Yeah, but lately he didn't put any.
Boy E: It's because they don't hit any more. Because they understood.
Boy V: Yeah.
R: Have you got rules in your classroom, like 'you should not do this or that'?
Boy V: Yeah.
Boy P(F): When we don't have class, he puts us like a punishment, to write 10 times or 20 times.
Boy E: He forbids us to mess with… to …not to write on the whiteboard.
Boy V: Yeah, because it's a new board. He's scared that the wiper will fall down and break.
Boy E: Some days ago he put up the [Christmas] tree and he said 'nobody is to touch it' and [during break time] we can't get in because we may be naughty… And even if he leaves the door open… He never leaves the door open because –
Boy P(F): We run, we play... we run all over the place…
Boy E: We knock down chairs; that's why he doesn't let us in (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

b)

R: Don't you have balls during break time?
Boys D and U: No.
R: Why?
Boy D: They lock them in. They don't let us take them.
R: Why?
Boy D: I don't know. We don't know (1st interview, 13-1-2009).

c)

R: Why you are not allowed to have balls during break time?
Boy H: Because we lose them.
Boy N: Is it only for this? The older children can play with balls… In high school, eh?
Boy H: Yes.
R: What do you think Boy N?
Boy N: They come over here – children from high school – and they can play with balls. Teachers don't tell them anything. (*to Boy H*) Why do you think?
Boy H: They are grown up. They are careful.
Boy N: (*Mockingly*) Yeah, right.
R: What do you think is the reason why they don't let you then?
Boy N: It's that we may hit some child. And if we do, we'll be guilty. But if we do it during P.E. we won't be guilty. Or maybe we will be…
Boy H: No, we won't! Because it's P.E (1st interview, 15-1-2009).

P2.12

a) Albanian Boy P(F) had not brought his homework, so the teacher turned to me in front of the classroom and compassionately said: 'See what's happening? They have no one to help them with their homework…' Some Greek pupils called out to confirm this 'No, they have not; they don't speak Greek' (Field notes, 14-1-2009).

b) Mr. B compares his pupils. 'Even Girl J(F) understood it faster than you!' (Field notes, 21-1-2009).

P2.13

Mr. B: We try to make them [the non-Greeks] feel they are all the same, we don't discriminate; we don't mention it [their origin]. We try to... We don't mention either their language, or [ask them] 'where do you come from', etc; we try to talk about this the least possible (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

P2.14

(*Boys D and U discuss about Mr. B's physical sanctions*)

Boy D: Today he was about to do it to Boy M(F) [i.e. pull his hair].

Boy U: (*Boy D has used an Albanian name and Boy U corrects him eagerly with a Greek-sound name*) 'Boy M[53]'!

Boy D: (*to Boy U*)All right, 'Boy M'. (*To me*) But we call him Boy M(F) (*his Albanian name*).

Boy U: Mr. B changed his name (1st interview, 13-1-2009).

P2.15

a) On working in role:

'I liked it when we played the shops because I was responsible' (2nd Feedback slips, 6-2-2009, No. 16).

'I liked it when Miss was dressed as a border guard/the chairman' (*ibid*., No. 7; No. 14).

b) On co-operation:

'I liked it when we were together in groups because I had company' (*ibid*., No. 4).

'I liked the moment when with my collaborators we made a thought of ourselves' [sic] (*ibid*., No. 7).

c) On the innovative character of the lessons:

'I like that we are doing different things, because with Mr. B we're doing the same things again and again' (*ibid*., No. 9).

d) Thinking for themselves/make decisions:

'I liked it that we made a story of our own thought [sic]' (1st feedback slips, 3-2-2009, No. 18).

e) Girl F(F): Yes, it was nice and fun and I liked it very much 'cause I was playing this and when I had nothing to do and finished my homework – another day – I was playing this with my friends. Like a play (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

P2.16

a) On disruptive behaviour:

'I didn't like it when the boys were doing silly things because they disrupt the lesson' (2nd feedback slips, 6-2-2009, No. 4).

'I didn't like it that Boys D and E were doing stupid things' (*ibid*., No. 18).

'I didn't like it when we were making jokes and we were laughing together' (*ibid*., No. 7).

b) On feelings:

'I don't like being in Elepadi. I don't like that they are teasing us' (1st feedback slips, 3-2-2009, No. 7).

'I didn't like it because they were picking on us. I didn't like that the border guard didn't believe us' (2nd feedback slips, 6-2-2009, No. 11).

'I didn't like it when we put on the collars; it didn't feel good' (*ibid*., No. 4).

[53] The debate is about the Albanian name of the boy and the Greek-sounding name given by the teacher. In the transcript, 'Boy M(F)' is used as a pseudonym for the former and 'Boy M' for the latter.

'I didn't like it when they told us to take off the medallions from our village' (*ibid*., No. 5).
'I didn't like it when we were making scary moments because I was scared a bit at those moments [sic]' (*ibid*., No. 5).

c) On the drama project:
'I like that we were talking' (*ibid*., No. 15).
'I like it when we discuss with Miss' (1st feedback slips, 3-2-2009, No. 6).
'I didn't like what we were doing because it was very much like a class [sic]' (2nd feedback slips, 6-2-2009, No. 12).
'I didn't like it when we were sitting in the middle [i.e. in a circle] because it was boring' (*ibid*., No. 16).

P2.17

a)

R:	Who do you usually play with?
Girl J(F):	I… the girls usually don't play with me.
R:	Who do *you* play with?
Girl J(F):	Only with Girl G. (…) Girl O and Girl B. Sometimes.
Boy K(F):	Some girls don't want [to play with her].
R:	Why is that?
Girl J(F):	They just don't.
Boy K(F):	It's *the girls* that they don't [want to play with her]. She [Girl J(F)] *does*. It's *them* that sometimes don't.
R:	What do you do when they don't play with you?
Girl J(F):	I sit by myself.
R:	Have you mentioned this to anybody? To Mr. B?
Girl J(F):	No.
Boy K(F):	Nobody.
R:	Do you mind them not playing with you?
Girl J(F):	Yes… a bit. (…) One time, when they didn't play with me I c… I cried (1st interview, 14-1-2009).

b)

Boy N:	(*for Boy M(F)*) I didn't invite him.
R:	You didn't invite Boy M(F).
Boy N:	Yes.
R:	Why?
Boy N:	My mom… I don't know… I think my mom told me not to.
R:	(*to M(F)*) Did you feel sad when you were not invited by Boy N?
Boy M(F):	No.
Boy N:	Maybe he was busy… (1st interview, 15-1-2009)

P2.18

a)

R:	Has anyone commented on the fact that you are from Albania? Do they pick on you?
Boy K(F):	No, no.
Girl J(F):	No.
Boy K(F):	We're more like…
Girl J(F):	We're more like Greeks; we look like Greeks. So they don't ask us (1st interview, 14-1-2009).

b)

R:	Did sometime anyone didn't want to be friends with you because you're from Albania?
Girl C(F):	In Year 1.

Girl F(F): When we first came at Year 1. I was born here[54], but they thought… They thought that… I was from Albania, that's why. When they understood [that I was born in Greece], they played with us (1st interview, 16-1-2009).

c)

R: If someone new comes over to play with you, will you accept him/her? Will you be friends with him/her or not?
Girl T: No we won't.
Girl Q: We won't.
R: You mean you've got your own friends and you don't want anyone else?
Girl Q: Yes.
Girl T: We don't like the other kids so much (1st interviews, 13-1-2009).

P2.19

Mr. B: (*for Boy L(F*)) Ehm… ok… we've got a small problem with a *kid* who's more violent than the others because he doesn't know the language and because he feels a bit isolated. The one I told you about. He falls behind and he may feel bad. (…) He is the only one we can't ma…. I can't manage. He hits. (*Apologetically*) And then I'm telling him off… (1st interview, 12-1-2009).

P2.20

R: What did you think of the project?
Mr. B: It was nice… All these that you did… I mean it was like an escape from the dull everyday reality of the classroom. (…) I believe that they may lived, learned, contemplated – more than before, in some cases they could have never thought about it before – what are the problems that they face [i.e.] all these people who come over here and are treated as foreigners in the beginning (2nd interview, 16-2-2009).

P2.21

Girl F(F): When someone finds it hard to answer to a teacher's question, his desk mate can help him (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

Girl C(F): We co-operate and if a kid doesn't have stuff to paint with, we can give him. And if he doesn't know something we could help him (2nd interview, 11-2-2009).

P2.22

R: (*After Boy K(F)'s suggestion to beat them up)* Mr. K suggests we should beat them up. What do you think?
Boy E: No Mr. Chairman. Then the police and that border guard will put us in jail and we won't be able to eat, and they will beat us… That's why [I don't think it's a good idea]. (…)
R: What should we do?
Boy H: Do nothing.
R: Accept it?
Boy H: We should go.
Girl Q: We have no choice. They may hurt us. (…)
Girl F(F): I think we've got to talk to them.
R: How could we talk to every one of them?
Girl F(F): We could call a meeting. (…)
Boy N: If we go back to Nostia, we will find no homes. They are gone. But on the other hand, they don't want us here. They are savages. They call us thieves. We can't go back to Nostia. We worked hard to have our homes here (*ibid.*, 34.38-37.38).

[54] For the contradiction of considering children who were born in Greece as 'foreigners' see p. 15.

APPENDIX K: 1st Application Extracts

AP1.1

a) During the Morning Prayer assembly, the head teacher spent some time preaching on the meaning of Sarakosti (the forty-day Easter fast according to the Orthodox religion). 'It means 40 days of fast, praying, respecting others, not swearing, not hitting. Of course all these apply also during the rest of the year, but especially these 40 days' (Field notes, 3-3-2009).

b) During the morning assembly the head teacher was shouting out army-like commands like 'attention' and 'at ease'; also 'one-two-one-two' for the pupils to conform in an on-the-spot foot-pace to achieve the necessary order for the prayer to begin. (Field notes, 6-3-2009)

c) Boy Q(F) broke a cabinet while playing this morning. He says it is not his fault but Boy P(F)'s. He's crying. In the middle of the class, the head teacher came in and told off Boy Q(F) in front of the class just before his father arrived (who was called for the same reason); this lasted quite some time (Field notes, 18-3-2009).

d) First day in this school; the head teacher came in this classroom and gave a speech to convince the class to participate in a school trip to watch a play for children. If enough children were not coming, they would stay in school to have a class'. He used school as a misfortune. 'It can't be that 4 or 5 kids doom the entire class to stay back. You are the only class that is not coming and if that's the case, you are staying behind and having a class. He was demanding that the class pay (for the 3rd time since the beginning of the academic year) for their ticket. His second argument was a nationalistic speech, when he referred to the value of theatre art and the pride they should feel being Greeks since Greece was the country that gave birth to theatre. He argued that going to the theatre is another way of learning, just as 'theatre was ancient Greece's school (*ibid*.)'. Later on some children were repeating his words to their classmates reminding them of the 'school of ancient Greece' stressing the importance of this trip and checking on who was not coming (Field notes, 18-2-2009).

AP1.2

The class works in groups. Each group has a weekly leader. Mr. C reprimands pupils in private and discreetly, he does not stress marks and does not segregate, one can't understand from the first moment who has a better achievement and who doesn't. During class, the teacher allows children 'to speak quietly to each other and exchange views.' After group work, he calls the groups which had problems co-operating to his desk and privately, calmly discusses with them how to reach a solution. His briefcase contains lesson plans, data base and exercises both for the class and for homework; on an everyday basis (Field notes, 18-2-2009).

AP1.3

Mr. C: [I acknowledge] the effort that was made, up to a certain point, in the new books. I mean there were characters from different countries. New elements were included that… they could send away the fear of foreigners; through these elements. [They show] that the rest of the students can co-exist [with the Greeks]; [that] we can get in touch with new cultural elements; *their* cultures. Either with Albanians, or Bulgarians, you name it; with most of them. This could be done and even reinforced in all schools. (…) It helps. It's already been helping. But it's not enough (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

AP1.4

Mr. C: …Namely for the problem that came up in Greek schools after the '90s [i.e. the influx of immigrants]. They did nothing. (…) The only help we get from the Ministry is… is zero. It's the books that even these were delayed; [they reached us] at the last moment, having deficiencies (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

AP1.5

R: Since the first immigrants came, were there any changes in the school?

Mr. C: Not in the school, no. There were changes though, because during the first years e.g.

'98, '99 – these were years that still… the parents brought their children in, in the age of ten or eleven, not knowing a single Greek word, to be enrolled according to their age. Those times were tough, because kids passed the classes like this [i.e. doing nothing]. (…) So inside the classroom there was total chaos (…); [they didn't know the language and] this led to restlessness and aggressiveness when there was teasing by the Greek ones. (…) Now this has been decreased in the sense that most of them go through nursery school. (...) And this [restlessness] is not the rule any more.(…) (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

AP1.6

a)

R: Have you noticed any pupils segregating others, or being isolated, being usual victims?

Mr. C: Well now and then, yes… but… I don't know, I believe that I was there for them and I try to be there and deal with such things from the beginning. This is why they are sensitised in such matters and they come straight away to tell me about such situations, or somebody else does if they are… shy (smile). Girl U(F) is still… I believe… Ok, this year is better, last year she was more isolated. More… also Boy O(F), but in that case is more a character issue. It's a kid that would lie easily… And this sooner or later causes problems to him. They don't trust him. And we've talked about this many times, with him, he seems to understand but then here we go again… and again, and again… (1st interview, 19-2-2009)

b)

R: *(on birthday party invitations)* Why do you think some children invite only some of you and not others?

Boy Q(F): May I [answer]? Cause they want to eat everything by themselves! I'm joking. It's because they don't befriend us, that's what I think.

R: They are not your friends so much… Was there any time that you felt someone does not befriend you because you're from Albania?

Boy P(F): Yes.

R: Have you felt this?

Boy Q(F): (*he shows also Boys O(F) and P(F)*) Yes, all three of us.

Boy O(F): They don't befriend us because they say… ehm… 'Albanian, you're Albanian!'(…)

R: They say you're Albanian and don't befriend you? Have they told you this?

Boy Q(F): Yes but I don't say anything because they're younger than me. (…)

R: What about you Boy P(F)?

Boy P(F): Yes, they've told me.

Boy Q(F): Me too.

Boy O(F): Me too. Many times. (…)

R: And what did you do?

Boy P(F): Nothing. I was cross.

R: Did you say anything to them? Did you say anything to Mr. C?

Boy O(F): (*nods negatively*).

Boy Q(F): What could he say?

R: That he was sad.

Boy O(F): (*makes a sound for 'no'*) (1st interview, 27-2-2009).

c) During break time: Girl U(F) is sitting with Girl N(F). Later Girl S(F) and Boy Q(F) join them. They are all Albanians. Boy O(F) is sitting by himself (Field notes, 18-2-2009).
Girl U(F) is seen to eat her lunch alone in the yard, observing the rest of the children (Field notes, 24-2-2009).

AP1.7

R: You two (Girls S(F) and R(F)) as you're from a different country, have you ever felt that some children do not befriend you because of this?

Girl S(F): No.

Girl R(F): Once, Girl K did not befriend me… when we were at the nursery school.
Girl K: (*confused*) But I'm from Greece, I'm not from a different country.
Girl R(F): Yes, but you had [rejected] *me* [because I am from a different country].
R: Are you saying she did this because you are from Russia?
Girl R(F): Yes… probably it was because of this.
Girl K: My mom doesn't let me be friend with Russians, that's why.
R: Did your mom say this to you?
Girl K: Yes.
R: Why, do you think?
Girl K: 'Cause she says that Russian children… (*contemplating*) I can't explain this now in front of Girl R(F), she will be angry.
R: But Girl R(F) is your friend. It's different.
Girl K: Yes. But mom says that Russian children stick to the Greek ones. (…) They stick to them, they wanna be friends with the Greeks and… she doesn't like it. But I *wanna* be friends with Girl R(F).
Girl R(F): But I'm not from Russia…
R: Have you talked to her about Girl R(F) and that she is your best friend?
Girl K: Yes, but she doesn't let me, I've told her many-many times, she doesn't let me. Now… (*in a conspiring way*) this is a secret: I say I'm not friends with Girl R(F), but I am… (1st interview, 3-3-2009).
Girl R(F): And I… I'm not from Russia, it's just my mom that she's from Russia and she has taught me since I was little and that's why I speak Russian. In fact I'm from Topos[55].
R: Do you think it's not good to be from another country?
Girl R(F): No.
Girl K: No, it's nice.
Girl R(F): They're all children. Yeah.
Girl K: Me and Girl R(F) we were playing together at nursery school but sometimes we were angry with each other and we didn't
(*Girl R(F) needs to go to the toilet so she asks permission and leaves the room*)
Girl K: Miss, may I say something? I was keeping it inside me for a long time now… I wanted to say that a friendship cannot be lost due to… A friendship cannot be lost, because… because… A friendship cannot be lost because… because friendship is very pure. And nothing can set it apart. (…) And I'm sad when she [Girl R(F)] is sad.

AP1.8

R: Have you ever noticed, usually on maps –
Boy B: …that these are the borders?!
R: Hmm… What exactly are the borders?
Boy B: It's… this thing… at… like… like… this place, (to Boy Q(F)) Boy Q(F), where *you* go to… the borders…
Boy Q(F): (*excited*) Yes, yes!
Boy B: At this place… This is where the borders are!
Boy Q(F): Yes, I know, I go there!
R: So could you explain to me what the borders are?
Boy B: The borders are… the end… there where the country is.
Boy Q(F): That's right.
R: The end of the country?
Boy Q(F): … of a country. The end of a country (Session A, Disk 1, 25.55-26.32).

AP1.9

R: Do you remember how did we call that line?
(*Girl J is whispering the answer to Boy O(F). Boy O(F) is raising his hand*.)
R: Boy O(F)?
Girl J: (*looks at Boy O(F) who is not answering*). The borders.
R: I said 'Boy O(F)…'.

[55] Pseudonym to state a Greek town.

Boy O(F): The borders.
R: What are the borders?
Girl S(F): Boy Q(F) knows this one!
(*Boy Q(F) smiles at her. Boy O(F) remains silent*)
R: (*to Boy O(F)*) Don't you remember?
Boy O(F): No, I forgot.
R: (*to Boy B who is raising his hand*) BoyB?
Boy B: It is… the half of… between the village and the city. I mean… the city ends at that point (Session B, Disk 1, 13.23-14.09).

AP1.10

R: Most of you agree to take off the pendants and wear the collar. Let's take it from where we left it then. (*I put on the vest to get into the role of the guard but I take it off after boy's T phrase*)
Boy T: Now it's fun! Now is gonna be fun!
R: For those of you who think it's funny: try to be serious and not to distract the other's attention. (…) Because it's not funny; because I must tell you that the drama we're doing these days, is a reality for some people.
Boy B: I was about to say this.
R: And some people in deed go through these hardships. So I'm asking you to take it seriously…
Boy Q(F): (*seriously*) I am [taking it seriously].
R: … because there are people who go through these.
Boy Q(F): Yes. (*pause*) Very much…
Boy B: (*to Boy Q(F)*) *You* are too. You're *still* going through this. (*Boy Q(F) doesn't answer*) (Session D, Disk 1, 13.30-14.33).

AP1.11

(The teacher has worn a collar and sat in the circle. I didn't take notice of him until he called me in role).

Mr. C: (*in role*) Mr. Chairman…
R/TiR: Yes?
Mr. C: Yesterday I was also working for the whole day, and when the time came to pay me, late in the evening, he told me that I didn't do the job well and he kicked me out. I also tried to report this to the police, but they also kicked me out immediately. (*Teacher's participation provokes much giggling while he talks. When he finishes, the giggling becomes laughter.*)
R: (*out of role*) If you feel like laughing, turn your head the other side in order not to affect the rest of the class. (*Many children turn round on their chairs for a few moments.*)
R/TiR: Mr. C., did you talk to your boss?
Mr. C: I did, in order to take my payment. But he gave me the excuse that I didn't do it well although I tried to do it the best way I could. I was working the whole day and he threw me out without paying me.
Girl V: I was working in a pastry shop making a cake and I did something wrong and he nearly knocked me down. (*This phrase sounds funny and she can't help smiling; soon she becomes serious again.*) He kicked me out of the shop…
R: Do you think this had to do with the fact that you are a foreigner?
Girl V: He threw me out because I'm a foreigner and I don't know how to make a cake.
R: Do you think this is true? Are you happy with the way you did the cake or not?
Girl V: I did a good job, I tried. I don't know the job well but this was the only chance for me to earn some money to get me something to eat… (Session D, Disk 1, 40.03).

AP1.12

R: When you see someone arguing, what do you do?
Girl R(F): We say 'stop it!' Sometimes I… For example I see Girl L with Girl N (F) arguing for something. For example Girl N(F) bought some crisps and didn't give any to Girl L – and I

had bought the same crisps – I went and said 'why are you arguing?' and Girl L said 'Girl N(F) won't give me any crisps' and I said 'ask me, I'm gonna give you some' and I did and then they were friends again.
(…)

Girl K: I say… If someone isn't… For example if Girl L is not friend with Girl N(F) I say 'why aren't you friends?' They will explain why to me and I'll try to make them friends again (1st interview, 3-3-2009).

AP1.13

Mr. C: All right, theatre play[56] can offer joy to the child [but] a step forward is needed, I mean… metacognition. (…) Let it not be only a game. Beyond this game there is something to be learned. Can this be accomplished only by this game? There is a difficulty there. (…) Concerning cognitive issues, that could be a bit tough (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

AP1.14

a)

R: Is there anyone that you don't want to play with?
Boy B: Mostly the Albanians. [Among the Albanians, I play] only with Boy P(F).
R: Hmm. Why is that?
Boy B: Because he doesn't swear a lot at me. The rest of them do.
R: The ones who are from Albania? They swear at you?
Boy B: Some of them. A bit (1st interview, 20-2-2009).

b)

R: (*To Boy A and B*) Why don't you play with the rest [of the Albanians]?
Boy B: Because they are a bit stupid…
Boy A: Because they are useless.
R: 'Useless'? What do you mean?
Boy B: They're a bit stupid.
Boy A: Yes.
R: They're not smart?
Boy B: Not so much. Most of the –
Boy A: Especially Girl U(F) (*they are both miming her difficulty when reading*) (*ibid*.).

c) Boy B's group discuss quietly after they have finished the test of the day the 'little horns' (the gesture when one raises his/her two fingers behind somebody's head, common for teasing between pupils). Boy B states that 'this is swearing; swearing by the Turks' (Field notes, 20-2-2009).

AP1.15

Mr. C: (*talking about racial prejudices among pupils*) Yes, the family background has an important impact in this direction. And we can't intervene there, anyway.
R: And how did you deal with this last year?
Mr. C: I called the parents separately… And I noticed that the parents themselves or rather parents of specific children that had such an attitude treated Albanian children if not with fear, as if they were inferior to themselves. (...)
R: You are talking about Girl J now?
Mr. C: And Girl G. And Boy B in the beginning had such an attitude. However, when we had a talk, and also with the parents – who did not expect it at all…
R: So, did you talk to the parents?
Mr. C: And to the children. In every opportunity we referred to the characters of the books, we didn't miss a chance to extent the discussion about this. (…) They were responding to this but practically, while playing, it [i.e. biased attitude] would come up; at some point. (1st interview, 19-2-2009)

[56] 'Theatre play' is the term most of the education community uses when referring to drama practise with children in Greece (see also Literature Review, p. 20). It's probably more accurately translated as 'dramatic play.'

AP1.16

R: You mean among all boys you prefer to play with Boy B.
Girl M: Yes. 'Cos all the others are little Albanians (*laughs*) (…)
R: You've told me that you don't befriend Albanians, right?
Both: No [we don't].
Girl G: I never befriend Albanians.
Girl M: Neither do I (*relieving laugh*)
R: Why is that?
Girl G: Because… I can't communicate with Albanians.
Girl M: They hit, they speak Albanian, they are from another country… Whereas with Greeks –
Girl G: What I don't like is Albanians coming to Greece. This is what I don't like. Everybody should stay in his own country. That's what I say. But… I don't like them coming here.
Girl M: But nobody listens to you…
R: Do think they cause problems when they come here?
Girl M: Yes.
Girl G: Yes.
Girl M: A lot.
Girl G: Because you don't talk to them, and doesn't speak to you nice, and he goes away. And hits you. They're Albanians, they're not quick in mind (1st interview, 19-2-2009).

AP1.17

(*After the ritual scene*)
R: Should we do this one more time?
Boy O(F): Yeah! This was cool!
Girl E: Indeed!
Girl E: This was very nice!
Xx: Cool Miss! (Session B, Disk 1, 58.50)

AP1.18

Dear Mr. Mayor of Elepadi

We inform you that we read the article to the local newspaper that wrote about us Nostians and we learned that you say we are thieves. But we are not and we try with every honest way to earn our living. What we want from you is to treat us like human beings, like you.

Yours sincerely,
Girl R(F), Boy C, Boy T(F), Girl S(F), Boy D, Boy W(F)

AP1.19

a)
Mr. C: Most of the children were engaged during the drama, (…) they experienced – as Nostians – the rejection and the other's viewpoint and they responded well. They made one more step towards contemplation. (…) They were given the opportunity to see from another point of view or the view of an immigrant, of the children that are in this place. But now it needs to be continued; continued by us [the teachers]. It is obvious that it helps. (…) They saw it; they felt how hard it is. This is something they didn't have the chance to do until now. (…) One of the positive things is certainly that the children themselves opened up and spoke for themselves whereas they used to have inhibitions… You know, Boy Q(F) and the rest [who said] that, yes, we come from Albania and we have… or our parents had, we don't exactly know, but in a way they spoke about something that was considered to be a taboo until then; or they were too shy to talk. On the other hand, the fact that there were those voices in defend of the Nostians and by extension of any foreigner… Whenever we say 'you're a foreigner and that's why you're rejected'… It is *there* that… It is *this* thing that they understood better I believe; the fact that they shouldn't [be rejected for that reason]. (…) But it has to be continued [by the teacher]. If only it could be so simple… Thing is, they did contemplate upon it. That's for sure. And it works (2nd interview, 20-3-2009).

b)

Mr. C: The common mistake that we make I think is precipitation; whereas it needs time. It needs a couple of hours to build the village, I mean you put a game in the beginning which is not exactly roleplay and after that… I mean this structure that you build this way – in the beginning it looked like a team work and it helps them work as a team – and then they got into roles… yes… it was… I mean in fact it took time; these [first] two-hour sessions. I cannot think that it would have worked if we said 'this is the village, now you are its inhabitants'. It wouldn't have worked (2nd interview, 20-3-2009).

AP1.20

a)

R: Do you think that your non-Greek classmates or their parents had similar problems, like Nostians in Elepadi?

Girl M: No. No, no.

Girl G: Yes. Like you could sing Christmas carols and go to a place and receive only 10 or 20cents.

Girl M: With Albanians… I don't get on well with… I don't befriend Boy Q(F) because I'm scared…; Albanians may steal some kid.

R: Isn't this what Elepadians did? They accused the Nostians of being thieves…

Girl M: Yes. And this is bad.

Girl G: Yes, they accused them. But they shouldn't have. Did they know them? They should behave *a bit* good in the beginning, and then after they know them well, they should be good to them. At first they should stay a bit with them and give them jobs, eat together like a family and if they were good, they could keep them. If they were bad, send them away.

Girl M: But you never know with a foreigner. He may pretend that he's good but inside be bad.

R: Does this happen only with foreigners? What about Greeks?

Girl G: Greeks could be bad also.

Girl M: Greeks could be… But not many times. Just *sometimes*.

(…)

R: Was it easy for Nostians to leave their homes?

Girl G: No.

Girl M: No.

Girl G: I don't like it that Albanians come to us, and Turks… These two.

Girl M: I wish we were all… We are like a tangled skein. It's like us going to Turkey and Turkey comes to us. It's confusing…

R: Why do you think these people come here?

Girl M: 'Cos they're flooded. Fires… They don't have money… But… Mr. C talks to us about these poor people, and I can't… I try to feel something inside me, but I don't. (*Concerned*) I try a lot, but I can't feel anything.

R: How do you think the Nostians felt when Elepadians treated them badly?

Girl G: They felt bad.

(…)

Girl G: You know… this is not nice. *(Pretends speaking in role, to the local people)* "We came to you; so does this mean that we are thieves? Don't you know us? You do…" Sometimes the Albanians say the same thing. To us [Greeks]: "You do know us, why do you say we're thieves? We have not stolen anyone." (2nd interview, 19-3-2009)

b)

R: Why do you think they were saying these things?

Girl G: (…) Because we were wearing these yellow collars and that means we're foreigners; they think that since we're foreigners, we're also thieves (Session D, Disk 2, 04.44).

c)

Girl G: Being foreigners does not make us bad! That's what we should tell them. If they were in our place and they were asking for some bread and money, we would have helped them. (…) And what if we're foreigners? Does this mean we're bad? That's what we should say to them. (Session E, Disk 1, 31.54)

AP1.21

a) During break time the girls played together. Girl U(F) was seen with them for the first time. She was queuing with the rest, playing 'there comes the bee[57]' and she was hopping up and down seeming happy (Field notes, 18-3-2009).

b) During break time Girl U(F) was again playing with the rest 'there comes the bee' and then '1, 2, 3 light!' (Field notes, 19-3-2009).

c) Girl U(F) gave an answer during today's class. She raised her hand and made a good suggestion in Numeracy. Mr. C praised her and Boy B said: 'This the first time that Girl U(F) thinks so right!' The teacher had a demonstration with cubes on his desk so he asked the children to gather close to it. Girl G tried to make space for Girl U(F), she looked after her almost hugging her (Field notes, 17-3-2009).

AP1.22

R:	Do you befriend children from other countries?
Girls L & E:	Ehmm… (*pause*)
R:	Do you mind them being from a different country?
Girl E:	Yes, sometimes I mind because he/she speaks Albanian and I can't understand (*laughs*)
R:	Who?
Girl E:	I don't know…
R:	Have you heard anyone speaking Albanian?
Girl E:	Yes.
R:	Inside the classroom?
Girl L:	No.
Girl E:	No.
R:	During break time?
Girl L:	No.
Girl E:	Yes.
R:	Who did you hear?
Girl E:	I don't know, someone from Year 4.
R:	What about children from your class?
Girl E:	(*small pause*) I heard once in the playground… Boy O(F), Boy Q(F) speaking Albanian to some other children and I didn't understand anything.
Girl L:	Some… Those who are from Albania if they want to tell a secret, they can speak in Albanian so that the rest can't understand. They can do that.
R:	Have they done this? Have you heard them doing this?
Girl L:	No (1st interview, 24-2-2009).

[57] Common game for children.

APPENDIX L: 2nd Application Extracts

AP2.1
a) Ms. D is dragging Boy N out of the classroom. She is getting him out the classroom pulling him by the hair. After a while she literally threw him back in (Field notes, 27-3-2009).

b) Ms. D got Boy U(F) out of the classroom by smacking him. A few moments later she got out and continued the sanction by kicking him. Then she escorted him to the head teacher's office (Field notes, 1-4-2009).

AP2.2
Ms. D (*to Boy B, in front of everybody*): 'Boy B, you are a freak!' After the reprimanding finishes, Boy B sighed deeply (Field notes, 3-4-2009; Session A, Disk 1, 13.35; 14.34).

AP2.3
'Only Boy C's brain works today. The rest of you are brainless!' Boy C was the main child raising his hand and answering Ms. D's questions in Arithmetic this morning (Field notes, 9-4-2009).

AP2.4
Boy N denounced twice Boy B, for his behaviour the previous day:
Boy N: He only finished two of the operations. (…) He didn't sit in[58] yesterday. He went out and he played caps[59]!
While Ms. D is reprimanding Boy B, some of the class call out advice to him, eager to help the teacher:
Boy C: Keep your hands on your lap, not on your face.
Boy N: Do we sit like this?
Girl D: Miss says this for your own good, be careful (Field notes, 8-4-2009).

AP2.5
a) In the Morning Prayer the head teacher shouted loud into a child's ear: 'somebody is going to miss the game today!' because the child was not listening to him talking (Field notes, 26-3-2009).

b) The head teacher comes in to tell off Boy U(F). I stop recording for dignity and the identity of head teacher and child. This may have taken quite a few minutes; quite bad reprimanding and insulting, in front of everyone (Session D, Disk 1, 5.52).

c) Head teacher is heard again from outside of the classroom, telling off someone severely (Session C, Disk 1, 48.00); Head teacher's yells again from outside… (*ibid*., 52.20)

d) Boys U(F) and G(F) were escorted to the head teacher's office because yesterday they were fighting. Boy K followed them and he came back announcing to the rest of the classroom 'Wow, what a beating!' (…) Ms. D asked me: 'What should we do with this child [Boy U(F)]? Imagine that now he's quite calm. He used to be fierce.' (Field notes, 9-4-2009).

AP2.6
Ms. D asked me how I like her as a teacher. 'Am I too strict?' I answered 'You keep a balance. You combine strictness and sweetness', and I stressed the altruistic feelings she promotes in her classroom (Field notes, 6-4-2009).

[58] Teacher often asked some children to stay in and do extra work during break time; sometimes as a detention, sometimes to enhance their attainment.
[59] Common game with caps.

AP2.7

a) Ms. D speaks about the celebrations 'of Christianity, *our* religion'. 'Sweet Jesus sacrificed his life.' 'Our Greece is called a country; our Greece is called a nation; our Greece is called a polity' (Field notes, 8-4-2009) [my emphasis].

b) Ms. D narrates 'The Passion of the Christ'; his story. She talks about 'the *one and only* religion'; 'the *true* religion.' 'Christ had mercy even for the bad people' (Field notes, 10-4-2009) [my emphasis].

AP2.8

a) Ms. D mentions an incident of a Bulgarian family of immigrants who were begging for money and food. 'You *will* help them.' 'Church helps.' The class start to recite the charities they have made, mainly giving alms to beggars. They have a high sense of solidarity, altruism and reciprocal help, apparently inculcated by the teacher. She advised them to be charitable and help their fellow beings. The ones that wished 'quick recovery' to their classmates were praised. The teacher wrote Boy I's number on the blackboard for whoever wished to call him with recovery wishes (Field notes, 2-4-2009).

b) They share. When someone does not have a rubber, the rest offer him/her one. Boy T wished 'safe journey' to Girl D[60] even though she's not leaving before next week (Field notes, 3-4-2009).

c) (About Boys C, I and J): they were altruists and good Christians. Boy J: We've got to be friends with everyone in order to go to Paradise (Field notes, 28-4-2009).

d)

R:	Why your mother doesn't let you be friend with Germans?
Girl P:	With some of them. Because some of them don't believe in God. Some of them believe, though.
R:	You wouldn't befriend someone who does not believe in God.
Girl P:	(*Negatively*) Tut.
R:	Why is that?
Girl P:	I don't know. A friend of mine also doesn't believe in God. He's Greek.
R:	Do you think it's bad not to believe in God?
Girl P:	Yes. Very bad (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.9

Ms. D: I may belabour the children, but… your life, your job is intertwined with these (i.e. weak) children. When you've got this philosophy and you show it to the children, the children copy you. And not only that; they become a second teacher; and not only that; they are happy for the progress these children make (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

AP2.10

R:	What do you do when you see someone fighting?
Boy Q(F):	(*pause*) Sometimes, when the teacher enters the classroom and they sit down, we tell the teacher. And she tells them off. Do you know how many times she told off Boy U(F)? Do you know how many chances has she given him?
R:	Do you tell them anything at all? Do you try to make up for them or do you tell the teacher?
Boy E(F):	No, we tell the teacher. And she comes and tells them off.
R:	So, you don't interfere.
Boy E(F):	No. (…) We tell the teacher when in the first break they hit us – we tell the teacher and –
Boy Q(F):	The teacher tells the head teacher. And he tells him [i.e. the culprit] off (1st interview, 30-3-2009).

[60] Girl D's family moved out of town in the middle of the project.

AP2.11

a)

R: Do you like watching plays?
All: Yeeeees!
R: What do you like in watching plays? Why do you like watching plays? (*long pause*)
Girl A: I like the movements they made, the way they danced, the steps.
Girl D: Me too (1st interview, 30-3-2009).

b)

R: (*recapitulating the encounter with the guard*) Do Nostians like this situation?
All: (*in chorus*) Nooo.
R: What could they do?
All: (*pause*)
Boy C: They are going to go in a barn.
R: They are going to stay in the barn. So, are they going to accept the guard's rule and take off the pendants?
All: (*in chorus*) Nooo (Session D, Disk 1, 02.05).

AP2.12

Ms. D: [The ministry] tells you 'here are four volumes and you have to teach all of them' (*referring to Numeracy textbooks)*. If you work with groups, you will finish only *one* [emphasis in the original]. Thus you are forced to unify them [i.e. the class]. Not in groups; in chorus. You don't even allow them to raise their hands. Why? Because even when they raise their hand 'Miss, Miss, Miss' – noise pollution – [it's impossible to make time]. (…) You are forced to say look now, you have to answer either all at the same time, or one after the other (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

AP2.13

a)

R: Have you ever worked in groups?
Girl A: When we were in Year 1 [last year], we split in groups (…) And we sat on the carpet. (…) And another time we had some books, and Miss asked us to circle 'A's, 'B's, and we helped each other. Because we couldn't find everything, we got confused.
Girl D: And we co-operated more.
Girl S: And with crafts…
Girl D: (*resentfully*) In Year 2 we don't do anything. We do nothing! In Year 1 we used to co-operate... (1st interview, 30-3-2009).

b)

Boy C: I liked the meetings with the chief… because we were sitting down and we were discussing about our problems, what we have and what we don't...' (…)
Boy I: I liked that we discussed and we read the things you brought to us. (…) Because reading is good. (…) [It's good] that we had a conversation. (…)
R: Do you have the chance to discuss in the classroom?
Boy C: Very few times.
Boy I: Seldom if ever (2nd interview, 29-4-2009).

AP2.14

Ms. D: When the first immigrants came – the so called political refugees[61] – I mean the first cases that we admitted, both me and the rest of my colleagues – I speak about my circle – we treated them with a receptive attitude; positive [attitude]. (…) And I spent a lot of energy on these children (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

[61] Many of the returnees were citizens of Eastern Europe countries where they had fled after the Second World War and the Greek civil war due to their political beliefs (either theirs or their relatives).

AP2.15

Ms. D: Greek people – and this has to be acknowledged to them – have embraced them; and their children. Besides, most of them are born here. (…) They don't have any problem with the language; they read and write all right. The problem is when they express violent behaviour, the foreigners; and [when they express] delinquent behaviour (Field notes, 26-3-2009).

AP2.16

a) Ms. D: All this entrance of the returnees brought a commotion. Gauging from the children of the returnees that I had, I can assure you that there were some children that had a high I.Q. and were trying hard, but found themselves among medium attainment levels because of the lack of support from home; what was pleasant was that these children moved on to high school and college; some of them, a proportion I mean, who were the ones that caused problems and were not assimilated completely or had defiant behaviour… From my children I remember only one little girl from Hungary (…) In general they did not cause any trouble, just the fact that they couldn't follow in team work – small tests inside the classroom – at the same time [as the rest of the children]; or at home (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

b) Ms. D: Like cannibalism in Boy B. (…) When they first came to school the children were calling them names like 'lousy'. The bad ones; the good children don't do such things (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

c) She belittles Boy B in front of everybody. Ms. D (*to the children*): 'Check out Boy B'. Then children start to talk negatively on him too. Ms. D (*to Boy B*): 'You should finish high school and college in order to work in the city council. If you don't, you'll be poor and miserable. Your target should be to work in the city council.' (Field notes, 4-5-2009).

AP2.17

Ms. D: In Africa, they don't have luxurious houses, they drink dirty water; they are poor. Who do you think is superior in their culture? (*The questions were answered by the pupils in chorus by 'yeees' and 'nooo'*) When people don't have education, can they have civilisation? Do you think Greece has a cultural heritage? Would you like to live in Greece or rather go and live in a poor African country? (Field notes, 4-5-2009).

AP2.18

R: Did you have racist incidents in your class?

Ms. D: No I didn't. But the thing is for an experienced teacher not to reach this stage [of having such incidents]. The thing is from the first day these children will enter the classroom – like Miss K did, myself and all the other colleagues – fully integrate these children. How? You treat them appropriately. You keep saying 'we're all equal' – we have the example of Arben[62] in the classroom, and so on. You see – foreign names; to understand that we are a multicultural country with immigrants, who we have to live with and co-operate with. And respect them, and should respect us back. I believe that the children have internalised this, I don't see them segregating each other (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.19

Ms. D: Young children do not have a racist attitude if they are given the right guidelines. If you renounce a child that treats such a child [i.e. immigrant] in a cannibalistic[63] way, if you belabour the child, he'll think twice before doing it again; and act like an example to be copied (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

Ms. D: … give a clear signal (…) and say 'look now, this is an equal personality and [you have to treat him/her] the way you treat your mom, your brother… you are *obliged*… to behave, to respect and to help'. If they don't, you will *make* them befriend him, either they want it or not. You should *force*

[62] A character in the Greek language textbook.

[63] «Κανιβαλιστικός» in the original Greek has no adequate translation. It can most closely be equated with 'soul destroying' and refers to the devouring of another human being's dignity, or subjugating their identity through bullying.

undue influence if you have to. If they react in a negative way, you'll have to put them in clearly set boundaries, *whether they like it or not* (1st interview, 6-4-2009), [my emphasis].

Ms. D: [I teach them] Reciprocal help, altruism… You've got no pencil? Rubber? Practical things: share with everyone, help each other. In football games for example: Boy N has got this [boosted] ego… But this doesn't mean that he won't play with Boy B. it's inconceivable that we won't play with Boy O(F) [*the first is an ostracised Greek and the second an Albanian child*]. Because he knows very well that I am the watching eye for these children (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

AP2.20

Ms. D: Today Boy K said a joke. We were discussing jokes. He said that when everyone got into the hog pen – the German and the Greek – and the Albanian did not hold his nose. And then the pig came out holding his nose. At that moment, he said a racist joke. Luckily, I made sure that it was hushed up and cut out. And I said 'All right'…; I fudged it, so that Boy O(F) won't understand that Albanians smell worse than pigs. Can you see the racism?

R: Was it Boy K who said this joke?

Ms. D: Yes, he didn't (*having an expression saying 'he didn't mean to'*)… Without thinking that he [Boy O(F)] is an Albanian, that this would hurt him. En passant, he just thought of a joke.

R: Did you notice whether Boy O(F) realised anything?

Ms. D: He didn't. He didn't get it. He just had a hollow laugh, without understanding much, without pondering… (…)

R: How did you react to this?

Ms. D: I tried to hush it and close the subject. Not continue it by giving explanations; because they [i.e. the immigrant children] don't get these jokes yet. So he [Boy O(F)] couldn't rumble what was going on here (Ms. D, 2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.21

R: What do you do when someone picks on you?

Boy U(F): If he swears at me, I smack him one! Why, am I to just stand there doing nothing? I smack him! (…)

R: What happens next? Does this solve the problem?

Boy U(F): No. He starts… with his friends… They all come and – his friends – and they start hitting me. Then I call my friends and I hit them (1st interview, 31-3-2009).

AP2.22

R: What do you do [when others hit you]?

Boy T: I… I hit him a bit, but I don't hit him much.

Boy B: We hit each other. Sometimes we two… (*Awkward smile*) (…)

Boy L: I… They hit me and I hit them back. Sometimes they hit me so hard that my knees hurt (1st interview, 1-4-2009).

AP2.23

a)

Boy R(F): When two of them are fighting then another one pushes them; pushes them both. (…) He pushes them and he beats up the one who beats up.

R: He beats up the one who beats the other up?

Boy R(F): Yes (1st interview, 1-4-2009).

b) Boy B does not want to go to Whole Day School because Boy K and Tom[64] (in Year 3) pick on and hit him. Boy U(F) feels ashamed of his new haircut and wears a jockey hat all day. It's because some boys from Year 3 tease him (Field notes, 31-3-2009).

c) Yesterday Ms. D told Boy B to attend Whole Day School. Today he did not come to school. She asked the children if he attended yesterday and they replied 'no'. 'That's why he didn't come today', she says (Field notes, 1-4-2009).

[64] Pseudonym.

d)

Boy N: Tom causes a lot of trouble with Boy B. He says to him 'today when school finishes I'm gonna kill you'. That's why he is absent and he doesn't go to Whole Day School. 'Cos he's scared that Tom will beat his head off. One day, he was kicking him and bruised his hands and legs. And he was crying (1st interview, 1-4-2009).

AP2.24

a)

R: How do you like it that you've got classmates from other countries?
Boy N: We don't mind.
Boy F: We don't mind.
Boy N: We play with them. We're all the same. We play together (1st interview, 1-4-2009).

b)

Boy N: We are all the same.
Boy F: Yeah.
Boy N: Appearance is not an issue. Chinese are yellow. It's the yellow race. So what?
Boy F: And Africans are black. And so what? But there… Somebody who thinks he's better, calls them stupid (2nd interview, 30-4-2009).

AP2.25

Boys C, J and now I sit next to each other. They have created sort of an 'elite group'. Same in break time. They mostly play together (Field notes 28-4-2009).

AP2.26

Ms. D: For example, Boy J who comes from one of the richest families in town, thought sitting next to Boy B was degrading. If you belabour him and tell him you may live in a palace, but you can lose it because of an earthquake or a fire; because something could happen to your dad and your company would close down… If you repeat this regularly, then you can turn him into a humanist (1st interview, 6-4-2009).

AP2.27

R: Where do your parents come from?
Girl V(F): They originate from Albania.
R: Had you ever had problems with the children of the class, e.g. not to befriend you because you're from Albania?
Girl V(F): Only once. (…) In the beginning, when I first got here. (…) In Year 1. (…) The girls were telling me 'go away because you're Albanian'.
R: And what did you do?
Girl V(F): I was joining another company.
R: Later, did you ever play with these girls?
Girl V(F): Yes I did. (…)
R: Did this upset you? [i.e. the isolation]
Girl V(F): In the beginning, yes, it made me upset, because they didn't want me (…).
R: And now?
Girl V(F): Now I'm fine. They want me. (*sigh*) In their company.
R: Back then, had you told anyone? To your teacher, or your mom, your dad?
Girl V(F): To my mom and dad.
R: And what did they tell you?
Girl V(F): They told me that… Then we could change school. (…) [But finally] no, I stayed here.
R: Have you ever talked about this with your teacher?
Girl V(F): No (1st interview, 31-3-2009).

AP2.28

R: When you argue, do you tell the teacher?
Girl V(F): Yes. And she tells us to put a full stop and start over again (Girl V, 1st interview, 31-3-

2009).

AP2.29

[During the discussion on immigrants] a scratching is heard. Someone is scratching the table of nervousness. When this subject changed, it was never heard again (extract from the transcription of Boys C, J & K 1st interview, 30-3-2009).

AP2.30

R: Have you had any problems with Greek children, I mean, for example, not wanting you to play with them because you're from Albania?
Boy O(F): No.
Boy R(F): No.
R: No, never.
Boy O(F): Never.
R: You never had any problems.
Boy O(F): No.
(*After a few moments)*
R: Was it easy for you to become friends with the rest of the children?
Boy O(F): (*speaking very quietly I can hardly hear him*) For them… they… were difficult
R: [Do you mean that] It was difficult for them to accept you in their group?
Boy O(F): Yes. (…) And then, when I became eight years old, everything was all right. No one hit me any more.
R: You had no problem any more.
Boy O(F): No.
R: But in the beginning it was difficult for you.
Boy O(F): Yes (1st interview, 1-4-2009).

AP2.31

Boys O(F) and R(F) were scared. They put their chairs away from me. After a while they had turned their chairs like they were talking to each other, in the end turned completely on the other side (I was watching their back) not looking at me and speaking to the opposite direction. Boy O(F) was talking so quietly I could barely hear him (Field notes, 1-4-2009).

AP2.32

a) Ms. D: Boy R(F)! Don't make me pluck your hair out, Boy R(F)! (Session B, Disk 1, 01.00.40).

b) Ms. D: Boy B! You are awful! You only think about food! You're working now Boy B; you're acting! (Session C, Disk 1, 53.29).

c)
(*Boy Q(F) describes his activity at the night before the flood*)
Boy Q(F): I was doing my homework.
R: Were you at school?
Boy Q(F): I wanted to learn…
Ms. D: Louder. Nobody can hear you. Speak up! Speak up for the rest to hear and be interested! Say again the whole sentence!
Boy Q(F): I wanted to learn music. (Session C, Disk 1, 19.04-19.41).

d)
Girl D: (*In role, to me, describing a snake bite incident during their journey*) I took the poison out of the bite.
Ms. D: (*to Boy E(F), showing him his notebook*): Boy E(F), I'd like you to work on this a bit more (Session C, Disk 1, 27.27)

e)
R: (*In role as the guard*) In Elepadi, you'll be foreigners. Everybody else is Elepadian, they're born here. We have a law: All foreigners – (*I turn round to bring the collars*)

Ms. D: Boy Q(F), you should work on what I'm noting down in your exercise book.
R: – must distinguish from the rest of the people (Session C, Disk 2, 38.03).

f)
(*In a meeting, talking about our new lives in the new country*)
Boy B: I've got an idea. We can ring a doorbell and say: 'Could we… could we *grass* the grass [να… γκαζώσουμε το γκαζόν]?'
Ms. D: (*while marking the children's assignments*) '*Mow* the grass'.
Boy B: …mow the grass. And they may give us money.
R: Mow the grass for them (Session C, Disk 2, 12.30).

g)
(*While in role, giving out the collars to the 'immigrants', the head teacher came in to put the clock on the classroom's wall after replacing its batteries)*
Ms. D: (*to the head teacher*) Thank you very much. Say 'thank you' to the head teacher.
All: *(While taking their collars from me*) Thank you! (Session D, Disk 1, 10.00).

AP2.33
(The class has just been in role and is having a meeting with the chairman.)
Head teacher: (*He enters to check the socket*) Let me check the socket for a moment. (*referring to the collars*) How lovely the things you're wearing! (*He exits.*)
(Out of role, some of the children smile. Boy C reminds them:) 'it's not funny!'
R: We constantly change roles. Pupils, Nostians… Let us be Nostians again now… (Session D, Disk 1, 27.40-27.55)

AP2.34
a)
R: Did you have difficulties [while working in groups]?
Boy L: Not me. Only once, when we had to decide who was gonna write the prices at the price list.
Boy O(F): Yes. Me too. A bit.
R: And what did you do? How did you solve the problem?
Boy L: We went to Miss and we asked her who should write it and she said me, because my handwriting is good (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

b)
R: Does anybody know how the people guarding the border are called?
Girl V(F): Policemen and traffic wardens.
R: Definitely policemen; the traffic wardens are working mostly in the roads. If you think of a compound word[65]… Border and guard… [in Greek: Sinoriofilakas]
Ms. D: (*intervening*) Sinorio…?
All: …filakas!! (Session C, Disk 2, 08.29).

AP2.35
a)
Ms. D: (*During break*) I believe that the things you're doing with the children are meaningful. Children need this. We [teachers] are pressed by the syllabus; we have to finish books in a specific time. And they are losing their childhood. The fact that you are doing an open discussion… They learn a lot from it. I mean I'm thrilled about it; thrilled (Session B, Disk 2, 10.00).

Ms. D: I believe that not only did they like it, not only was it food for thought, not only did they discuss it with parents, but it made them more mature; (…) because it calls for contemplation and musing. Given that they can afford discussion for a long time, it means that they were impressed. (…) They offered you their ideas; they offered you clear answers, didn't they? Listen to me. I, my children, I keep them [constrained]. (…) I mean I want individual answers and because of the limited time I ask

[65] They had recently had a lesson on compounds.

them individually, I limit the discussion. This is the good thing [in your lesson]. I don't let them compensate a lot because the target in Years 1 and 2 is to learn how to read. (…) But even though they were not used to it, I noticed that the children were trying to find the answers for you (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.36
Immigrant workers were waiting to get chosen for a job early in the morning in a corner of the city's main street (Field notes, 26-3-2009).

AP2.38
Dear Mayor
We write this letter to tell you that we are not thieves. But we have some complaints about our salary, the way people treat us like we are thieves, even out in the streets and the shops. They make fun of us and the letter that was published in the paper was lies.
From Boy L and Boy O(F) (Mayor letters, No. 2).

My dear Mayor
Don't make fun of us because we wear these collars, don't pick on us, do you understand mayor?
I tell you what I want: more money. Do you get it mayor?
Boy Q(F) (Mayor letters, No. 6).

AP2.39
a) Today with Miss Hara we did the class of 'Theatre education'. She put all the children in groups and gave us some lists to write the products we were selling like the café – coffee, the greengrocer – vegetables. Then Miss Hara took our pictures when we were working, we were like statues. I enjoyed this class so much and Miss Hara is a nice teacher like our teacher Ms. D (Nostia essays, No 9).

'My life in Nostia':
I enjoy my life in the village of Nostia. I am happy with the job I have, being the owner of the traditional café. But it's difficult for me to wake up early in the morning to get the café ready, clean it up and check if we have run out of anything.
One other thing I enjoy in this job is that we have a nice view and many customers. I enjoy making coffees and talking with the rest of the villagers.
(Nostia essays, No. 5).

b) On Friday we had a lesson with Miss Hara. We did theatre. Hara was the chairman and we were Nostians. The chairman gave us some old pictures and the anthem of Nostia. Then the chairman gave us some little hammers [sic] and told us to wear them around our neck to sing Nostia's anthem.
When we finished with the anthem he called his great-grandmother. His great-grandmother explained to us how the chest got in her house! She told us she was the oldest one and the woodcutters trusted her with their hammers. The great-grandmother died during the time she was hiding the chest. Then the bell rang and we had to go. This was such a lovely day with Miss Hara (Grandmother essays, No. 9).

c) Today we continued the class with Miss Hara. In the beginning she asked us to go to our shops. Then we had a meeting with the village's chairman. He told us something strange.
He had found a chest in his great-grandmother's house and he brought it to show it to us. When we opened it imagine what we found!! There were pictures, the village's anthem and axes. The chairman told us to sing the anthem. Then we dealt with the pictures, we had a good look at them, then we saw the stone bridge and other things. We called the great-grandmother and asked her questions. When she saw the chest she said 'Where did you find this? So, put on the axes and sing the anthem properly!'
That's what we did.
So she explained to us that the villagers had trusted her with this chest one day before the ceremony they did every year. That night the great-grandmother hid it somewhere. But in the morning she never woke up. She was dead.

When I got back home, I was thinking of the great-grandmother all the time!!!!!' (Grandmother essays, No. 6B)

d) A Sunday, the chairman of the village Nostia called us. He said he was cleaning his house and the top floor. When he started cleaning a small dusty cupboard he opened it and found his great-grandmother's chest.
He gathered us to talk about it. The chest had some axe amulets and some black and white pictures. His great-grandmother came after we called her and told us that they wore the axes once a year.
The pictures were taken in the old times. She said that these pictures were of the woodcutters and other villagers. One of the pictures had the big stone bridge on. In the evening we were all thoughtful. They were thinking of the meeting with great-grandmother that had died. She came like a vision.
At night I was thinking of the great-grandmother's story because I was impressed (Grandmother essays, No. 10B).

e) I liked the first lesson with Miss Hara when we were eating an apple. I like us to co-operate and I like us to help each other. And I had a great time with everybody in the group. Girls were talking more than boys! It was a very good lesson with Miss Hara!!! (Feedback slips, No. 7)

AP2.40

If it's girl, yes. If it's a boy…
…it's difficult. (…) My mom doesn't let me play with Turks. Because they… and Germans… some of them… Because Germans fought us; and Turks. That's why (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.41

R: Are there such people in real life? People that have to leave their homes?
Boy T: There are. But some of them are thieves. 'Cause I've seen also thieves. (…)
Boy B: Not in Greece. (…) In Albania there are [thieves].
Boy T: In Albania? How do you know?
Boy B: How do I know? There are. In Albania.
R: Have you been in Albania?
Boy B: (*nodes no*). But there are. I was told by… him… the friend of my mother who is an Albanian.
Boy T: Yes, my friend also told me there are thieves. And they steal a lot. Jewellery, we know what… (2nd interview, 30-4-2009).

AP2.42

R: How did the Nostians feel?
Girl S: They felt differently, that they treated them terribly. [They felt] awfully.
Girl M: Badly. (…)
R: What about the real world? Here in Greece, do we have people that came from another country?
Girls M&S: Yes. (*They recite the names of their non-Greek classmates*).
Girl M: Girl V(F)'s mum was looking for a job and house, her dad too. Where they were it was difficult to find a job and a home (2nd interview, 30-4-2009).

AP2.43

Boy I: When we went to Elepadi, it reminded me of the 25th of March[66].
R: Why is that?
Boy I: Because we were enslaved and put into the warehouse, and they were shouting at us…' (2nd interview, 29-2-2009).

AP2.44

[66] The official starting date of the Greek revolution in 1821.

Boy N: Some bad people treat them badly [i.e. the immigrants]. Others who are nice, they give food to whoever is poor, etc.
Boy F: The ones who treat them badly are more. … Not only in Greece, also in other countries.
Boy N: Yeah, like US, China…
R: Why do people treat foreigners badly?
Boy N: Possibly because they consider them dumber, that their species is better. We don't know. I suppose that's why. Like cowboys in old times, they killed the Indians! And now India is a very poor country.
Boy N: I mean how… I've been thinking about it… I wonder how come people speak different languages…
Boy F: Yeah.
Boy N: I mean why do we consider them foreigners but they also consider us foreigners…? This is an issue… (2nd interview, 30-4-2009)

AP2.45

Boy C: I liked the meetings with the chief… because we were sitting down and we were discussing about our problems, what we have and what we don't...' (…)
Boy I: I liked that we discussed and we read the things you brought to us. (…) Because reading is good. (…) [It's good] that we had a conversation. (…)
R: Do you have the chance to discuss in the classroom?
Boy C: Very few times.
Boy I: Seldom if ever (2nd interview, 29-4-2009).
Boy J: I liked it. I liked it because we were having meetings, the images with the bears, we made coffees…
Boy C: Yes, we made these with our imagination.
Boy I: It wasn't like the other theatres.
Boy C: I liked the meeting that we did with the chairman. Because we were sitting down and we discussed together for our problems, this and that… (2nd interview, 29-4-2009)
R: Was it different from the drama you've done so far?
Boy K: It didn't have poems to learn by heart.
Boy I: It was for children, not for adults and was more… imaginative, with more imagination…
Boy C: We did it with our imagination.

AP2.46

a) Girls are taking out pencils to use as rolling pins, and the café group is having fun cleaning the tables with spitted tissues (Session A, Disk 1, 50.46)

Picture 33. Using pens as rolling pins. Girl P is explaining her idea to the rest of the girls, while Girl V(F) is searching her bag for a pen.

b) Group of the café: Two of them are playing noughts and crosses and the rest are reading a book about games (Session C, Disk 1, 18.49).

AP2.47

Picture 34. Climbing on the desks Session C, Disk 1, 14.40; 14.55).

AP2.48

a)

Boy T:	Miss why don't we put the CD on now?
R:	Would you like to hear the rain [while doing your images]?
Boy T (and others):	Yes! (Session C, Disk 1, 31.55).

b) Girl V(F): I liked it when Nostia was destroyed from the water. Because there was music and I like listening to music (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

AP2.49

a)

R:	Was this drama/theatre different than the ones you have done so far?
Girl P:	(...) We didn't have a setting. Usually these theatres they also do the ballet. But ours, it was somehow like real what we did.
Girl V(F):	I really liked your class. Because we were talking a lot and the teachers did not yell at us. 'Do this and do that'.
Girl P:	And what we were saying was out of our heads.
Girl V(F):	We learned to have much imagination and co-operate with the children
Girl P:	And we learned to listen and be quiet. (…)
Girl V(F):	Our lesson was better, because in the Christmas show we didn't have a good time because Madams were yelling at us. And we were forgetting our lines and we had to say them really good 'cos madams would tell us off.
Girl P:	But you know what? I was tired. It was the most tiring class. I don't mean boring, I was just… getting tired. It was tiring to think many things (2nd interview, 4-5-2009). (Girl P and V(F), 2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

b)

Boy O(F):	[At the Christmas show] we had to say our lines, but in our shops we didn't. And we spoke more. We had papers.
Boy L:	Whereas here, we could speak freely.
Boy O(F):	And [at the Christmas show] we had to [learn them] by heart.
Boy L:	Here, from the questions, we thought a bit and we were saying the answers. Whereas in that one we had to say it by heart and we had to remember it. Sometimes we could get stuck but in this one we can't get stuck because we're saying these for the first time and we don't have to learn them by heart (2nd interview, 4-5-2009).

c)

Boy K:	It was different because we didn't have scripts. We didn't have poems.
Boy J:	We had to think our lines ourselves (Boy J, Field notes, 28-4-2009).

AP2.50

Girl V(F): My parents came [to Greece] because they couldn't find a job in Albania, and they didn't have a home either. (…)

R: Could they face similar problems like Nostians? What kind of problems do these people face?

Girl V(F): Maybe they insult them because they don't know them. And maybe they consider them to be thieves. (…)

R: Was it easy or difficult to leave their homes?

Many: (*in chorus*) Difficult!

Girl V(F): (*now talking about the Nostians*) Because they would have to leave their homes, their little axes [i.e. the pendants], they would forget great-grandmother's story and Nostia. (…) (*After some moments, she goes back to the problems of immigrants in the real world*) Where are they going to sleep? And when it's raining they get wet and they're cold and then they won't let them into the hospitals (Session D, Disk 1, 39.50- 50.03).

AP2.51

a)

Boy N: In Albania they *can* treat people like that! We don't know… It seems so. It's on the news. They say that Albanians treat others badly… For example if a foreigner goes there, they treat foreigners badly; especially in Turkey. It's a disaster.

Boy F: If a Greek guy goes there they chop his head off! (2nd interview, 30-4-2009)

b)

Boy C: [In Greece, there are people calling foreigners thieves] because they think they're better… I've heard this; many times. On the news they say these people will come here and take over the city like the Turks.' (2nd interview, 29-4-2009)

APPENDIX M: 3rd Application Extracts

AP3.1

R: How do you conceive intercultural education? What does it mean to you?

Ms. E: Well… There isn't any relevant material, any books that could help us. I think that each one of us [acts according to] the information he has out of personal experience; each one of us tries to teach himself. There are no textbooks that could help us on such a field, e.g. intercultural education.

R: Have you applied intercultural education in your teaching?

Ms. E: No, no.

R: Have you had in-service training on it?

Ms. E: No, no. This is why I haven't applied such a practice during class. I don't have the knowledge to do it. (1st interview, 6-5-2009)

AP3.2

Boy W(F) became active and alive during break time, when he was playing football with the rest of the boys. He was particularly good compared with the rest. His change (in spirits) lasted only during the game (Field notes, 5-5-2009).

AP3.3

R: Are you in contact with the immigrant parents? Do they come often to school to talk to you?

Ms. E: Some of them, yes; they care about their children and you see that also the children have progress. But in majority, no. Because their main issue is to survive. They don't care if they [their children] learn. Of course there are exceptions, i.e. parents who do care, who intend to stay some years – maybe for ever – here in Greece and so they urge their children to learn not to stand out among the Greek children. They try to blend in, they do. Either in terms of appearance or in different events the school does; I think these people try harder. Girl L(F) for instance is a living example of her family's efforts to stay in Greece. Her family *wants* to stay in Greece. Her parents want her to have a nice education, to stay and work here. This is why… from the start they tried not to make her stand out. And she's also one of the best students I've got. (1st interview, 6-5-2009.)

AP3.4

Ms. E: (*During her class, right after a wrong answer from Girl V(F)*) These little ones do not understand. They don't know the language. When I ask them to conjugate a verb, they just copy the example from the black board, they don't conjugate the one I asked them to.

Boy A: (*calls out*) And so we must excuse the mistakes they make.

Ms. E: Yes, that's right (Field notes, 6-5-2009).

AP3.5

a)

R: What do you like in school?

Girl K(F): Getting good marks, playing with my friends, being a good student… (1st interview, 7-5-2009)

b)

R: Why do you like school?

Girl N: Because we learn to real and write, and we study, to learn better [sic] and to read better. (1st interview, 7-5-2009)

c)

R: Have you noticed any conflicts between the children?

Ms. E: (…) Not in boys though. I think guys are milder on this; girls are more competitive.

AP3.6

R: During the last years, after the advent of the immigrants, have you seen the relationships between the students change?

Ms. E: I wouldn't say so. I think that children assimilate. I don't think… I mean ok, a child like Girl L(F), who is distinguished… She dealt with racism from her classmates. I think because she was distinguished. I mean it's a matter of competition after all. And they consider this as a flaw. Like… 'you're a foreigner' for example… and 'you don't know', or… they use it to pick on her. Her origin. And I say 'why, are you not proud to be Greeks? Why should she be ashamed of being from Albania?'
They've also done it with Girl D(F). Mostly Girl J, she acts more intuitively. But there are also other children. I don't remember specific names now, but from time to time it fell under my purview that… 'we don't play with you, 'cos you're from Albania' but I told you, it's more like a competitive attitude, because that child is more skilful – either in writing or speaking.

R: What about the rest, who don't have a distinguished level of achievement?

Ms. E: I don't think so. I haven't see anything like this [i.e. being racist victims], no.
(…) This thing I've noticed with Girl J, she was also nudging others to isolate that specific little child. (…) This year this [isolation] was noticed, mainly during their games. During break time. Inside the classroom they don't have the chance to… Whenever someone tries to talk negatively about someone else… It stops right there. *I* stop it; I don't let it go on.
(…) Maybe there are more children with such feelings – besides Girl J – but they haven't dared to say it out loud (1st interview, 6-5-2009).

AP3.7

Ms. E: The little ones [immigrants] did take part in school's events. They weren't isolated by their families, like 'we don't take part in these kind of things'. Some of them may not even be Christians. But when we make the prayer you see that everyone makes the sign of the cross.

R: Do you know if some of them have a different religion?

Ms. E: I don't know about it because now it's not written in the records when we register them. We only write the Greeks'. For the rest we don't know, but we don't ask either. We don't care [if they have a different religion] (1st interview, 6-5-2009).

AP3.8

The class is telling jokes. Girl E tells a joke about a black-eyed ghost, a Turk and an Albanian who are finally beaten by a clever Greek in a competition. Ms. E does not make any comment (Field notes, 11-5-2009).

AP3.9

a)

R: In terms of drama education, what is your experience? Have you applied anything of the kind?

Ms. E: Not me. School shows aside – the ones in the end of school year celebrations. (…) Nothing more.

R: Have you ever attended any workshops or in-service training on drama?

Ms. E: Not especially for drama, no.

R: And what is the children's response in drama activities?

Ms. E: They like it. They enjoy it a lot. And some of them show they have got talent I wouldn't have imagined. They are little actors (1st interview, 6-5-2009).

b)

R: Have you done drama before in school?

Girl B: We do down in the basement. With Miss M that we do drama every Tuesday. At the Whole Day School.

R: And what do you do there?

Girl B: We play games, we play 'the bomb', we read stories, we play… (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

AP3.10

a)

R: (*In role as the guard*) Still here?
Girl T: We are helpless, we are hungry…
R: And not one of you has got a passport?
Girl J: (*seriously*) But we lost everything! We have nothing to eat. Not a crumb.
Girl N: Nowhere to sleep…
Girl K: Our village was flooded, that's why.
R: (*small pause while his mood becomes more compassionate*) When did this happen?
Girl J: Today.
Girl T: (*correcting her*)Yesterday.
Girl J: Yesterday.
R: (*pause*)
Girl T: We have been walking on the mountain since yesterday night.
Girl J: We are looking for a place to go…
R: (*pause*)
Girl L(F): (*to the guard*) What would you do if you were in our place?
R: What kind of a question is this? I would make sure I had my passport with me.
Girl L(F): (*in role, looking to me straight in the eyes, frustrated, dissapointed and committed*) But we were sleeping…!
R: It's not my problem. I've got orders here. Not to let anyone in without a passport.
Girl M: Our clothes are wet.
R: (*I pause, but this time they are talking to each other and there is a bit of uneasiness* (Session D, Disk 1, 18.50 – 20.26).

b)

Girl T: We are three kilometres away from our village…
R: (*pause*) And did you walk all the way up here? (*I say this as if this was an excessive distance*.)
All: (*vividly*) Yes!
Girl N: All the way up here…
R: You actually passed through the woods in order to come here?
All: (*more vividly as they see this may be leading to a solution*) Yes!
R: I must call the Minister. He will decide about this. (Session C, Disk 1, 21.19 – 21.30)

AP3.11

During break time, talking with Girls L(F), B and V(F), (Girl V(F) was behind the two girls, but it was still unusual for her to join the girls' company. The girls did not pay much attention to her, but she was with us, and not with the older Macedonian girls from the other classroom. Girl L(F) told me about her parents, that her mom is a language and literature teacher, a university graduate. Her father was 'something like a P.E. teacher'. Now, her mother works as a cleaner and her father as a plumber (Field notes, 25-5-2009).

AP3.12

After the class got their corrected dictation, Girl L(F) was crying quietly: 'Mom will tell me off because I got 'Very Good''. Ms. E replied to her: 'I'm gonna tell off mom.' Ms. E said to me that Girl L(F)'s mother is a perfectionist (Field notes, 5-5-2009).

AP3.13

a)

R/TiR: Is everything ok in the rest of the shops?
All: Yes!
Girl L(F): No! (*Silence. The girl goes on seriously, in role.*) From the day our father died, no one comes into our shop any more...
(*The rest of the class, after a moment of puzzlement, burst into laughing. I come out*

of role and remind them of the roles we are into.) (Session B, Disk 1, 15.00-15.30)

b)

R/TiR: (as the Chairman) So I brought it here to you, to talk about this. Who could have put this chest in there, why hide it, what are these things they are inside…

Girl L(F): Your grandma, Mr. Chairman (*small pause. She was the first one to speak in role*).

R/TiR: Could be… (Session B, Disk 1, 16.35-18.00)

c)

Girl L(F): Did you know my father?

R/TiR: (as the great-grandmother) Who was your father?

Girl L(F): He's in the picture. (*She shows me her 'father' in the picture, just as I did a while ago. Many children gather round the picture*.)

R/TiR: This is a very old picture. This man here… I'm sure it wasn't your father, but your grandfather. This picture is so old… And they look alike... Yes. It's definitely your grandfather… (*Then I move on, change the subject and everyone sits down.*)
Before I go I would like to show you how we did this ritual… (Session B, Disk 1, 43.49 – 45.45)

d)

R/TiR: (*as the chairman, after the meeting with great-grandmother*) What's your opinion? How could we keep the history alive? Boy S (F) is acting silly and some of the children are laughing with him.

Girl L(F): (*Totally unaffected from his behaviour. She speaks very seriously*) I would suggest we go and have somebody cry it out.

R/TiR: Use a crier in the village.

Girl L(F): And some of us can make copies of it [the hymn]. And we can keep some of the axes and give them axes [to the people coming to the village].

Girl T: And also, we can organise the ceremony they used to do. The crier could say: 'All gather for the ceremony.'

Girl J: She told us many things. And I asked her if we can keep the medallions and she answered that it's up to us now.

R: So what should we do with them?

Girl J: Wear them, during the ceremony.
You mean every one of us?

All: Yes.

Girl L(F): (*Repeating great-grandmother's words, dramatically*) 'I was the oldest lady so they gave me the medallions to keep them for the ceremony.' But who is the oldest one of us? He would be the one to keep them and give them to us in the ceremony.

R/TiR: You are right; we have to decide this (Session B, Disk 1, 00.58.30-01.01.09).

AP3.14

a) Girl D: I didn't like that guy who didn't let us in and he gave us these yellows [sic]… and that the Elepadians were pushing us out (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

b) Boy P: I didn't like it when they forced us to take off the little axes and put on the collars (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

c) Girl E: We started [the drama] with the apple but then it got harder. But I didn't like – because you can't have a guard like that in a village! He wanted us to wear some yellow collars and we did and everybody was making fun of us. [We had to put them on] because we had to be different from them. And if we took it off we'd go to jail (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

d)

Girl J: I went nuts… When the guard… You had told us 'How can we persuade the guard to let

us in, since we don't have IDs?'. I was mad, but I couldn't think… I … I didn't like it so much. Because my mind couldn't find…

R: Why didn't you like this?

Girl J: Because it needed a bit of thinking and…

R: Was it hard for you?

Girl J: Yeah, it was hard.(2nd interview, 2-6-2009)

e) Girl L(F): I didn't like it that guard treated us like that. He made us wear the yellow collars, we were teased by the Elepadians, they were calling us 'bananas', 'they are Nostians, we don't want them here, we don't believe them'… I didn't like it. It was frustrating. The most frustrating thing was when they wrote this letter. I'd never do this. (2nd interview, 1-6-2009).

AP3.15

(After the dictation marks, while the class is working on some language exercises) Girl T is probably jealous of Girl L(F)'s when the latter says to her 'I got 'Excellent''. Girl T also has got 'Excellent'. Girl T was kept staring at her for a moment, then congratulated her without looking at her. After a few more moments, still working, Girl T checked if Girl L(F) was ahead of her in her work. When she made sure she was ahead of Girl L(F), she smiled, contented (Field notes, 12-5-2009).

AP3.16

a)

Maybe Girl J's name-calling to Girl L(F) was imitation of her older friends. She has been influenced by older children, she's got them as models. Her attitude is more that of a pre-adolescent – reading the teen magazines, styling her hair in a fancy way (Field notes, 4-6-2009).

b)

Talking to the teacher about the children's companies: She mentioned that Girls T and J are of the leading figures (Field notes, 5-5-2009).

c)

Girl J: I know some people who don't have a good heart.

R: Such as?

Girl J: Girl T…

R: Oh, yes, I saw you arguing during break time. What happened? Don't you play with Girl T anymore?

Girl M: She doesn't let me play with Girl J. (…) I'll play with whoever I want and whenever I want.

Girl J: Yeah, all the time. She goes 'Who's gonna be the leadeeeer?' And it's always her. (…) And I go 'you have a whole group, and now you want Girl M. And I'm going to be alone?' (2nd interview, 2-6-2009).

AP3.17

R: Tell me about the twins and Boy U(F)…

Ms. E: The two of them, the siblings – I asked the mother and she told me they're twins – you know, I communicate with a translator with the mother. Another lady, yes, who has been here for a longer time – they came only this year – and she knows better Greek. And she comes with her, to help the communication. Girl W(F) understands a lot, but she speaks only a bit. Speaking is the problem for her. She knows only the basics. Boy V(F) is even worst (1st interview, 6-5-2009).

AP3.18

R: Have you ever felt that children don't play with you because you are not Greeks? Because you are from Skopje?

Boy U(F): There are many children[67].

There are many children who…? What?

[67] The children's statements have been corrected in this transcript as the syntax was hard to understand.

Boy U(F):	They don't want to play with us because we are from Skopje.
R:	This does happen.
Boy U(F):	Many children.
Girl V (F) and Boy W(F):	There are many children who don't wanna play with us cause we're from Skopje.
Boy U(F):	Both in Whole Day School, and in school.
R:	What do you do about this?
Boy U(F):	We leave. And we play the three of us together. (…)
R:	Don't you mind?
Girl V (F) and Boy W(F):	No.
R:	… that they don't want to play with you?
Boy U(F):	*We* want to play. *We* play.
R:	Have you told Ms. E about this?
All:	No.
Girl V (F):	She's good. Me, Boy U(F) and Boy W(F), when we don't know, Ms. E helps.
Boy U(F):	Ms. E is very good.
Boy W(F):	She tells the children and they play with us. The children that don't want to play with us, Ms. E speaks to them and then they play with us.
Boy U(F):	It's *them* that don't want to play (1st interview, 8-5-2009)

AP3.19

a) Girl D(F) tells on Girl V(F): She has already prepared the exercise from home. (…) Girl D(F) uses her book as a wall to hide her script from Girl V(F). At the same time she helps Boy R(F) (Field notes, 5-5-2009).

b) Girl D(F) [desk mate with Girl V(F)] hides again her work from Girl V(F). (…) She told on her for the exercise that had already prepared. Girl D(F) has occupied the larger part of the desk and pushes Girl V(F) with her elbow, without the teacher noticing. (…) Girls D(F) and V(F) are again pushing each others' elbows on the desk. During break time, Girl V(F) was by herself. Later she joined her brother and Boy U(F) (Field notes, 6-5-2009).

c) The pupils treat the three Macedonians like Ms. E does, with acquiescence. But they don't help each other, it's 'everyone for his/her own self' like Ms. E says. Girl B was saying to Girl D(F) that she did wrong 'hitting Girl U(F), because she doesn't know.' (…)
Boy I pays attention to whatever Girl V(F) does, looking for reasons to tell on her.(…)
During the previous break, Girl V(F) was sitting with the older Macedonian girls (as usual), Boy W(F) with the boys of the other Year 2 (Field notes, 20-5-2009).

AP3.20

a)

Boy A:	There is a thing I don't agree on with Boy I: when he acts like the leader. For example, we're playing a game and he doesn't understand… because… we've got foreign children in the classroom… and they don't understand…
Boy I:	(*with an awkward smile*) Come on, it's only a joke…
Boy A:	It's not a joke.
Boy I:	It's just a joke…
Boy A:	You also shout at them and hit them.
Boy I:	When?
Boy A:	You hit them, you shout, you're going mad. You're going mad with them. With those foreign children, Boy W(F) and U(F). I've realised this.
Boy I:	(*apologetically*) Come on now. Boy W(F) is my friend (1st interview, 8-5-2009).

b)

Boy R:	Some times when Boys U(F) and W(F) come, he says they shouldn't play with us. Because they don't understand and he says they shouldn't [play] (1st interview, 8-5-2009).

c)

Boy C(F): And he says – Boy W(F) and Girl (V) want to play – and he says… 'No, go away'. (…) So we tell him we're not playing either and then he takes them in (1st interview, 8-5-2009).

AP3.21

a) Girl M has her back turned to Boy W(F) while the class is writing dictation, to cover her answers from him. She did the same yesterday (Field notes, 11-5-2009).

b)

R: How come you don't invite everyone from the class?

Girl J: Because some of the children are not our friends.

Girl M: For example if we invite a child that doesn't know how to read, neither him nor his parents… Well, we give him an invitation in case he comes. But he's a friend, even if he's a foreigner, from another country.

R: You're saying that most of the times they choose not to come?

Girl J: If he's sick…

Girl M: Well, I haven't invited foreign kids because I didn't have a garden. I also didn't know them well. I mean there is an issue with their parents. If they know each other. For example, my mom knows Girl J's mom. [But] she doesn't know Boy U(F)'s mom and dad (1st interview, 7-5-2009).

AP3.22

R: Have you noticed any changes during the last years, when the immigrant children came in school?

Ms. E: The level has dropped. The cognitive level. Because the children don't know how to use the language, one is forced to speak more simply, give simple exercises for them to solve, some of the exercises are impossible to follow and solve, it's impossible… You saw that I explain an exercise and the children don't understand what they have to do because they don't understand what I say. They don't know Greek. They have only learned simple words in order to communicate with their classmates, but apart from that… [they speak] simply (1st interview, 6-5-2009).

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AP3.23

During writing the letter to the mayor, I sat Girl V(F) next to her brother to help him with the language, acting as a translator. Girl M (the boy's desk-mate) gave them some looks. I intervened saying 'it's cool to listen to a different language, isn't it?' Later Girl M was interestingly paying attention to the discussion of the two siblings. She also made suggestions to the two children about the letter writing (Field notes, 25-5-2009).

AP3.24

Girl V(F) was playing in both breaks of the day with Girl F and other girls (with Girl D in the first break; with Girl J and Girl M and also other girls from Year 1, in the second break). And she was not diffident, but smiling. Boy W(F) was playing with the rest of the boys, also from the other Year 2 (Field notes, 9-6-2009).

AP3.25

a) Reading the last days' lesson: Girl V(F) raises her hand consistently to read [usually the teacher skipped her in reading as she was not confident enough]. She read really well. While Boy U(F) is reading, she's seen to read in a low voice again, practicing (Field notes, 29-5-2009).

b) The teacher asked Boy U(F) to fill in the letters in the language exercise. Girl M says that he asked her 'which is that letter'. Teacher comments publicly: 'Poor child, he doesn't know. Tell him.' After this, Boy U(F) answers correctly. He knew how to fill in the exercise; he just didn't know the name of the letter.

Girl V(F) answers correctly to the exercise. (Lately she raises her hand more often.) Later the teacher asks her again in another exercise. She answers correctly. 'Girl V(F) is doing really well', says the teacher to the class (Field notes, 2-6-2009).

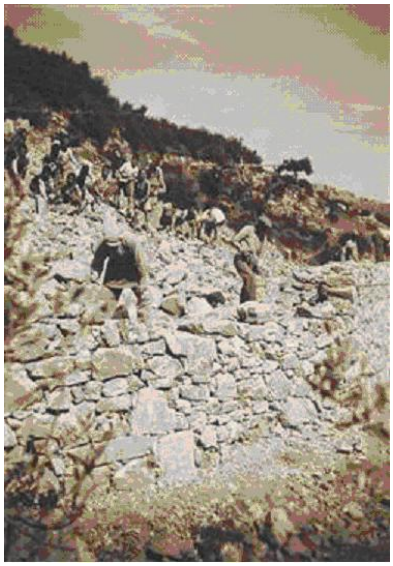
c) After Session C, Boy W(F) was seen playing marbles with Boy A (I haven't seen him again playing with someone else apart from his sister and Boy U(F)), during the whole break time) (Field notes, 25-5-2009).

AP3.26

R:	Do you think it's a good thing having classmates from other countries?
Girl O:	(*pause*) It's ok… (*pause*)
R:	Does give something extra/new to the classroom?
Girl O:	No.
R:	Why do you think it's a good thing?
Girl O:	(*pause*).
R:	Girl F, what do you think?
Girl F:	Eehm… (*pause*)
R:	Do you think that it's good…? Difficult…? Easy?
Girl F:	It's easy.
R:	For whom? Them or you?
Girl F:	Them. Yes. They can read easily (1st interview, 11-5-2009).

APPENDIX N: Pictures in the chest

'The first residents[68]'

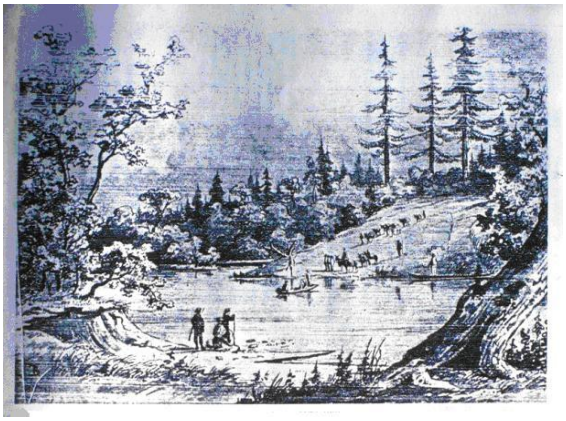


'Building Nostia's first school'

'Break in the woods'

'Ploughing the fields for the first time'

[68] Some of the pictures had captions on the back.



‘Crossing the river’

‘The stone bridge’

APPENDIX O: The letter in the newspaper

(*translated from Greek*)

Dear co-citizens

I would like to remind you that for some time now, a group of people of the neighbouring country has been settled in our town. We have been kind and helpful to them right from the start. It seems though that they do not appreciate our kindness.

I am writing this letter to warn every citizen of our town. Be careful. It is said that these people are thieves. Many people have seen them stealing from the town's stores. Therefore we have to be always careful, especially shop owners who have them as clients or when we pass by their neighbourhoods. The men always carry with them an axe-necklace, maybe because they like weapons. They are very strong and could attack and beat up anybody, especially weak people such as women, the elderly or small children. Finally, we all know that they are poor and abject, and possibly they do not apply hygiene rules, thus may transmit infectious diseases to the whole town.

We must think seriously about the action we should take, because in some years' time their children may well be in the same school as ours and may attack them or steal them.

Yes, we do show hospitality, up to a point though. Should we start thinking of sending them out of our town?

A.F.

APPENDIX P: Dates of the project

Pilot/Application dates:

1st pilot Session A: 8 December 2008 Session B: 9 December 2008 Session C: 12 December 2008 Session D: 15 December 2008 Session E: 19 December 2008	**2nd pilot** Sassion A: 20 January 2009 Session B: 23 January 2009 Session C: 29 January 2009 Session D: 3 February 2009 Session E: 6 February 2009
1st application Session A: 3 March 2009 Session B: 6 March 2009 Session C: 9 March 2009 Session D: 13 March 2009 Session E: 16 March 2009 Session F: 17 March 2009	**2nd application** Session A: 2 April 2009 Session B: 3 April 2009 Session C: 6 April 2009 Session D: 9 April 2009 Session E: 27 April 2009
3rd application Session A: 14 May 2009 Session B: 20 May 2009 Session C: 22 May 2009 Session D: 25 May 2009 Session E: 29 May 2009	

APPENDIX Q: General Findings

		A	B	C	D	E
		1ST PILOT	**2ND PILOT**	**1ST APPLICATION**	**2ND APPLICATION**	**3RD APPLICATION**
				THE SETTING		
1	**Pupils in school**	123	248	141	152	248
2	**Non-Greeks in school**	24%	27%	21%	25%	27%
3	**Non-Greeks in class**	18% (4/22)	36% (8/22)	40% (9/23)	36% (8/22)	35% (8/23)
4	**Age of teacher**	n/a	36-45	36-45	45+	45+
5	**Years of experience**	n/a	14	10	36	25
6	**Drama experience**	n/a	Teacher: No seminars/training Class: School shows (1st interviews also p. 102)	Teacher: Theatre play training Class: School shows (1st interviews, also p. 116)	Teacher: No seminars/training. Dramatisation. Class: School shows (1st interviews)	Teacher: No seminars/training Class: School shows and Theatre Play at whole school (1st interviews, also p. 158)
				THE TEACHER – THE STAFF		
7	**Racist attitude and prejudices from teachers/ Institutional racism**	Marginalisation of immigrants: P1.5, p. 93	PE teacher insulting Albanian women: Field notes, 4-2-2009, p. 101 Racist jokes in the staff room: Field notes, 16-1-2009, p. 101 Boys D & U mention Mr. B changed the names of the pupils: P2.14 (1st interview, 13-1-2009), p. 102	Teachers' comment for Albanians: Field notes, 19-2-2009, p. 115	Charitable approach of non-Greeks: AP2.14, p. 137 They are also to blame: AP2.15, AP2.16, p. 137 No problem here: AP2.18, p. 137 Pupils are too young: AP2.19, p. 137 Good and bad pupils classification: AP2.16, p. 137 Reinforcing stereotypes, mentioning superior cultures: AP2.17, p. 137	Their presence deteriorates the class level: AP3.22, p. 158 Promoting assimilation (they attend morning praying), AP3.7, p. 158
8					Hushing up racism: AP2.20, p. 138	Hushing up racism: AP3.6, AP3.8, p. 158
9		Having low expectations: P1.5, p. 93	Having low expectations: Mr. B's 1st interview about Boy L(F), 12-1-2009, p. 103		Having low expectations: AP2.16a, p. 137	Having low expectations: AP3.3 , Field notes, 2-6-2009, Field notes, 6-5-2009, p. 158
10			Colour-blindness: 'We try to talk about this the least possible': P2.13, Mr. B's 1st interview, 12-1-2009, p. 102		Colour-blindness: It's not about ethnicity, let's not overreact: 2nd interview, 4-5-2009	Colour-blindness: We don't ask their religion: AP3.7, p. 158
11	**Monocultural routines**	n/a	Morning prayer, flag: Field notes, 2-2-2009, p. 101	Head teacher's preaching: AP1.1, p. 115		Promoting assimilation (they attend morning praying), AP3.7, p. 158
12	**Physical sanctions**		Children talking about Mr.B's methods and physical sanctions: P2.5, p. 101; P2.9d, P2.11a Mr. B talking about his methods: P2.6; P2.7; P2.8, p.102		Physical Sanctions (Ms. D and head teacher): AP2.1-AP2.10, p.136; AP2.19, p. 138	
13	**Demand for in-service training**	n/a	Mr. B's interview, P2.10, p. 102 (Mr. B also mentions pedagogical theories: P2.6, P2.8; p. 102)	No help from the ministry: AP1.4, p. 115 On textbooks: AP1.3, p. 115	Specialists are needed for such classes: 2nd interview, 4-5-2009	No special in-service training: AP3.1, p. 158
14	**Children educated not to take responsibility**		'Tell the teacher': P2.9, P2.11, p. 102 Teacher possessing the knowledge: P2.9a, P2.9d, p. 102		Violence among pupils: AP2.21-2.23, p. 138 All the disruptions from the teacher intervening in the class: AP2.32-2.34, p. 140 Readymade solutions: AP2.34, p. 140	
15	**Children were not used to critical thinking**	'The class is not used in high standards discussion': P1.5b, p. 95	'You make them think much', P2.4, Mr. B's interview,, p. 108		Teacher not leaving space for discussion, p. 137 Questions are answered in chorus: AP2.12, p. 137 Children unable to answer critically: AP2.11, p. 137 Children looking for readymade answers: AP2.34, p. 137	Girl L(F) seems to be an exception: p. 162

16	**Negative comments were allowed by pupils, acting as teachers**		Students backing up the teacher in reprimanding: P2.12, p. 102 Competition: Field notes, 16-1-2009 Children copying teacher's comments: Girl G: "he's a very bad boy' (1st interview, 14-1-2009), p. 105	n/a	Students backing up the teacher in reprimanding: AP2.4, p. 136 Teacher enhances it: AP2.9, p. 136	Superiority of some pupils: AP3.5, p. 159 Competition spotted by the teacher: AP3.6, p. 159
VIEWS ON IMMIGRANTS – RACISM (THE CHILDREN)						
17	**Albanians as foreigners or culprits**	Example used in drama improvisations: Albanian=the bad guy. Session E, Field Notes, 19-12-2009	If it's from another country, it's an Albanian: Boy D, Session B, Disk 1, 01.48 Boy E, Session C, Disk 1, 51.24 'They may were from Albania': Girl S, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 111	Boy Q(F) is the first to be mentioned: AP1.6b, AP1.8, AP1.9, Session C, Disk 2, 12.30, Session D, Disk 1, 13.30-14.33, pp. 124-126 'He's just Albanian!': Field notes, 19-3-2009, p. 126	Foreigner = Albanian: Boy G(F), 1st interview, 31-3-2009, p. 139	Outside Greece there is Albania: Boy H, Session A, Disk 1, 26.22
18	**Main forms of racism (ostracizing and name-calling)**	n/a	Girl J(F) in P2.17, p. 105 Girls C(F) and F(F), in P2.18b Boy D (1st interview, 13-1-2009) and Girl G (1st interview, 14-1-2009) talking about Boy L(F): p. 103 'I only invite Greece': Boy E 1st interview, 16-1-2009, p. 104	Stigmatising and name-calling last year: Mr. C's 1st interview: 19-2-2009, p. 116 Boy B's Easter comment: Preliminary research, School comments, 8-5-2008; Field notes, 3-3-2009, p. 116 'They are a bit stupid': AP1.14, p. 117 'They are little Albanians': AP1.16, p. 117 'They don't befriend us': Boys Q(F)&O(F), AP1.6 Girl U(F) sits alone: AP1.6c	'I prefer Greeks': Boy J, 1st interview, 30-3-2009, p. 138 Elite club: AP2.25, p. 138 (See also cells below)	Girl J to Girl L(F): AP3.16 They don't befriend us cause we're from Skopje: Girl V(F), AP3.18, p. 160 Ostracising spotted by the teacher: AP3.4; 3.17, 3.21; p. 160 'I haven't invited foreign kids': Girl M, 1st interview, 7-5-2009, AP.3.21, p. 161
19	**Pupils do not report racism**	n/a	Girl J(F) in P2.17, p. 103	Boy P(F) told no one: AP1.6b	Girl V(F) did not tell the teacher, AP2.27, pp. 138 and 139	Girl J hiding her racist comment: Girl J, 1st interview, 7-5-2009, AP3.16, p.160 FYROM children not reporting racism: AP3.18, p. 160
20	**Non-Greek pupils justify or negate racism**	n/a	'I don't mind': P2.17,p. 103		Initially denying racism: Boys O(F) and R(F), AP2.30, AP2.31, p. 139	
21	**Racism is a taboo subject**	n/a	Boy E choosing his words carefully: p. 104		Avoiding the subject: Boys C and J, 1st interview, 30-3-2009, p. 138 Tension in interviews: Boys C and J, 1st interview, 30-3-2009, AP2.29, p. 139	Sighs and pauses: Girl N, 1st interview, 7-5-2009, p. 159 The teacher hushing it up: AP3.6, AP3.8, p. 158 Girl O pausing: AP3.26 Girl J hiding her racist comment: Girl J, 1st interview, 7-5-2009, AP3.16, p. 160
22	**Immigrants choosing assimilative techniques**	n/a	'We look like Greeks': P2.18, p. 103 'They thought I was from Albania': Girl F(F), P2.18		I was born here: Girl V(F), 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 151	'They impel their children not to stand out': Ms. E, 1st interview, 6-5-2009
23	**Christian Morality**	n/a	'Good' and 'bad' children: Boy D and Girl G, p. 103; Girls R, S, I, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 109		Teacher's inculcation: AP2.7-AP2.10, AP2.19, p. 139	
24	**Importance of language command/nursery**	n/a		Mr. C, 1st interview, 19-2-2009, AP1.5, p. 116	Ms. D: They are born here: AP2.15	
25	**Teachers forming beliefs**		Mr. B, 1st interview, 12-1-2009; Girl G, 1st interview 14-1-2009; Boy D, 1st interview, 13-1-2009, p. 103		'He doesn't listen to Ms. D.': Boy F, 1st interview, 1-4-2009 Ms. D gave him many chances: Boy Q(F), 1st interview, 30-3-2009	'Poor boy': Field notes, 2-6-2009, p. 158
DRAMA VIEWS						
26	**Positive feedback from pupils**	n/a	Positive comments at feedback slips: P2.15, p.108 'Don't change a thing': Girl C(F): 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 108 Working in groups: P2.21, p. 108	Clapping at the end: Session E, Disk 2, 40.10, p.124 'Perfect!':Girls K and R(F), 2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p. 127 'Very very good': Girls J and V, 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 127.	Children's essays: AP2.39, p. 149 Everything was good: Boys N and F, 2nd interview, 30-4-2009, p. 149 Children found it demanding and tiring: Girl P 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 150	Generated strong feelings: AP3.14 'I went nuts': Girl J, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 170 'It was frustrating': Girl L(F), 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 170
27	**Positive views from teachers**	n/a	Joyful activity, and generating contemplation: P2.20, p. 108 'You make them think much', P2.4, Mr. B's interview,, p. 108	'They worked intellectually for 2 hours': Mr. C in Field notes 3-3-2009, p. 123 'They felt how hard it is. And it works': AP1.19a, AP1.19b, p. 126	Limited time for discussion in my class: Ms. D, AP2.35	Is drama the main factor of change?: Ms. D, Field notes, 9-6-2009, p. 173

				Stressed drama's educational value beyond sensorimotor educational targets: AP1.13, AP1.19, p. 126		
28	**Teachers: drama considered a joyful or artistic activity**		Joyful activity, and generating contemplation: P2.20, p. 108	Stressed drama's educational value beyond sensorimotor educational targets after drama: AP1.13, AP1.19, p. 126	An escape from reality: Ms. D 2nd interview, 4-5-2009	Artistic activity, encouraging talented pupils: AP3.9, p. 158
ENGAGEMENT						
30	**Intellectual character of the lesson, critical thinking and problem solving took place**	Willingness of working out a solution, participation in the discussion, Examples of engagement in critical thinking: P1.7 (Field notes, 9-12-2008), P1.8, P1.9 (Field notes, 15-12-2008), p. 95 'The class is not used in high standards discussion': P1.5b, p. 95	Joyful activity, and generating contemplation: P2.20, p. 108 I like it when we discuss: Feedback slips, 2-7 Teacher: 'You make them think much', P2.4, Mr. B's interview,, p. 108	'What is it? We can solve it!': Girl F, Session C, Disk 2, 24.36, p. 123 Fervent discussion after the letter: Session E, Disk 1, 27.22-33.11, Session E, Disk 1, 23.10-23.34, p. 123 Teacher: 'They worked intellectually for 2 hours': Mr. C in Field notes 3-3-2009, p. 123 'They felt how hard it is. And it works': AP1.19a, AP1.19b, p. 126	Discussion on visiting Elepadi: Session C, Disk 2, 00.30-03.14, pp. 140-141 Session C, Disk 2, 04.25-08.00), p. 141 Discussion on Elepadi's racism: Session D, Disk 1, 39.36-44.14, p. 142 I liked discussing, we had to think for ourselves: AP2.13b, AP2.45, AP2.49, p. 150 Children found it demanding and tiring: Girl P 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 150 Teacher: Working intellectually, even though not used to: Ms. D, AP2.35; p. 140	'You are both having a class, and have your kicks': Boy H, 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 170 'It needed a bit of thinking': Girl J, 2nd intereview, 2-6-2009, p. 170 It was hard: Girl E, 2nd intereview, 2-6-2009, p. 170
31	**Working in role**	Examples of engagement in critical thinking while in role: P1.7 (Field notes, 9-12-2008), P1.8, P1.9 (Field notes, 15-12-2008), p. 94-95	Feedback slips: P2.15, p. 108		Children essays: AP2.39 'My life in Nostia': Essay No. 5	
32	**Working in the shops**		I liked the shops: 23 out of 43 feedback slips Mentioned in all interviews	I liked our shops: 7 out of 21 feedback slips Mentioned in all interviews	Mentioned in all interviews	Mentioned in all interviews
33	**Examining the chest material - Meeting the great-grandmother**	Engaged in the in-role activities after the meeting: P1.7 (Field notes, 9-12-2008), p. 94 Interested in the story. Uneasy and excited, (Field notes, 9-12-2009)	'Very sad story': Field notes, 23-1-2009 'Nice story…': Boy E, Session B, Disk 2, 16.47 See also Ritual	Picture 18, p. 120 They were 'moved' by the story: Session B, Disk 1, 01.01.34, p. 120	'She relied on us': Boy K, Session C, Disk 2, 04.25-08.00, p. 141 Grandmother and chest: Mentioned in 6 out of 20 feedback slips.	Engaged in the discussion on the village's heritage: Session B, Disk 1, 57.13-Disk 2, 04.10 Grandmother and little axes: Mentioned in Feedback slips (6 out of 23)
34	**During the flood**	Engaged looks: Picture 9, p. 94	'A tragic moment': Boy E, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009 'We were upset': Girl G, 2nd interview, 16-2-2009	'Go on, leave without me': Boy Q(F), Session C, Disk 1, 25.28	'The voice of the rain': Girl P, Session C, Disk 1, 23.28 We had nice shops but when they flooded it was awful: Boy	
35	**Ritual**	n/a (Activity added from 2nd pilot on)	High engagement, dramatically intense moments, concentrated and calm: Session B, Disk 2, 18.30-22.42, Picture 12, p. 98	Excitement and enjoyment: AP1.17, p. 120 Picture 19, p. 120	Concentrated and calm: Session B, Disk 2, 00.00 The little axes: Mentioned in Feedback Slips (12 out of 20)	Class concentrated: Session B, 52.00, p. 161 Parallels with 25th March: Session B, Disk 1, 46.36, p. 161
36	**Meeting the guard/taking off the pendants**	Mentioned in all interviews. It's ridiculous!, They're must be joking!: Comments after the encounter with the guard: p. 94, P1.8 (Field notes, 15-12-2008) Initially they gave up easily 'Because you told us so' (Field	Mentioned in all interviews. Girl F(F) complaining: Session D, Disk 1, 28.59, p. 98 Willingly taking the pendants off: Session D, Disk 1, 35.12, Pictures 12, 13, p. 99 Negative comments for the guard: Feedback slips (7 out of 21)	Mentioned in all interviews. The pendants were the only thing left to us: Girl V(F), Session D, Disk 1, 07.25, p. 122 Challenging the guard: Session C, Disk 2, 34.10, p. 120 Negotiating: Picture 20, p. 121 Make comparisons: 'I'm not a dog!' Session C, Disk 2,	Mentioned in all interviews. Negotiation: Session C, Disk 2, 35.40-40.20, p. 145 Session C, Disk 2, 41.12-43.11, p. 146 Make comparisons: 'We're not dogs': Girl P, p. 145 'Like a clown': Girl P, p. 146	Mentioned in all interviews (exept 1). Put yourself in our shoes…: Girl J, Session D, Disk 1, 23.45-25.36, pp. 161-162 Trying to convince the guard: AP3.10a, p. 162 Pictures 29,30, pp. 164-165 'We won't forget our village!': Boy H, Session D, Disk 1,

		notes, 15-12-2008)		34.05, p. 122 Negative comments for the guard: Feedback slips (8 out of 21)	Negative comments for the guard: Feedback slips (7 out of 20)	26.54, p. 163 'This is not a stupid thing': Girl T, Session D, Disk 1, 33.00, p. 163
37	**In the warehouse**		Serious thoughts inside: Session D, Disk 1, 44.32-47.19	Sad faces: Pictures 22, 23, p. 122	Picture 28, p. 150 Boys N and F, 2nd interview, 30-4-2009, p. 149 Parallels with Turks: Boy I, 2nd interview, AP2.43, , p. 152	Quality thoughts and engagement: Session D, Disk 2a, 05.50-09.30, Picture 31, p. 164
38	**Reading the letter**		Complains while reading: Session E, Disk 1, 31.17-32.42, p.106 Discussion after the letter: Recalling their homes:P2.22, p. 106 'We've never felt so embarrassed before': Session E, Disk 1, 52.12, p. 107; engaged: Session E, Disk 1, 31.17-32.42	Fervent discussion after the letter: Session E, Disk 1, 27.22-33.11, Session E, Disk 1, 23.10-23.34, p. 123	Deadly silence: Session E, Disk 1, 15.50 'I feel lousy' and other comments: Session E, Disk 1, 22.15-27.05 'We felt bad, like trash': Letters to the Mayor, No. 11.	I feel bad': Girl T, Session E, Disk 1, 28.13, p. 164
39	**Writing their letters**	n/a (Activity added from 1st application on)	n/a (Activity added from 1st application on)	Engaged: AP1.18, p. 124 Recalling of negative feelings during the Mayor scene: Feedback slips, 8 out of 21	Complaints in different style: AP2.38, p. 147 'We felt bad, like trash': Letters to the Mayor, No. 11.	
40	**Stressed the use of imagination**		Boy E, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 108 'A thought of ourselves' P2.15 'We made a story of our own thought': Feedback slip 1-18, P2.15	Boy Q(F): 2nd interview, 20-3-2009	Boy C, AP2.45	We used our imagination to make our lines: Girl T, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009 'Your class has imagination [sic]': Girl M, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009
41	**Aware of the situation and language, they create scenes/Bringing in their knowledge**		Devising racist incidents: 'At school': Session D, Disk 1, 52.11-53.10, p. 104 'At the cafe': Session D, Disk 1, 55.29-56.40, p. 105 Playing out their devised incidents: 'At school': Session E, Disk 1, 07.09, 08.38, p. 107		Devising racist incidents: Hard jobs: Session D, Disk 1, 30.10-31.21, p. 148 Badly paid: Session D, Disk 1, 32.00-36.15, pp. 148-149 Playing out their devised incidents: Badly behaving boss: Session D, Disk 2, 03.43-05.00	Girl's L(F) interventions in Session E: pp. 165-169
42	**Living through racism / Experiential learning (Leads to Understanding)**	Comments on their lives in the new country: P1.9, p. 95	Devising racist incidents: 'At school': Session D, Disk 1, 52.11-53.10, p. 104 'At the cafe': Session D, Disk 1, 55.29-56.40, p. 105 Feelings in the new country: P2.16; P2.22, p. 106; Session E, Disk 1, 52.12, p. 107 Discussion after the letter: Recalling their homes:P2.22, p. 106 'We've never felt so embarrassed before': Session E, Disk 1, 52.12, p. 107 Feelings mentioned: Feedback slips (17 out of 43)	'I'm gonna scream!': Session E, Disk 1, 23.10-23.34, p. 123 Hardships in the new country: Session D, Disk 1, 20.00-21.00, 35.00-40.00 Fervent discussion after the letter: Session E, Disk 1, 27.22-33.11, p. 123 'I was furious!': Girl R(F)2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p.124 'I felt anger': Girs V and F, 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 127 Disgust about the collars: Pictures 20 and 21, p. 121 Feelings mentioned: Feedback slips (6 out of 21)	Life in the new country: Improvising racist incidents: Session D, Disk 1, 39.36-44.14, p. 142 Hard jobs: Session D, Disk 1, 30.10-31.21, p. 151 We all have the same value!: Session D, Disk 1, 32.00-36.15, p. 148 Feelings mentioned: Feedback slips (8 out of 20)	Recalling strong feelings of injustice: AP3.14 'I went nuts': Girl J, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 170 'It was frustrating': Girl L(F), 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 170 We learned how it feels not to be respected: Girl M, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 172 Feelings mentioned: Feedback slips (9 out of 23)
CONNECTIONS WITH THE REAL WORLD - UNDERSTANDING						
43		Understand the reasons of prejudice:'They see us as different': P1.9, p. 95 The real world comes inside the classroom: Definition of a	Recalling feelings and relating it to reality: 'I was sad': Girl Q, 2nd interview, 16-2-2009, p. 109 'We could be in their place': Girls, Q, G and T, 2nd interview, 16-2-2009; p. 110 'We felt lousy': Boys Boys N and H, 2nd interview, 10-2-2009, p. 109	Recalling feelings and relating it to reality: 'I was furious!': Girl R(F)2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p. 124 'I felt anger': Girs V and F, 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 127	Recalling feelings and relating it to reality: Boys N and F, 2nd interview, 30-4-2009, p. 149 They felt awfully: AP2.42, p. 150 Girl V(F) comparing her life: AP2.50 They'll remember their homes: Boys O(F) and L, 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 151	Recalling strong feelings of injustice: AP3.14 'I went nuts': Girl J, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 170 'It was frustrating': Girl L(F), 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 170

		chairman based on current officers of their town: Session C, Field notes, 12-12-2008		'Everything collapses around you': Boy Q(F), 2nd interview, 20-3-2009, p. 128 'Sometimes the Albanians say the same thing. To us.': Girl G, 2nd interview, AP1.20, p. 129	Comparing Elepadians with Greeks: Boys C and I, 2nd interview, 29-4-2009, p. 151, AP2.51b; Girl P, p. 152 Parallels with Turks: Boy I, AP2.43, , p. 152 Philosophical questions: Boy N, AP2.44, p. 152	We learned how it feels not to be respected: Girl M, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 172 'We should not treat them like Elepadians did': Boys H and P, 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 170 Parallels of Nostia's anthem with 25th March: Session B, Disk 1, 46.36, p. 161 It's sadness. You'll miss your neighbours: Boy C(F), 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 171 It's because we weren't one of them: Boy P, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 171
EMPOWERING IMMIGRANTS						
44	**Chance to show their knowledge (papers, passports)**		Definition of the borders: Boy K(F): Session A, Disk1, 31.05 Boy P(F): Session A, Disk 1, 34.52-35.18, p. 110	Boy Q(F): Session A, Disk 1, 25.55-26.32 AP1.8	Girl V(F) on borders: AP2.34b Girl P encourages Girl V(F), 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 152	'You need a passport, money or ID': Boy C(F). 'We can find a job there', Girl L(F), Session C, Disk 2, 00.32-01.45
45	**More confident**		Boy P(F) talking on borders' paperwork: Field notes, 14-1-2009, p. 110 Girls C(F) and F(F) talking about friends and relatives, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 110	Admit their visits to the borders: Session B, Disk 1, 15.03-15.35 Girl U(F) happier among classmates: AP1.21a, p. 130	'My parents are from Albania': Girl V(F), Session E, Disk 1, 39.15	People take advantage of foreigners: Girl L(F), Session E, Disk 1, 05.19-05.32, p. 165 Introducing her story: Girl L(F), Session E, Disk 1, 43.41-44.34, p. 165 Active participation: Girl L(F), Session B, Disk 1, 14.40 – 16.00, Session B, Disk 1, 25.00 – 27.50, Session B, Disk 1, 43.49-45.45, pp. 167-169 Girl V(F): Before: They don't befriend us cause we're from Skopje: Girl V(F), AP3.18, AP3.19, p. 160 Ostracising spotted by the teacher: AP3.4; 3.17, 3.21; p. 160 After: playing with girls AP3.11, p. 172 happy and self confident AP3.24, p. 172 participating actively AP.3.25, Ms. E in Field notes, 9-6-2009, p. 174
SOCIAL SKILLS						
46		Most of the class was able to participate in the discussion, *cf*. P1.5b (The class is not used in high standards discussion), p. 95	Before: No work in groups: Competition: Field notes, 16-1-2009, p. 102 No time for groups: P2.8c, Mr. B's interview, p. 102 After: Collaborating to form a common story: Session D, Disk 1, 55.29-56.40, p. 105 'My collaborators' Feedback slip 2-7, P2.15 Stating the advantages of working in groups: P2.21, p. 108, Feedback slips, P2.15		Ms. D does not use groups: AP2.12, p. 137 Children longing co-operation: AP2.13a, p. 137 After: Positive comments on group work: AP2.13b, AP2.45, AP2.49, Feedback slips Ms. D acknowledges the practice of social skills: AP2.35, p. 140	Competition: AP3.5, AP3.6, p. 159 No groups: p. 158 After: 'It's perfect. You help others': Girl B, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009 'We think together': Girl T, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009
INCONGRUITY AND CHANGE						
47	**Incongruity and change**		Girl S divided in two views: 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, pp. 110 and 111, also p. 109	Girls M and G: Before: 'We never befriend Albanians': AP.1.15, AP1.16, p. 117	Girl P Before: Girl P in conflict with Girl V(F), Girl M 1st interview, 30-3-2009	Girls G and M, Before: 'I haven't invited foreign kids': Girl M, 1st interview, 7-5-2009, AP3.21, p. 161

			Girls Q and T Before: Marginalising children, P2.18c After: Exressed sympathetic feelings, 2nd interview, 16-2-2009, pp. 109 and 110 Mr. B admitted he was exaggerating about Boy L(F), Field notes, 10-2-2009, p. 103	After: Change in Girl G only (M did not participate at the project): 'Sometimes the Albanians say the same thing. To us.': 2nd interview, AP1.20, p. 129 'Being foreigners does not make us bad!': Session D, Disk 2, 04.44, Session E, Disk 1, 31.54, p. 130 Girl G hugging protectively Girl U(F): AP1.21, p. 131 Girl K: Before: Not befriending Russians, AP1.7, p. 117 After: 'We should respect others', 2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p. 128 Girls L & E: Before: 'Not befriending immigrants': AP1.22, p. 130 After: 'We learned how to love': 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 128 Girl U(F) and Boy O(F) Before: Isolated Girl U(F): AP1.6c, Session A, Disk 2, 16.30-20.18; Session B, Disk 1, 02.30; 23.57; 25.30, Picture 15, p. 118 Isolated Boy O(F)Q: Field notes, 12-1-2009; 19-1-2009, AP1.6, Pictures 16, 17, Session A, Disk 2, 19.00 and 21.13, pp. 118 and 119 After: Both included in groups: Session E, Disk 1, 52.25; Disk 2, 19.00, pp. 130-131 Boy O(F) included: Session E, Disk 2, 34.03, p. 124 Girl U(F) included: AP1.21a, AP1.21b, pp. 130-131 Girl L for Girl U(F): 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 130	After: Girl P encourages Girl V(F), 2nd interview, 4-5-2009, p. 152 Boy N: Before: 'Mom said Boy U(F) is a bad boy': 1st interview, 1-4-2009, p. 152 After: Philosophical pondering: AP2.44, p. 152 Boy J: Before: 'I prefer Greeks', 1st interview, 30-3-2009, p. 138 After: Empathising: 2nd interview, 29-4-2009, pp. 152-153	After: Girl M: More co-operative: AP3.23, Field notes, 9-6-2009, p. 172 They are our guests; We learned how it feels if you're not respected: 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 172 Girls O and F: Before: Awkward pauses in her interview: AP3.26 , p. 172 After: We should welcome them: 2nd interview, 4-6-2009, p. 172 Boy I: Before: Biased: AP3.20 After: Helping non-Greeks: 2nd interview, 1-6-2009, p. 171 Girl V(F): Before: They don't befriend us cause we're from Skopje: Girl V(F), AP3.18, AP3.19, p. 160 Ostracising spotted by the teacher: AP3.4; 3.21; 3.17, p. 160 After: playing with girls AP3.11, p. 172 happy and self confident AP3.24, p. 172 participating actively AP.3.25, Ms. D in Field notes, 9-6-2009, p. 173
48	**Positive views on immigrants**		'If we were in their place, we would have accepted them': Boys N and H, 2nd interview, 10-2-2009, p. 109 'They should have hosted us': Boy D, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 109 'We should treat them good': Girls R, S and I, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, p. 109	'We should respect others': Girl K, 2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p. 128 'We learned how to love': Girls E and L, 2nd interview, 18-3-2009, p. 128	They talk badly to them because they're foreigners: Boy I, Session E, 40.42-41.10 All people are the same: Boy N, Session E, 44.15 Acknowledge difficulties: Boys N and F, 2nd interview, 30-4-2009, p. 151	We should welcome them: Girl O, 2nd interview, 4-6-2009, p. 172 'They are guests in our country': Girl J, 2nd interview, 2-6-2009, p. 172
EMERGENT						
49	**Social class of pupils related to drama competence**				Elite group's comments: AP2.13, AP2.45, p. 153	
50	**Racist views revealed after the project**		They may were from Albania: Girl S, 2nd interview, 11-2-2009, pp. 110 and 111		AP2.40, AP2.41,AP2.51, p. 153 Boy C, 2nd interview, 29-4-2009, p. 154	
51	**Media influence**			'I've heard on TV': Girl G, 2nd interview, 19-3-2009, p. 131	'It's on the news': Boy C, 2nd interview, 29-4-2009, p. 154	
52	**Parental influence**		My mom told me so: Boy E, 1st interview, 16-1-2009, p. 104 Boy N, P2.17b, 1st interview, 15-1-2009	'My mom doesn't let me': Girl K, AP1.7, p. 117 The role of the family: Mr. C, AP1.15, pp. 116-117 Parents are models: Mr. C, Field notes, 19-2-2009, p. 116	My mom doesn't let me: AP2.40, Girl P, p. 154 Mom said Boy U(F) is a bad boy, 1st interview, 1-4-2009, p. 152	'My mom doesn't know them': Girl M, 1st interview, 7-5-2009