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"Do we need Prevent duty in Greece? An analysis of teachers' experiences in building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in Greek state schools"

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"Ithaka[1]

As you set out for Ithaka
hope your road is a long one,
full of adventure, full of discovery.
Laistrygonians, Cyclops,
angry Poseidon- don't be afraid of them:
you'll never find things like that on your way
as long as you keep your thoughts raised high,
as long as a rare excitement
stirs your spirit and your body.
Laistrygonians, Cyclops,
wild Poseidon- you won't encounter them
unless you bring them along inside your soul,
unless your soul sets them up in front of you.

Hope your road is a long one.
May there be many summer mornings when,
with what pleasure, what joy,
you enter harbors you're seeing for the first time;
may you stop at Phoenician trading stations
to buy fine things,
mother of pearl and coral, amber and ebony,
sensual perfume of every kind-
as many sensual perfumes as you can;
and may you visit many Egyptian cities
to learn and go on learning from their scholars.

Keep Ithaka always in your mind.
Arriving there is what you're destined for.
But don't hurry the journey at all.
Better if it lasts for years,
so you're old by the time you reach the island,
wealthy with all you've gained on the way,
not expecting Ithaka to make you rich.

Ithaka gave you the marvelous journey.
Without her you wouldn't have set out.
She has nothing left to give you now.

And if you find her poor, Ithaka won't have fooled you.
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,
you'll have understood by then what these Ithakas mean".

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[1] Cavafy C.P. (1911) Ithaka. Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. In: G. Savidis, ed. (1975) *C.P. Cavafy: Collected Poems.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 36-37.

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Dedication

For John

We will meet again in eternity.
 I will look again at your grey gaze.
We will exchange a salty kiss.
You will hold my hand in yours.
We will dive from Sounion in the open sea.
We will meet again in eternity.

Abstract

Recent decades have seen an international debate on extremism connected to right-wing ideology and how best to tackle this alarming phenomenon take place both within and outside academic communities and governmental policy bodies. Scholarship worldwide delves into the mechanisms of radicalisation that map the paths into extremist and terrorist acts. Concurrently, to build resilience against extremism that leads to terrorism, many countries enact national strategies focusing on the pre-crime sphere and the role of the public sector. The United Kingdom's Government was the first to introduce one of the most influential counter-radicalisation agendas, which aims to identify people at risk of committing terrorist acts and intervene, known as the Prevent strategy. Unlike in the UK, in Greece, a solid legal framework regarding radicalisation and the engagement of the education sector in the prevention of extremism is absent. The conviction of Golden Dawn, an extreme right-wing political party, for being a criminal organisation and a number of its members in prison sentence was the motivation for my study. This adjudication sparked a debate in the educational community on how to discuss its meaning with students. Theoretically informed by the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm, my fieldwork combined fourteen classroom observations in twelve schools with semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photographs and follow-up interviews with twenty participants, teachers and Heads of schools. The data reveals different views and interpretations of the visibility of right-wing extremism threat in state secondary schools in Greece and its normalised form. Moreover, my research investigates the responsibility to deal with this alarming threat regarding social actors involved, professionalism and concerns about traumatised relationships of trust between teachers and students. Furthermore, my thesis aims to shed light on the mechanisms of building resilience against right-wing extremism within educational settings and investigate the necessity of a more securitised agenda, similar to Prevent in the UK. The influence of my research could be a starting point for reinforcing the idea of 'active citizenship' built on a humanistic and cosmopolitan approach and not under a strict securitised framework. Thus, this study could pave the way for a change that could provide the educational society in Greece with the essential tools to confront the above phenomenon.

Keywords: radicalisation, right-wing extremism, prevention, Greek teachers, schools, resilience, active citizenship, Human Rights.

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Abbreviations

CSS	Center for Security Studies
RAN	Radicalisation Awareness Network
GD	Golden Dawn
UK	United Kingdom
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RVRN	Racist Violence Reporting Network
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
NSRF	National Strategic Reference Framework
MP	Member of Parliament
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
OIM	Observable Indicators Manual
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
USA	United States of America
CoE	Centre of Excellence
UN	United Nations
REC	Rights, Equality and Citizenship
NCRI	National Council against Racism and Intolerance
NCHR	National Commission for Human Rights
SUSEE	School Units of Special Education and Education
S.E.S.N	School Educational Support Networks
E.D.S.C.	Interdisciplinary Educational Evaluation and Support Committees
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer or Questioning
AME	Anentahtoi Maiandroi
C-REX	Center for Research on Extremism
RTV	Right-wing Terrorism and Violence
EU	European Union
LAOS	Popular Orthodox Rally
BLM	Black Lives Matter
IS	Islamic State
OSCT	Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism
HM	Home Office
FBV	Fundamental British Values

CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
NHS	National Health System
ERWT	Extreme Right-Wing Terrorism
JTAC	Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre

Chapter I: Introduction

I.i. The geography of my study.

This introductory Chapter presents my research study by offering a synopsis of my research scope and accommodating key themes and areas of exploration. This includes the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greece, the process of radicalisation; the role of teachers; as agents of education and; more specifically in the preventive sphere; and finally, the building of resilience in Greek educational settings. More precisely, this Chapter explores my research study motivation, my research aim and objectives and the questions that have been the springboard to investigate the present case study. In conclusion, this Chapter outlines the structure of my thesis.

I.ii. Synopsis.

The attacks against the World Trade Centre in New York and Washington DC in September 2001 increased anxieties around extremism and the concept of radicalisation. With the later terrorist attacks in Madrid and the Netherlands in 2004 and in London in 2005, ideas around the hermeneutic force of radicalisation were solidified in the European security sphere. Radicalisation is broadly comprehended as a "process by which an individual adopts an extremist ideology" (Braddock, 2014: 62). Thus, 'knowledge' about radicalisation has become progressively localised among European authorities with the adoption of government funding de-radicalisation and counter-radicalisation agendas.

On the other hand, according to Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020), Greek counter-terrorism programmes were always event-driven and subject to polarisation. In the early 2000s, after the breakdown of the 'first generation of terrorists' and the end of the Olympics, radicalisation was rarely mentioned from Greek authorities, and terrorism was considered to be an issue of inferior significance. The situation shifted in 2008, after the teenager, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, was killed by a policeman in Exarcheia (Athens) and the protests that were spread across Greece. This event brought into the spotlight the issue of radicalisation and the localisation of common 'knowledge' (Economides and Monastiriotis, 2009).

In Greece, the Center for Security Studies ((CSS) - Κέντρο Μελετών Ασφαλείας {KEMEA}), a scientific, consulting and research organisation founded in 2005 and overseen by the Minister of Citizen Protection took in hand the counter-radicalisation agenda. In 2012, a research team was authorised to deal with the

study of organised crime, terrorism and radicalisation to raise awareness, empower and strengthen the staff of law enforcement agencies, preparing them for early recognition and prevention of any escalation of violence, and support the fight against radicalisation leading to violent extremism and terrorism. From 2015 onwards, a close partnership with the European Union's Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) commenced. A range of training seminars and workshops were arranged by the Directorate of State Security of the Ministry of Public Order and Citizen Protection in collaboration with the Centre for Security Studies in 2016 to promote the ideas of the project known as 'counter-radicalisation and extremism' in the country (Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen, 2020). The above seminars aimed at preparing frontline professionals for using radicalisation-related risk assessment tools and raising awareness on the issue of radicalisation. Therefore, the above activities were designed to create a pool of trainers recognising that dealing with radicalisation constitutes a 'sine qua non' in the fight against violent extremism and terrorism.

As an example of right-wing extremism, Golden Dawn (GD) (a far-right group in Greece), developed a visible and powerful paramilitary action by systematically attacking leftists and immigrants (Charalambous and Christoforou, 2018). Many scholars have investigated the history and ideology of right-wing extremism in Greece, especially during the past decade and the times of economic crisis (Georgiadou et al., 2019; Koronaiou et al., 2015; Lamprianou and Ellinas, 2017). In comparison with other radical right parties across Western Europe, GD's ideological platform was much more extreme. Ellinas (2015) points out that GD adopted a biological conception of nationalism reminiscent of Nazi ideology. Nevertheless, another characteristic that discerned GD was its correlation with violence. In May 2012, Greece became the first European country to elect members of a neo-Nazi party, GD, to its parliament. In the May 2014 European elections, GD boosted its electoral strength in spite of the criminal prosecution of its leadership and scholars' opposite calculation.

Shedding light on the action and dogma of GD should be notably attributed to the prosecution of the organisation's leadership. Consequently, its neo-Nazi nature could be recognised in the public arena. The surge of academic research in the Greek context was targeted at explaining the rise of right-wing extremism within a democratic country and understanding the motives for the support of a political party, which was demonstrating populist rhetoric fortified with racist, homophobic and xenophobic narratives (Samaras, 2023). The proportion of young supporters of GD was higher than the average support level.

Among young people, GD was the second most popular party. Koronaiou et al. (2015) suggest that GD's vote should not be considered as an act of symbolism and anger, but as a conscious political choice that cannot be ascribed only to sentiments. Their research highlighted that, when the proportion of young people who showed interest in GD's rhetoric and practice rose and the organisation's influence became evident within the educational system, it became essential to think differently about the relationship of Greek youth with GD.

The first instance of convictions of GD members, like those of a criminal organisation has sparked a great deal of discussion by the educational community. The public dialogue on this historical judgement should take place with the participation of students (Simeio, 2020). The Greek government identifies training and education as crucial to preventing the promotion of extremist ideologies, as well as the support for terrorism. Greece also recognises the role of family and school, the internet and social media in this endeavour (Jurczyszyn et al., 2019). However, a solid and purposeful legal framework regarding radicalisation and the role of the educational sector in the provision of radicalisation and extremism does not exist. Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020) argue that this might be because, in Greece, taking control of radicalisation relies on a rudimentary assemblage consisting of a far less non-hierarchical self-management of far fewer varied components and knowledge about radicalisation synthesises heterogeneous beliefs towards political violence and terrorist acts.

In parallel with the collapse of GD, there has been mobility within the circles of the far right in Greece. Indeed, Souliotis (2020) points out that, according to a secret police report on right-wing extremism in Greece, existing extreme right organisations are trying to attract people to their ranks by taking advantage of the declining power of GD. There are sixteen far-right groups listed in this report. This document sparks special interest after the conviction of the GD's members. Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020) highlight that, unlike in the UK, in Greece, those who could be partly responsible for the collection of diverse material connected to radicalisation and supporting intervention at an early state (such as teachers and health workers), are powerless in the Greek structure.

Consequently, there is a need to acknowledge the lack of a legislative initiative that could provide the educational society in Greece with the essential tools to confront extremism and more precisely right-wing extremism. This change could benefit teachers in Greek state secondary schools, where students aged

15-18 years attend, to recognise, identify, and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within educational settings. Thus, educators could enhance their confidence regarding the performance of their duties. The mobilisation of mechanisms to provide a qualitatively and effectively applicable educational policy to tackle this alarming phenomenon could strengthen teachers' management capacity in their daily professional lives.

I.iii. Motivation & aims and objectives.

Even though a significant amount of academic research is devoted to studying right-wing extremism in Greece and the causes of this phenomenon, the ways the Greek case could help us comprehend how radicalisation related to right-wing extremism takes place has been overlooked. In addition, the role of teachers, as social actors, within the pre-criminale sphere of the prevention of right-wing extremist acts, as explored in scholarly worldwide, has left the Greek example unexplored.

Although there is a global discourse about the role of education in social policies formed by the objectives of anti-terrorism strategies, the Greek example seems absent within the academic literature. As someone who is Greek, this triggered my interest in investigating the paths of right-wing extremism in Greek schools. More specifically, the questions and concerns below shaped my research interest in the Greek case. My first thoughts and questions were about how young people in Greece adopt an extreme right-wing dogma and support -even criminal- organisations that evangelise this rhetoric. Has this been unaddressed in the Greek education system? How have teachers experienced the boost of support of extreme right ideology from students? How do the school safeguarding policies and curriculum offer teachers tools to create embankments to prevent right-wing extremism among students?

My motivation for my research stems from an exploration of the ways in which participants, namely teachers, interpret the social environment around them, and specifically, the subject of their responsibility related to the prevention of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. The **aim** of my study is to understand teachers' role in combatting radicalisation associated with right-wing extremism by focusing on the day-to-day experiences of teachers in Greece. The following research **objectives** will facilitate the achievement of this aim. In particular:

1. To critically review the existing literature on how the existing safeguarding agendas and legal policies in Greece recognise the contribution of teachers in tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

2. To observe classroom activities and interview teachers in Greece to investigate how their personal and professional values, in addition to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, influence the practical implementation of safeguarding policies in tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism, especially within a non-securitised apparatus.

3. To decipher if the adoption of a formal safeguarding framework, such as the UK's Prevent duty, would be beneficial in Greece, or whether the current more informal and fluid approach has a positive effect on how educators participate in the building of resilience against right-wing extremism within educational settings.

4. To provide recommendations by taking a human rights inclusive approach into account for educators to benefit from a targeted and high-quality implementation of safeguarding policies, which could respond to their day-to-day needs within the Greek education system.

I.iv. Research questions.

In preparing the explorations of the research scope, the following **research questions** were formed:

1. What is the everyday reality in schools in terms of right-wing extremism? And how have Greek teachers perceived the phenomenon of right-wing extremism?

2.a. What are the practical implementation of safeguarding policies in tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in the absence of a formal security apparatus in Greek schools?

2.b. What are Greek teachers' perceptions with regards to the (existing or not) legal and social policy framework about radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?

3a. How can teachers in Greek state secondary schools contribute to the building of resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?

3b. How can they balance their ethnic/cultural backgrounds and their personal/professional values in the context of their contribution to the building of resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?

4. Could a formal framework, as the UK's Prevent duty, have a positive effect on the way in which Greek teachers deal with the building of resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?

5a. What are the most effective ways to deal with the phenomenon of the extreme right in the Greek schools?

5b. Which are the protective factors suggested by the Greek teachers, and what is the role of Human Rights in tackling right-wing extremism within Greek schools?

The above research questions mirrored my need to study and investigate academically and systematically what teachers recognise as extreme right and how they envisage the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within Greek schools. Building on the role of education as referred not only to formal schooling but also to education across the life course (Miller-Idriss and Pilkington, 2017), I was keen to delve into the ways they conceptualise their professional role in tackling right-wing extremism and if they consider other social actors should be involved in the fight against right-wing extremism. This is particularly the case for formal, school-based initiatives, which tend to focus on broad areas deemed critical for civic engagement and democratic participation, such as teaching tolerance of diverse viewpoints through required courses like citizenship education (Miller-Idriss and Pilkington, 2017).

The Greek example, as the case study for my thesis, was based on the delivery of citizenship courses in Greek state schools. I intended to explore what measures the Greek education system should offer in terms of building resilience against this alarming threat. My primary queries were what happens in Greek schools in relation to right-wing extremism? Do we have tools and programmes to deal with this phenomenon in Greek school environments? Is the Political Education (Citizenship) course in state secondary schools an effective way to identify and deal with right-wing extremism among students?

While conducting my research, I realised that assessing the state of the research on education and the extreme right is further complicated by the fact that much of the work in this area worldwide is not specific to extreme or radical right populations per se but rather targets related areas such prejudice reduction or the promotion of tolerance (Beelmann and Heinemann, 2014). I had also in mind what Johansson (2013) points out when referring to the fact that part of the challenge with implementing effective interventions to engage extreme right-wing young people is that well-intended initiatives can have a backlash effect, sometimes fueling the very attitudes and behaviours that educators seek to change. The example of Tom

Cockburn's (2007) work with extreme right young people in the North of England showed that anti-racist education programmes failed because they were premised upon a naive assumption that contact among diverse groups would create greater tolerance. Nevertheless, he concluded that because extreme right young people felt blamed and ostracised, these initiatives rather than enhancing empathy and trust made them distance themselves.

I decided that it was important to address the above research objectives and questions by building in the existing literature review and conducting an ethnography in state secondary schools in large unban cities in Greece. My main focus was Greece, because it is a country without a securitised agenda when it comes to tackling right-wing extremism in schools. I chose to collect my data via an ethnographic study, which acted as a research map that provided me with the opportunity to gain a more solid and holistic insight into the phenomenon. I had no previous background in education studies and had to build my argument in a more scientific and objective way, and I spent a significant time-period within the community, acting as a non-participating observer.

To explore such a sensitive topic motivated me to decipher Greek teachers' experiences of right-wing extremism from different angles. Subsequently, a mixed qualitative approach was adopted and I combined three different qualitative methods. My scientific stance was based on an escalation approach and the first step was participant observation. This step included fourteen (14) classroom observations in twelve (12) state secondary schools. More precisely, I was keen to observe how the course of Political Education is been delivered in Greek state secondary schools, where students are just few steps before adulthood. Crucial problematisations in sketching and conducting this research were the following:

How teachers deal with the concept of citizenship, how democracy and Human Rights are discussed in the classroom? Being considered as an insider, I was interested in investigating if and how this course offers the opportunity for educators to raise questions about what being an active citizen means?, how the political dynamics in Greece and worldwide work? and more significantly how we can build resilience against the sirens of right-wing extremist and populist groups?

To this date, there is no specific strategy for preventing radicalisation in schools provided for by law (Shangoyan et al., 2023). My thesis explores how teachers' efforts to protect students from right-wing extremism are formed in practice. Wondering about which are the motivations for being part of this

effort; which are the mechanisms of the state that address this phenomenon through education; how teachers in their everyday lives face this threat? and how they offer students ways to understand and choose democracy, were vital to structure my study and build my argument at the end. The next exploratory steps in my ethnographic research were based on twenty (20) semi-structured interviews with teachers and Heads of schools and participant-generated photos, which were discussed with them during follow-up interviews. The phenomenon of right-wing extremism and dealing with it were conceptualised and explored via these qualitative tools as more suitable for comprehending teachers' perceptions and experiences about the right-wing extremism threat and building resilience.

I.v. Structure of the thesis.

My thesis will articulate the investigation and exploration of the ways in which Greek teachers experience safeguarding against right-wing extremism within state secondary schools and help students to build resilience against radicalisation related to this phenomenon. This section provides an introduction to my research. The following Chapter (section II.1.) delves into right-wing extremism and the concepts of populism and nationalism. It also includes an in-depth exploration of the concept of radicalisation and is specifically devoted to theory and practice concerning right-wing extremism. This analysis addresses the complications of the phenomenon in particular within educational environments. Section II.2. positions literature review in the Greek case study format. The literature review on the Greek context analyses the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greece, and especially the presence of GD in Greece during the years of the economic crisis and beyond will be explored. Then, it investigates how right-wing extremism and radicalisation are perceived and addressed in Greece and the role of the Greek educational system in the fight against right-wing extremism is examined. In light of the above, the subsequent section (section II.3.) examines anti-extremism and anti-radicalisation agendas. My study explores the participation of public sector workers, who are responsible for identifying any threats and risks of extremism and is analysed through the lens of a more 'governmentalised' role in the name of security, especially in education. Furthermore, an overview of the UK's example, where Prevent has been characterised as a leading initiative

with the engagement of public sector staff in the fight against extremism and the identification of signs of radicalisation follows.

Chapter III is a road map of the research, which presents a detailed explanation of the research approach, philosophical positioning, methodology and most importantly, research quality and ethical considerations. Thus, Chapter IV records and discusses themes that emerged from the findings from my mixed method ethnography, based on participant observation, semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photographs and follow-up interviews respectively to further expand and validate my initial research framework (sections IV.1., IV.2. and IV.3.). Empirical findings are also discussed in relation to theoretical exploration to restructure and expand my primary research framework on ways to help students avoid being drawn into extremist dogmata and build resilience in the context of student-centred, modern, and democratic pedagogy. Finally, in the concluding Chapter (Chapter V) the attribution of findings with the research aim, research question, and objectives is presented. Then, a threefold contribution of my study with a focus on knowledge, policy and practice is discussed followed by the limitations and future steps after my PhD journey.

Chapter II: Literature Review

II. A preface.

In this Chapter, I reviewed the academic literature that provided me with the foundation and knowledge to explore how teachers in Greek state secondary schools interpret the subject of their responsibility related to the prevention of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. Although a specific duty on educators to identify and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism among their students has not been institutionalised in the Greek educational system, scholarship offered me the required academic understanding of key concepts of my research study, such as extremism, right-wing extremism and radicalisation. My fieldwork involved the recording and analysis of teachers experiences of right-wing extremism in school settings. It was fundamental for me, as an early-stage researcher, to engage myself with a range of resources and academic publications on how these ideas and procedures are analysed to best correspond to my research focus and purpose. In addition, I explored the role of education in the preventive sphere when it comes in tackling extremism. My literature review involved the problematisation in the introduction of a preempting mechanism to fight the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in schools. By critically examining the example of Prevent duty in the UK, as the first one to be implemented in education and have compulsory character, when conducting my empirical analysis, I wanted to discuss teachers' perceptions of the possibility of a stricter policy related to my theme and research interest, namely right-wing extremism. My theoretical explorations boosted my confidence to build the theoretical framework of my study and deal with my subsequent research, especially around a sensitive, controversial and challenging topic, such as right-wing extremism.

II.1. Right-wing extremism, radicalisation and the role of education.

II.1.i. The concepts of extremism and violent extremism.

As specified in the introductory Chapter of my thesis, the Golden Dawn's (hereinafter GD) trial was a springboard for my study. Since its leadership and members to date have not been prosecuted nor convicted -at least at the first degree- for terrorist acts, I started my literature review by exploring the complex concept

of extremism and the mechanisms of radicalisation. My fieldwork, as analysed in Chapter IV below, brought to light the perceptions and experiences of secondary school teachers on how they conceptualise right-wing extremism among their students. Thus, while deciphering what right-wing extremism has brought into Greek everyday school life, the need to delve more into how extremism and right-wing extremism are academically analysed was fundamental.

In the wake of the 11th of September 2001 terrorist attacks, researchers and policy experts have been divided over whether ideologies or unresolved grievances were the driving force behind violent extremism (Ebner and Whitehouse, 2024). Terrorism, like any other social science concept, is ultimately a social construction (Richards, 2014). Terrorism and its 'shock value' implies the intention to create -beyond the immediate victims- a psychological effect (Richards, 2018: 17). Ejova (2023) points out that the phenomenon of terrorism is closely related to phenomena such as extremism and radicalism. However, she clarifies that these concepts differ from each other. More specifically, the terminology of 'extremism' derives from the Latin extremus (extreme, last) and means attachment, in politics and ideas, to views and actions belonging to extremes. In the Palgrave Macmillan dictionary of political thought, Scruton (2007: 237) defines extremism as follows:

> Extremism can be used to refer to political ideologies that oppose a society's core values and principles. In the context of liberal democracies this could be applied to any ideology that advocates racial or religious supremacy and/or opposes the core principles of democracy and universal human rights. The term can also be used to describe the methods through which political actors attempt to realize their aims, that is, by using means that show disregard for the life, liberty, and human rights of others.

Roger Scruton (2007) has shown that extremism can have multiple meanings. It might describe ideas that are diametrically opposed to the core values of a society. In essence, it could encompass various types of religious or racial supremacy or any ideology that systematically denies core human rights. Alternatively, it could refer to the ruthless methods by which political ideas are realised (Scruton, 2007). Another difficulty is that the meaning of extremism depends on what is considered 'mainstream' in any given period or society. History has shown several freedoms and rights, which were fought for by individuals, whom their contemporaries have condemned as 'extremists', in our era these freedoms and rights are unquestioned (Neumann, 2017). A characteristic example is the right of women to vote.

Unlike terrorism, extremism depends on the context. Neumann (2017) has pointed out that the definition of extremism in counter-terrorism laws can be extremely broad or vague, allowing governments to marginalise their domestic adversaries. Ebner and Whitehouse's (2024) model predicts that amalgamation results in violent extremism through three mediators: perceived outgroup threat, violent consent norms, and perceived outgroup entity. They argue (2024), however, that extreme ideology is a product of strong forms of identification, rather than a mixture and cannot by itself justify violent extremist acts. It is therefore pointless to use extreme ideology to diagnose would-be terrorist behaviours. They continue (2024) by saying that it should be possible to use language indicators to detect highly fused actors, who are at risk of committing acts of violent self-sacrifice without knowing it. Therefore, their research promises to be far more effective than existing programmes that focus primarily on ideological deradicalisation processes and provides mechanisms of early detection and intervention to prevent terrorist violent acts (Ebner and Whitehouse, 2024).

On the contrary, the idea of violent extremism is more likely to be defined under a more behavioural than idealistic approach. Its definition focuses on violence as a means (Neumann, 2013; Stephens et al., 2021). Policymakers who introduced the term violent extremism, popularising it, sought to disassociate politics from terrorism. They also insisted that the new terminology was more realistic and accurate because it covered not just terrorist attacks, but the whole spectrum of violent actions that extremist groups are responsible for, including politically motivated riots, hate crimes and even more conventional military-style operations that many attempts to define terrorism have failed to encapsulate (Frazer and Nünlist, 2015). Therefore, according to Neumann (2017), the concept of violent extremism is broader and more extensive than terrorism, because, as long as its motive is considered extremist, it incorporates all forms of violence. However, paradigms grounded in human drivers and psychological risk factors have not yet reached similarly high predictive power. Neither academics nor policymakers have agreed on a universal definition of violent extremism on a global scale. Unfortunately, as Ebner and Whitehouse (2024) admit, a reliable design for identifying would-be terrorists before they carry out attacks has not yet been found.

II.1.ii. Right-wing extremism.

In Western democracies, since the 11th of September 2001 terrorist attacks, there has been a tendency for dogmatic Islamist extremism to be seen as the main basis for planning protection against future violence. Attributing ideological motivation to an individual or organisation is complicated in most incidents. In particular, in the case of the extreme right, it is certainly more problematic due to the nature of the perpetrators and societal biases and stereotypes about what terrorism looks like (Ahmed and Lynch, 2024). Nevertheless, the expansion of the far right at a global scale is a reminder of how far these political parties, social movements, and ensembles have gone in straddling the space between all-out opposition to democracy and democratic illiberalism (Pirro, 2023). As far as the national liberation movements are concerned, the academic community justifiably are worried about the danger of conflating terrorism with extremism. The same anxiety refers to groups and individuals on the right of the political spectrum. McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) argue that the relationship between attitudes and mobilisation to violence has always been clouded in addition to the objectionable character of attitudes expressed by right-wing extremists, which renders the avoidance of equating them urgent.

However, understanding extremists in general as those people, who wish harm on people outside of their identity group and hate, whether or not this quality is considered definitional, is symptomatically attributed to this phenomenon (Coleman and Bartoli, 2003; Williford, 2019). Terminology of the extreme right has sparked a noteworthy debate in the academic community due to how it is judged in comparison to other forms of ideological extremism and due to the fact that there is no consensus definition (Ahmed and Lynch, 2024). While the extreme right has become a key denominator of the contemporary political scene, developments in its midst reflect various forms of ideological and/or organisational osmosis (Pirro, 2023). On the one hand, extreme right collective organisations may theoretically be committed to democracy, but in practice act in violation of its dictates. On the other hand, the extreme right may conform to democratic rules of contestation within the institutional framework, but outside of it cultivate ties with anti-democratic actors. Such associations, which often represent the backbone of extreme right activism and grassroots organising, unfortunately, continue to escape public scrutiny and remain on the fringes of social science research. Both scenarios signal the inherent fluidity and complexity of extreme right politics because, when the boundaries between extreme right and (populist) radical right begin to blur, resorting to a more abstract genus is not a suboptimal solution (Pirro, 2023).

Lowe (2022) distinguishes between the far-right and the extreme far-right, where the extreme far-right are neo-Nazi groups that are anti-Semitic, racist and homophobic, advocating white supremacy and the violent overthrow of liberal democracies, while far-right groups are generally anti-immigration, against Islam and in Europe, against the EU. Mudde (2014) uses the term far-right to refer to a multitude of different movements that are loosely ideologically aligned. Mudde (2014) describes the far-right as an umbrella term that includes both the radical and the extreme right. His differentiation between the two lies in the acceptance that the radical right accepts democracy but opposes liberal democracy, and therefore, denies pluralism and minority rights, while the extreme right rejects democracy in the decline of majority rule and popular sovereignty. Other theorists use the designation extreme before the term far-right to indicate the use of violence to advance the ideology (Ahmed and Lynch, 2024).

To continue, Europol (2023) issued a report on right-wing extremism. More explicitly in this report (Europol, 2023), violent right-wing extremist ideologies are centred on racism, xenophobia, and/or related intolerance and exclusionary nationalism. Examples include neo-Nazism and neo-fascism. Furthermore, violent right-wing extremist ideologies feed on a variety of hateful sub-cultures, commonly fighting back against equal rights of minorities and diversity in society. Indicatively, misogyny and hostility towards immigration and LGBTQ+ communities are common attitudes among right-wing extremists (Europol, 2023). Right-wing terrorism not only overlaps with hate crimes but also with crimes of incitement and hate speech, as suggested by Paasch-Colberg et al. (2021: 172), who focus on discriminatory content and references to violence within a given statement to define hate speech (Hietanen and Eddebo, 2023).

The extreme right is more likely to focus on the individual than the group, while ideology is often linked to key issues in electoral politics and motivation is more easily connected to common grievances. But the important issue, as Ahmed and Lynch (2024) argue, is that there are fewer assumptions about the perpetrator and more recognition of the diversity of supporters. Attention has also been paid on how in-group differences are very significant to comprehending the extreme right. An example of this is how ideology informs tolerance for target selection and how ideology informs the parameters of that tolerance (Zempi, 2016).

The escalating anxiety about right-wing terrorism raises the question of whether the existing legislation is adequate and/or 'fit for purpose' or new legislation is needed. For example, it is questionable whether legal

regimes designed around proscribed groups are adequate to deal with those who are loosely organised, such as the sovereign citizen movement described by Baldino and Lucas (2019), or perpetrators, who act alone. Blackbourn et al. (2019) refer to the fact that, in contrast with Islamist extremist terrorists, individuals or groups motivated by right-wing extremism, who have prepared to commit or have committed acts of terrorism, have not been charged with the broad inchoate crimes that dominate post the 11th of September counter-terrorism laws and this raises interesting questions about the denunciatory, deterrent and incapacitative ramifications of such charges compared with the terrorism accusations. Thus, there may be complications in applying existing criminal laws to right-wing terrorism (Blackbourn et al., 2019: 1). In the vast majority of the countries examined in Blackbourn et al. (2019), as a response to right-wing terrorism, no new counter-terrorism laws have been enacted. This is the case -for example- in India, New Zealand and USA (Blackbourn et al., 2019).

Moreover, although right-wing extremism that leads to terrorism is often perceived to have a predominantly domestic focus, the global reach and internationalisation of right-wing extremism and terrorism have been highlighted in existing literature. Manifestos of far right extremists and terrorists appear to have influenced a number of terrorist attacks, both directly and indirectly. Indeed, Campion (2019) argues that right-wing extremism and terrorism has global reach and connections, spanning multiple continents. For example, the Australian perpetrator of the Christchurch terrorist attacks drew inspiration from the manifesto of convicted Norwegian right-wing terrorist, Anders Breivik. New America (2019) cites that, since the September 11th terrorist attacks, Islamist extremist terrorists have been responsible for 104 killings in the USA, whilst far-right terrorists for 109 killings. At the time when policy-makers address the phenomenon and the public becomes more informed about the threat posed by right-wing terrorism, comprehending this particular model of terrorism is vital.

At this point it should be mentioned that the UN General Assembly has been called to orchestrate the global fight against extremism and terrorism in order to safeguard international peace and security and, in 2006, this resulted in the UN member states adopting the UN Global-Terrorism Strategy. However, only Germany, Canada and the UK are the states to proscribe extreme right-wing groups as terrorist organisations, and thus it is problematic in relying on the UN to adopt a universal apparatus in relation to the right-wing extremism

and hate crime. The UN general Council argued that they could introduce a mechanism to encourage its member states to do so.

Lowe (2022) suggests that a more straightforward and realistic path is needed as state legislators begin to address this earnestly. This could be achieved through the G20 states. Recognising that the G20 was formed as a forum for international economic cooperation, G20 summit meetings could be the basis for a state dialogue on how they can minimise the disparity in interpreting freedom of expression and hate crime and the introduction of legislative initiatives that have a minimum, comparable standard of criminal law elements amounting to hate crime and in proscribing extreme right organisations (Lowe, 2022).

The recent events in the UK confirm the urgency to encourage societies to consider the phenomenon of right-wing extremism more thoughtfully. In August 2024, extremists took advantage of the murders in Southport of Elsie Dot Stancombe, Alice da Silva Aguiar and Bebe King to seize riots across the UK and promote their hatred and dogmata. Public figures from the prime minister downwards have categorised these riots as "far right" (De Simone, 2024). No specific group organised or owned these turmoils. Thus, those engaged in extremist movements may conclude there is a broader audience for their ideology. Currently, supporters from across the whole range of right-wing extremism have viewed themselves capable of causing a national crisis. Consequently, they would possibly try to exploit any future tragedy in similar ways (De Simone, 2024). This is why Pearson (2024) argues that we need to reexamine our comprehension of far-right violence. More specifically, she points out (2024) that we need to be realistic about the different categories of threats societies currently face, among which are extreme right extremism and terrorism. Therefore, she suggests (2024) that we should open our antennae to reading extreme right violence as ideological and not as simple criminality.

II.1.iii. Extreme right populism and new nationalism.

To understand the theoretical framework of the complexities and differences between various populist and nationalist actors, a distinction between populism and nationalism is needed (De Cleen and Stavrakakis, 2017; 2020). Whilst populist reasoning places 'the people' against an 'élite', nationalist reasoning places 'the people' as a homogenous national community against 'dangerous others' outside of

the national community (Breeze, 2018; De Cleen and Stavrakakis, 2017; Stavrakakis et al., 2017, Rodi et al., 2023).

Extreme right populist rhetoric often evangelises popular and established stereotypes of the 'other' and the 'stranger', whose sociopolitical and literary exclusion is supposed to create a sense of belonging to a community for supposedly homogeneous 'people' and opposes the 'true people' to a supposedly corrupt 'élite' (Pelinka, 2018; Wodak, 2019; 2020). Wodak (2015; 2018; 2019) admits that the re-appearance of the extreme right and its movement from the margins into the political mainstream scene, and more explicitly in academic circles (Wodak, 2017), the normalisation of previously political agendas and tabooed dogmata is not only a European-based phenomenon.

The persona of extreme right politicians as the authentic representatives of the people as opposed to the unreliable and failed, as they say, political classes is their main pattern. Thus, through strategic argumentation, they create their own beliefs, visions, nationalist identities and threat scenarios (Wodak, 2019). Extreme right political rhetoric is based on the construction of a distinct dichotomy that aims to divide the people living in a country into two almost homogeneous sides. On the one hand, 'the people' are contrasted with 'the élites' within a specific narrative of threat and betrayal. On the other hand, the so-called 'system' is considered responsible for the subconscious or conscious neglect of the people, as the system's sole motive is to secure its own interests, ignoring the obvious concerns of the people. Therefore, it fails to express the interests of the people and protect them (Wodak, 2019).

Mudde's study (1995) proved very enlightening. On the basis of a review of academic literature and by choosing 26 definitions and descriptions of right-wing extremism, he structured an inventory of the features of right-wing extremism. He concluded that no fewer than 58 features were mentioned, and that five characteristics – nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strong state – were included in over half the definitions and descriptions (Carter, 2018).

Across Europe and beyond, extreme right populist movements, parties and figures drawing on and combining different traditions and different political imaginaries construct different nationalist pasts in the form of identity narratives. In this way, they highlight several issues in everyday politics. More specifically, some parties focus mainly on one or two issues, such as a perceived threat from Islam, as, for example, happened in Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Poland. Others gained

supporters by demonstrating an ambivalent relationship with the Nazi and fascist past, as happened, for example, in Hungary, Romania, Italy, France and Austria. Some others emphasise a perceived threat to their national identities from ethnic minorities, as happened in Greece, Italy, Hungary and the UK. Finally, other parties promote a traditional Christian (fundamentalist) conservative-reactionary ideology, as happened in the USA, Russia and Poland (Wodak, 2019).

Whether it is a communication style, a strategic tool, or a thin ideology (Bonikowski et al., 2019; Gidron and Hall, 2017; Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017), populism centres on the competitive relationship between 'us', pure people, and 'them', the corrupt élites (Mudde, 2004). The populist ideology considers that only when taken from the base of society the decisions taken are morally superior and legitimate (Riker, 1988). That is, decisions have moral and legal value only when they reflect the general will of the people (Mudde, 2004). For this reason, populism is often described as a form of 'democratic illiberalism' (Pappas, 2016). It is democratic because it is based on popular will, nevertheless, it is illiberal given that it seeks to bypass institutional checks and balances, such as the Rule of Law and parliamentary control, and criticises intermediate democratic institutions (Bonikowski et al., 2019; Freeden, 2017).

Some extreme right populist parties are becoming increasingly racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim. And this is happening because, as Fennema (2005: 14) clarifies, if a party defines the criminality of immigrants or the number of asylum seekers as its only programme, then, even if the public statements of that party are considered in isolation they are not explicitly racist, this party can be characterised as racist. Furthermore, the construction of conspiracy theories requires unrealistic scenarios where certain conspirators such as political parties, bankers, lobbies and the 'other' are allegedly pulling the strings in the global political and socio-economic scene. In fact, these conspiracy scenarios are often projected by far-right movements with exaggeration and dramatisation (Wodak, 2019; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2015).

Rising nationalism has been seen everywhere in the last few years. From the election of Donald Trump to Brexit (Bieber, 2018). The idea of a homogeneous group, faced with outsiders, who deserve exclusion, is associated with broad authoritarian and populist movements. Alongside media reports of a global rise in nationalism, the 'populist boom' (Judis, 2016) and the global decline of democracy (Puddington, 2017) have been key themes in news worldwide. Political parties that pledge to speak for the 'pure people', restore national sovereignty, 'take back control' from supranational institutions, and promote 'national preference'

through strict immigration and citizenship agendas are often described as part of a phenomenon called 'the new nationalism'. Terminology of the new nationalism refers to the rise of parties that share a common emphasis on national sovereignty, hardline positions on immigration, 'national preference', scepticism of supranational institutions, and often anti-elitism (Halikiopoulou and Vlandas, 2022). The fusion of populism and nationalism is the basis for understanding what the 'new nationalism' phenomenon is.

Parties that combine populist with nationalist allegations speak of national sovereignty based on the 'will of the people', the 'people' being the 'pure people' defined in terms of a 'narrow ethnic understanding' of the nation (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017: 5-6), struggling against a 'corrupt élite' (Mudde, 2004: 543). Therefore, scholars (Muis and Immerzeel, 2017; Rooduijn, 2018) increasingly prefer the term 'right-wing populism' or 'populist radical right' to describe these parties, often associated with ethnic nationalism or nativism (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017). In addition, studies (for example Halikiopoulou et al., 2012) have focused on the civic elements of nationalism, which are increasingly prioritised in the programmes of far-right political movements. More explicitly, civic nationalism emphasises a civic culture, historic territory and legal political community (Kohn, 1946; Smith, 1991; Zimmer, 2003). The extreme right actors act very energetically in restructuring culturally embedded collective memories in battles over the meaning of the past for present-day Europe. The extreme right's aggressive instrumentalisation and weaponisation of the past across Europe takes part in and represents the radical edge of new 'culture wars' over historical legacy, national identity and socio-political purposes (Couperus et al., 2023).

Furthermore, with the significance of positive self-representation in the construction of political identities, Brown and Newth (2024) argue that meta-fascism constitutes a key logic through which extreme right actors seek to embody themselves. For example, in Italy, they argue that these dynamics played out in the case of two far-right parties of different heritage, one with a direct lineage to neo-fascism, downplaying any notion that fascism continues to pose a threat while at the same time expressing authoritarian and oppressive views through fascist 'dog whistles' (Brown and Newth, 2024: 17). They continue (2024), a dual and interrelated message of distancing and reconnection constitutes the dyad of meta-fascism. As in the case of Italy, extreme right parties have attempted to distance themselves from the ideology of fascism by scoffing any accusation that links them to it to claim a centrist position in the world's perception (Lentin, 2020; Richardson, 2017). At the same time, however, they did not deny the ideological foundations of fascism

through the expression of similar positions and language. Most crucially, according to Brown and Newth (2024), these two messages merge with the extreme right to acquire a sanitising profile without losing its core of exclusion.

The above conclusions are crucial for the integration of the extreme right not only at an electoral level but also at a dialogical level. More importantly, the post-fascist argument can normalise far-right rhetoric as 'common sense' and make it seem unquestionable, while for those it targets, it will have profoundly harmful consequences. Therefore, in the process of assessing the potential of the threat emanating from far-right politics, a serious engagement with the logic of post-fascism is required (Brown and Newth, 2024). Furthermore, Ravndal et al. (2023) research records that violent plots against central politicians and the state became more projected, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Couperus et al. (2023) argue that the alternative historical accounts and the politics of memory that the European extreme right constructs must be seen within the framework of a politically articulated authoritarian-nationalist insurgency that is currently challenging modes of democratic legitimation; shared self-understandings and European political systems. However, failing to identify the geographies of the extreme right hidden in plain sight and address them is a myopic oversight with time-sensitive and dangerous consequences. As Luger (2022) argues, today's situation requires geographers to work to detect, predict, and neutralise the swarm before its chaos engulfs it all. If such opportunities are missed, history has shown what the consequences can be (Luger, 2022).

II.1.iv. The concept of radicalisation.

Understanding the mechanisms of radicalisation was important to recording teachers' experiences on the ways students of Greek secondary schools embrace an extreme right-wing ideology. Ejova (2023) argues that radicalism means breaking away from an already recognised tradition, specifically through fundamental or radical change. Radical originates from the Latin radix (root) and means supporter of fundamental and decisive actions (Ejova, 2023). As late as the early 2000s, hardly any reference to radicalisation could be found in the academic literature on political violence and terrorism (Richards, 2011). Indeed, the term 'radicalisation' was seldom referred to in the press before 2001 but became used a lot more

frequently in the media between 2005 and 2007 (Sedgwick, 2010: 480). Terrorist attacks in London in 2005 except for providing the political driving force to tie up the idea of radicalisation within the counter-terrorism strategies in Europe, implanted the concept of radicalisation with the theory of 'home-grown bomber' (Coolsaet, 2010: 869). This version legitimised the movement to 'softer' paths in the fight against terrorism.

As Kundnani (2012a) argues the taboo on discussing the causes of terrorism now had to be broken. Thus, the concept of radicalisation came to the fore as the vehicle for policy-makers to delve into the procedures by which a terrorist was made and to suggest an analytical background for preventative agendas that transcend the threat of violence or imprisonment. The reinforcement of pre-emptive philosophy has been central to the evolution of radicalisation both in the architecture of governing and the application of programmes. The 'state of the exception' principle in combination with the concept of risk and the degree of its escalation, as socially constructed, have assisted in the establishment of the above philosophy.

Radicalisation has received multiple interpretations, despite its prominence as a term and concept in scholarly and security agendas (Githens-Mazer, 2012; Githens-Mazer and Lambert 2010; Sedgwick, 2010). The role of policymakers' interest in counterterrorism is inextricably linked to the framing of the academic debate on radicalisation. Rather than being an attempt to objectively study the modus operandi of terrorism, problematisation on the concept of radicalisation has been structured under the framework of governmental security agendas (Kant, 1996; Kundnani, 2012a).

Radicalisation was traditionally reserved for Islamists and right-wing extremists in North America and Europe, however, currently, it is additionally used for radical BLM supporters, conspiracy thinkers fighting in the Great Reset or anti-vaxxers (Peels, 2023). Secondly, although the academic community broadly use the term 'radicalisation', there is still much vagueness as far as its exact relation to violence and conceptually related phenomena are concerned, such as extremism, fanaticism, populism, non-conventional forms of political mobilisation, fundamentalism and terrorism. Thirdly, Peels (2023) argues that an operationalised analysis of radicalisation is needed to be used in quantitative and qualitative studies given that a number of existing conceptualisations of radicalisation do not meet this criterion. Finally, the concept of radicalisation has been criticised for being an instrument to police certain minorities (Kundnani, 2012a) or for its being Western centralised (Ilyas, 2021: 5). To these anxieties, Elshimi (2017) indicates that, after

the London bombings, one of the causes of radicalisation amongst British Muslim was considered to be multiculturalism.

The numerous contradictions and instabilities implicit within the interpretation of the 'radicalisation process' demonstrate the function of this narrative for governance (Heath-Kelly, 2013). As post-structuralist scholars have supported screening and surveillance projects, such as security agendas, may act in the name of managing risk, but, in reality, they are performative of it and produce risk to enable interventions (Heath-Kelly, 2013). This means that the narrative of 'radicalisation' has fitted a gap in the governance of terrorism, and the governance of the future, and can reveal much more about the nexuses between security and knowledge rather than provide us with adequate knowledge about transitions to terrorist violence. It does not matter whether the spectre of the catastrophe actually occurs, but it is instead sufficient for the potentiality to exist in order to justify pre-emptive action. This is how 'uncertainty' becomes tied up with 'futurity' (Elshimi, 2017). According to Massumi (2010: 84), policing the future is the emergent goal of security governance so as to bring about a 'future perfect' liberated from the ominous spectre of always-imminent catastrophe.

It is this pre-emptive logic that has provided the intellectual and scientific justification for agendas of community intervention, counter-extremism and counter-radicalisation. Consequently, the solution to 'radicalisation' and 'integration' becomes an issue that needs to be addressed in psychological and theological words. Elshimi concludes (2017) that deprivatisation of religion, as a result of immigration and globalisation in modern times, has challenged European societies with respect to the place of religion in social and public lives. Wherefore, radical religious ideologies, either alone or in combination with psychological mechanisms, have been viewed as a pathogen that infects those with whom they come into contact. However, no causal relationship between theology and violent acts has been proven (Kundnani, 2012a). External signs of religion have not proven to be reliable indicators of radicalisation, and not every radical thinker is an advocate of violence. Colaert (2017) argues that radicalism is not illegal and can even be constructive. For example, the American civil rights movement and the Flemish emancipation movement were considered radical at their times because they were driven by ideas that were opposed to then sociopolitical situation (Colaert, 2017).

In the field of radicalisation, Laqueur's research (2004a; 2004b) reveals that the academic society should move away from structural and political conditions and turn to individual psychological characteristics, particularly the ones connected to theological ideologies and subsequently to the temporal procedure of radicalisation of individuals, paved the way for the comprehension of the shift in extremism and terrorism. An accurate conceptualisation of radicalisation is essential, firstly, because it could provide precision and clarity to the public dialogue by providing boundaries to the idea. However, researchers (for example Borum, 2011a; 2011b; Kundnani, 2012a; Richards, 2015; Schmid, 2013) insist that such an interconnection does not exist. Hafez and Mullins (2015) argue that factors leading to radicalisation encompass -among others- cultural alienation, relationships with radicals, religious ideologies and economic hardship. Thomas (2012) claims that the involvement of a person in terrorist acts, as a result of radicalisation, is practically not a predictable event. Consequently, the obligation to identify the risk is an unrealistic duty.

Therefore, Kundnani (2012a) argues that only by analysing the interaction between the different parties in the conflict and how each interprets the other's actions is it possible to explain why the number of incidents of home-grown terrorist violent acts boosted dangerously in Europe after the launch of the Iraq war. Heath-Kelly (2013) parallels the function of 'radicalisation' as the invocation of dark matter. This metaphor reveals that the narrative of radicalisation is used around the world to breathe life into theory and explain transitions to terrorist acts, as dark matter is used to fill holes in existing theoretical physics. However, she argues (2013) that we should be prudent about the assumption that this mechanism is unquestionably existent. Moreover, decoding 'radicalisation' concludes with confusion about the inclination to violent acts with radical ideas and fails to sufficiently isolate the question of what causes violence from the question of how belief systems and ideology happen to be adopted (Kundnani, 2012a).

Conceptually, 'radicalisation' has a special weight on people as driven by a compelling ideology (Sedgwick 2010: 480), which becomes salient through social networks (Sageman, 2004, cited in Heath-Kelly, 2013). Different theoretical analyses and discussions of 'radicalisation' emphasise different dynamics (Horgan, 2008; Pedhazur, 2005), but the concept of the vital role of networking and personal judgment in the adoption of extremist ideology pervades the existing literature. There was no evidence to justify the passage of 'radicalised' persons and groups to violent acts (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010, cited in Elshimi, 2017).

Not only does the unstipulated breadth of radicalisation, given the challenged nature of the term and the variety of individuals and ensembles to whom it is applied, and therefore of counter-radicalisation, serve to confuse the enactment of responses, but also using the term 'radicalisation' does not benefit the establishment of what the trajectories into terrorism might be or why people are inclined to terrorism. Just as there is no one way into terrorism, there are no regularly understood metrics for radicalisation that could provide us with evidence as to why and when individuals cross the line between holding 'radical' views and becoming violent extremists.

Githens-Mazer and Lambert (2010: 894) argue that 'conventional wisdom' on radicalisation fails to explain why identity issues and exposure to extremist ideas causal factors in one case are but not in another (Richards, 2011). For, whilst an individual becoming a terrorist should determinedly concern those involved in counterterrorism, a person becoming 'radicalised' may not naturally be a source of anxiety. Moreover, as in the case of the 'radicalised', the method to measure and determine who is vulnerable to violent extremism or what renders them vulnerable is challenging to ascertain assuredly. This means that it is ambitious to determine someone's willingness to use or support the use of violence to further particular beliefs, including those of a political, social or ideological nature (Nasser-Eddine et al., 2011).

The work of Ylitalo-James and Silke (2024) attempts to provide answers on the reasons why only a few people fall into the canals of radicalisation while others appear to have been exposed to at least some of the same causes of radicalisation. Furthermore, Richards (2011: 10) argues that taking for granted that those who aim to perform terrorist violent acts are vulnerable to violent extremism, that they have succumbed to (violent) extremist ideology and need counselling to be rescued from manipulation by others and would not carry out such violent acts willingly underlies the government's 'intention to provide early support to those who are being drawn into offending'. Hence, the portrayal of vulnerability is crucial because it lends itself to a broader spectrum of response concerned with potentially numerous 'vulnerable' individuals, and to the danger that traditionally non-security areas, such as community integration and cohesion, become securitised. The examination of opinions cannot always be measured, but they are important social signs of behavioural paradigms (Awan et al., 2019). Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2009: 100) argue that:

> [e]xtremists are often depicted as people who see the world in simplistic black-and-white terms rather than more nuanced shades of grey. This perspective is well illustrated in work linking extremism to individual deficiencies in cognitive complexity.

Thus, comprehending vulnerability is connected to how individuals are regarded as extremists and have different attitudes and interpretations towards causes they believe to be legitimate. Awan and al. (2019) point out that rethinking counter-extremism policy is critical if we are to challenge hate and tackle terrorism in the future. This is not to diminish the significance of broader, contextual or root cause factors behind terrorism. However, these factors should be identified for their causal impact on terrorism and not for their influence on broader notions of radicalisation. In light of the above, Richards (2011) admits that radicalisation has not been a particularly useful concept upon which to base a counterterrorism response and there should be a refocus on those who engage in, or directly support, terrorist acts, rather than on people's thoughts and ideas.

As Wimelius et al. (2023) point out radicalisation should be conceptualised as an ensemble of diverse procedures and not as a distinct process. Hafez and Mullins (2015) argue that factors leading to radicalisation encompass -among others- cultural alienation, relationships with radicals, religious ideologies and economic hardship. Ambitious explanations of what causes radicalisation result in different suggestions on what resilience-building on the local level resembles. Consequently, it is evident that this has led to chaos in the enactment and application of policy agendas.

Ylitalo-James and Silke (2024) conclude that when combining proximity, exposure to violence and community isolation, some additional underlying mediating factors came into the fore and deepened the in-between connections. These factors include community violence and support (Finkel et al., 2021), increased or distorted perception of threat and concurrent stress (Canetti et al., 2013) and group cohesion, especially under circumstances of in-group grievance, distrust of conventional political processes for community representation and protection (Zeitzoff, 2014; 2018) and finally loss of personal and group significance (Kruglanski et al., 2014). Another source of anxiety these people endeavor to deal with is whether civil and public society actors should foresee risk signs or engage in the identification of protective factors and structures. Indeed, research on agendas at a local level also demonstrates that they contain an in-built tension between risk and protection and confusion as to whom and on what level radicalisation is a source of concern (Wimelius et al., 2023). To put it differently, delving into these experiences of local actors sufficiently reflect the huge but fragmented literature on the concept and mechanisms of radicalisation.

Sousa et al. (2013) argue that, from a social work perspective, emotional orientations -such as a collective sense of hope, agency, altruism, trust, and security- help promote community resilience. A collective sense of hope motivates community actions, as does a sense of collective security, whereby there is a general feeling within the population that they are free from dangers or that dangers are controllable (Wimelius et al., 2023). This is the reason why Wimelius et al. (2023) put weight on protective elements and resilience at the local level and provide us with the opportunity to move beyond dissolution both in research and policies areas of interest. They continue by saying that the dialogue on radicalisation concludes in a disagreement between security and social perspectives or risk and protective factors (Wimelius et al., 2023). That is also reflected in the continuous discussion on the shortfall of progress in research on the concept of radicalisation. Even though research on radicalisation has grown, many questions remain unanswered (Schmid, 2013). As Ravn et al. (2019) admit, we still do not know why the procedures of radicalisation and terrorism periodically thrive in modern societies.

II.1.v. The role of education in the prevention of radicalisation.

Governments, as well as violent and extremist organisations, have recognised that education is a neuralgic domain in any society. For this reason, education has always been seen as the arena for ideological, religious and political movements, including violent extremist and terrorist groups, to impose their values and views on society as a whole (Samuel, 2020). To counter radicalisation that could lead to extremism and terrorism, the role of education seems to be based on human security purposes, as human security is primarily preventive/proactive rather than reactive/repressive (Adebayo and Mansikka, 2018; Ghosh et al., 2016). Therefore, Davies (2014a; 2014b) suggests that education and human security elements could help prevent violent radicalisation and extremism, prevent crises and promote security and peace (Adebayo, 2021). This has resulted in educational institutions being considered as a potential target offering the possibility of indoctrinating and recruiting thousands of new soldiers to violent extremism and terrorism (Samuel, 2020). However, placing education at the top of preventive efforts comes with several challenges (Mitchell, 2016). More explicitly, although education can contribute to addressing the challenges surrounding extremism, there are deep concerns about how educational environments are called upon to deal with it. It is argued

(Waever, 1995) that the prevention of extremism in education is approached through a security paradigm, with the main purpose lying in identifying threats. This paradigm can undermine educational relationships and broader educational goals, as it is not grounded in an unambiguous educational background (Glaser, 2017; O'Donnell, 2016; Sieckelinck et al., 2015; Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2020).

For this reason, even today, the security lens raises the question, as posed by Sieckelinck and Stephens (2023: 415): is it possible for the prevention of extremism to have a pedagogical core? New technologies problematise teachers and educators worldwide (Valkenburg and Piotrowski, 2017). In particular, as far as young people are concerned, prevention of radicalisation has been characterised as 'a solution in search of a problem' (Ragazzi and Walmsley, 2020: 391). That is to say, while this challenge is numerically marginal in comparison to the usual, regular issues faced by schools, there are pressures from above and below to 'do something' about radicalisation.

A crucial issue is that the discourses of radicalisation and extremism have been more closely linked to counter-terrorism than to education or pedagogy (Davies, 2018; Glaser, 2017; O'Donnell, 2016; Sieckelinck et al., 2015). A significant portion of researchers (Halstead and Pike, 2006; O'Donnell, 2016; Sieckelinck et al., 2015; Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023) thematises the tensions of securitised educational efforts in the context of the prevention of violent extremism. The underlying rationale of the education and security paradigms overlap. However, they are sometimes opposed. For example, idealist educators are committed to independent critical thinking and questioning given assumptions, while security agents want to identify potential deviants and gather intelligence (Halstead and Pike, 2006; O'Donnell, 2016; Sieckelinck et al., 2015; Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023). For this reason, the interpretation of ideas and classroom discussions in the light of a security-based agenda can undermine pedagogical efforts.

To continue, Davies (2008) argues that education can act as an environment in which students could be helped to unlearn extremist beliefs or stop and disengage from extremist behaviours. From a pedagogical point of view, the judgment of adolescents about their disruptive views or activities is highly contested since young people must perform a series of developmental tasks in which the status quo is always questioned to successfully negotiate the transition from childhood to the adult world (Erikson, 1968; Sieckelinck and de Ruyter, 2009).

More specifically, youth between the ages of 15 and 25 are most vulnerable to embracing extremist ideologies, as they are at a developmental age where they are looking to discover their own identity, find meaning in their lives and strengthen their self-confidence (Veenkamp and Zeiger, 2015 cited in Samuel, 2020). This age group is also more prone to take greater risks as they take action more easily (Ghosh et al., 2017). Compared to those who are more experienced, the minds of young people are also more susceptible to outside influences.

Thus, many young people, when dealing with identity issues, experiment with alternative and radical attitudes. Children and adolescents are more vulnerable to external influences, such as manipulation and propaganda (Harpviken, 2021), and are, therefore, suitable targets for recruitment attempts of extremist groups (Bloom, 2017). Neumann (2017: 54) also points out that young people "are disproportionately affected by violent extremism, both as victims and perpetrators" (Vallinkoski and Benjamin, 2023). Therefore, they have fewer internal protective mechanisms against extremist ideologies. Violent extremists are well aware of this vulnerability, and consequently, this sensitivity is often exploited (Samuel, 2020).

Across Europe, political agendas seem less attentive to how liberal, progressive and inclusive pedagogies can be used to offset extremist narratives (Streitwieser et al., 2019). While intelligence bodies are primarily looking for suspects, teachers aim to educate and transform their students (Sieckelinck et al., 2015). Whereas education cannot be excluded from protecting students from a range of anti-social issues, such as violent extremism, placing educators at the forefront of these efforts can lead to misidentification and misreporting of students. Such situations can further lead to insecurity, exclusion and discomfort both for teachers and students (Sieckelinck et al., 2015).

The research-evidence base (Davies, 2014a; 2014b; Miller, 2013) argues the need for education to help students act ethically and think critically. There is still evidence that educators prefer to make efforts through civic education and democratic citizenship in the fight against radicalisation (Sjøen and Jore, 2019). By helping students develop democratic and peaceful skills, abilities and attitudes, the educational community can fulfill key pedagogical functions and contribute to preventive interventions (Sklad and Park, 2017). However, as Harris-Hogan et al. (2019) argued, globally there are clear limitations to the proactive expectations now placed on teachers. Thus, as they pointed out (2019), teachers cannot enrol their educational efforts in the security and information agenda without complications.

Sklad and Park (2017) argue that a more appropriate approach to preventing radicalisation and violent extremism in education can be achieved by facilitating learning environments and strengthening social and democratic capacities. These qualities are required for 'an individual to thrive in life and contribute actively to a democratic society' (Sklad and Park, 2017: 435). Consequently, counter-radicalisation initiatives based on the different functions of what Biesta (2009) calls 'good education' could maximise positive counter-radicalisation outcomes. More specifically, educational institutions will at least approach their students as worthy of education, which, according to Biesta (2016), consists of individualisation, qualification and socialisation (Sieckelinck et al., 2015). Prevention of extremism requires constant attention to the quality of school ethos and not random interventions. As an alternative to the narrow security perspective, schools can become places where all students can share and explore their ideals and identities without fear of ridicule, discover a sense of purpose, and realise that schools cannot accept all they can appreciate. In addition, they can learn to take into account the wide range of interests and values of other students and society at large (de Ruyter and Sieckelinck, 2023; Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023).

Furthermore, dealing with perplexing phenomena such as extremism cannot be succeeded through singular cause-and-effect arguments. Transnationally situated counter-extremism pedagogy shifts the focus away from the exclusivity of the singular national, cultural, and societal contexts to find and understand the causes of violence at the level of transnational policies, procedures, forces and institutions (Arshad-Ayaz and Naseem, 2017). Effective counter-extremism pedagogy should engage with excluded knowledge systems based on interdisciplinarity and its focus away from the exclusivity of the individual national, cultural and social framework.

According to Smith (2012), marginalisation, and in some cases the complete extermination, of other systems or ways of knowing are themselves acts of (extreme) violence that are rarely recognised. Arshad-Ayaz and Naseem (2017) point out that a critical counter-extremism pedagogy should demystify these vital connections. This pedagogy must be interdisciplinary, situated in a transnational spectrum able to introduce and engage with excluded knowledge systems, and finally should lead to action aimed at just and inclusive political, economic and intellectual changes (Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023). It should be able to insist on the primacy of alternative understandings and to appreciate the relationship between education and the wider political, economic and social order. More importantly, however, as Sieckelinck

and Stephens (2023) argue, schools can only contribute to the counter-extremism agenda if radicalisation is seen as a pedagogical challenge. This is applicable if counter-radicalisation is organised through a pedagogical prism both within formal and informal educational environments.

In respect to all the above, since my research focused on the experiences of teachers with right-wing extremism among their students, it was also crucial to outline the phenomenon of right-wing extremism with its complexities and how the role of education in preventing radicalisation is conceptualised in the existing scholarship. I had the opportunity to more purposefully record and analyse Greek teachers' perceptions of how signs of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism could be recognised. Subsequently, I discuss how their contribution to the fight against this alarming phenomenon could be shaped within Greek schools.

II.2. What does extreme right look like in Greece?

II.2.i. The case of Greece.

A court verdict in Athens with ramifications for the extreme right across Europe was met with jubilation in Greece and internationally after judges ruled the neo-fascist GD was a criminal organisation in disguise. The hearing was the biggest trial of fascists since the prosecution of the Nazis at Nuremberg after the second world war (Smith, 2020). Having started my PhD and while exploring the concepts of extremism, radicalisation and the role of educational community in efforts to deal with them, I decided to shift the core interest of my research to the Greek educational community in order to explore the imprint of this momentous court verdict in Greek schools.

Greece, which appeared to have put its troubled history of Nazi occupation, civil war, and dictatorship behind it, seemed to be one of the countries where extreme right politics could never move beyond the margins (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). Historically, Rori et al. (2022) indicate that political violence has been present in Greece since the very beginning of the Third Republic in 1974 and onwards. Xenakis (2012) points out that, as a leftover of the military regime, the genesis of extreme right-wing terrorism in Greece emerged, however for many years the phenomenon was ignored in the legal

sphere and officially under-registered. Scholars (for example Gkotzaridis, 2017) argue that extreme right paramilitary organisations remained under the surface during the transition to democracy with the toleration of hidden police networks and covert instruments of the 'deep state'.

However, the onset of the financial crisis marked a new period in the study of Greek populism (Andreadis and Stavrakakis, 2017; Pappas and Aslanidis, 2015). According to the bibliography, populism in Greece developed alongside the rise of the populist right-wing family in Europe (Tsatsanis et al., 2018). The intensification and renewal of populist discourses in the country is the outcome of the financial recession and the harsh austerity policies that followed. The rapidly changing socio-economic landscape has led to new rifts surfacing in the electorate and the elimination of firm loyalty to democratic parties (Teperoglou et al., 2015: 336). The intensification of populist rhetoric went hand in hand with what appeared to be a full-blown crisis of regime legitimacy in the early years of the crisis. Manifestations of this crisis of legitimacy were the rise of anti-democratic parties such as the neo-fascist GD and the lack of trust in the Greek government and representative institutions (Tsatsanis et al., 2018). Nevertheless, since the 2000s extreme right violence has been intensified. The neo-Nazi organisation GD dominates the second generation of extreme right violent schemata.

Within a year since the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, the neo-Nazi GD organisation had emerged as a real political player, whilst its violent members were making their presence felt with attacks on minority groups and immigrants. In a report issued by Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative and published in October 2021, one of the activists on the frontline of actions to oppose this extreme right schema characteristically mentioned that "in one year, it skyrocketed" (2021: 3). More explicitly, Rori et al. (2022) support that political violence is a deeply rooted and complex phenomenon, which grows under circumstances of economic catastrophe. After the outbreak of the financial crisis, a succession of events, such as public spending downsising, midterm fiscal programmes, Memoranda of Understanding, prompted anti-austerity initiatives and mass protests, many of which have resulted in tensions between protesters and the police, as well as in extreme right and extreme left violent movements (Aslanidis and Marantzidis, 2016; Georgiadou et al., 2019; Simiti, 2015).

During the crisis political violence was motivated by grievances. Thought on extreme right mobilisation, Lamprianou and Ellinas (2017) argue that it flourishes under counteraction and cultural grievances

conditions. Indeed, as emphasised in the Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative report (2021: 3), the financial crisis led to such a state of collapse that -for many ordinary people- it "felt as if the state had disappeared". At the time, GD capitalised on the severe economic suffering and pushed a political message that was nationalistic and anti-immigration, while on the streets GD supporters engaged in violent actions that mainly targeted refugees and immigrants. Characteristically, the above report of Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative (2021: 3) includes initiatives of community-based publicity tricks when members of the GD organised blood donation events 'Give Blood for Greeks', 'Foodbanks for Greeks', created fake media stories about escorting elderly people to collect their cash from ATM machines claiming concerns for refugees attacks.

In comparison with other radical right parties across Western Europe, GD's ideological platform was much more extreme. Ellinas (2015) points out that GD adopted a biological conception of nationalism reminiscent of Nazi ideology. Nevertheless, another characteristic that discerned GD was its correlation with violence. In May 2012, Greece became the first European country to elect members of a neo-Nazi party, the racist GD, to its parliament. In the May 2014 European elections, GD boosted its electoral strength in spite of the criminal prosecution of its leadership and scholars' opposite calculation.

Until 2010, social surveys simply recorded a negative opinion of Greeks about the immigrants and their role, a lack of a positive view of them. The Greeks may have had a negative view of immigrants, but they did not have hostile views of them, something that began to apply in the following years. With the help of the Greek mass media, a large part of the society considered immigrants and in general the phenomenon of immigration to Greece as a 'threat' (Avgerou et al., 2016). The citizens of the country no longer saw immigration as a socio-cultural event, but as a social problem that needed to be addressed. It is stated that the state itself, the parties, especially the extreme right parties, such as GD, as well as their hate speeches towards specific social groups, the mass media, education/schools contribute to the spread of racism (Gazakis et al., 2014) as well as the connection of immigrants with crime alongside the emergence of the economic crisis, thus causing an anti-immigration climate, mainly in Athens (Humans Rights Watch, 2012). At the political and institutional level, as Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou (2015: 81) observe, nationalism was evident in the rhetoric of all parties 'regardless of ideology or other social cleavages'. This means that

the polarisation within Greek society exists along the lines of a left-right dipole. However, it remains united by nationalism (Halikiopoulou et al., 2012; Kalyvas and Marantzidis, 2002).

In the meta-dictatorship era, the democratic consolidation procedures could restrain but not eradicate nationalism, especially its xenophobic, exclusionary quality (Fragoudaki, 2013). Thus, the normalisation of racist and xenophobic rhetoric dominated the political level and facilitated the rhetoric of the GD. More analytically, the economic crisis itself is not sufficient justification for the rise of this violent extreme right party. The exploitation of people's insecurity and discontent was evident during such a difficult economic period, however, in the case of Greece, the financial recession was an opportunity for a socio-political crisis, against the background of the increase in immigration. This means that the rise of GD, beyond the economic crisis and its consequences, was facilitated by the interconnected sociopolitical crisis (Alkiviadou, 2020). The traditionally dominant political parties, PASOK and NEA DEMOCRACY lost the trust of Greek voters and disappointed society, with the result that many citizens blamed them for the desperate situation the beginning of the economic crisis caused (Alkiviadou, 2020).

II.2.ii. The case of Golden Dawn.

As an example of right-wing extremism, GD, developed a visible and powerful paramilitary action by systematically attacking leftists and immigrants (Charalambous and Christoforou, 2018). By 2012, the GD had risen its influence and became the third largest political party in Greece, electing 18 MPs with almost 7% of the vote (Anagnostou and Skleparis, 2015). Consequently, extreme right ideology and violence have progressively escalated since 2010 and they have been substantially connected to the appearance of the GD, which has gained representation in the Greek Parliament (Anagnostou and Skleparis, 2015). In parallel, on the streets, GD organisers paid young people to engage in violence. Mobile phones and other belongings were stolen from victims to be sold (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). Simultaneously, they were attracted by the idea of hitting back at the state due to their experience of lack of opportunity and poverty, as well as being offered an easy target to blame for their financial decrease of income, namely progressives and immigrants (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2014).

However, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), as well as the EUROPOL Terrorism Reports, do not record attacks by extreme right organisations, largely due to the fact that such data was not recorded by the Greek state itself until 2012 (Anagnostou and Skleparis, 2015). As seen from the annual reports of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), from 2007 to 2010, the Greek authorities recorded very few hate crimes, while convictions were non-existent (Theofilopoulos, 2016). In contrast, the Racist Violence Reporting Network (RVRN) recorded 383 racist attacks from October 2011 to December 2013. For several years, GD acted violently against those they considered outside of their dogma and belief system, such as political opponents, immigrants and other groups, without the fear of some serious consequences being imposed on them by the state and its institutions (Alkiviadou, 2020).

Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative (2021: 3) report that by 2011 a network of civil society organisation was concentrated to address the attacks being carried out by GD's 'battalions', which were under-reported by media and ignored by the official state. Karamanidou (2016) refers to the long-term reluctance of the Greek state to address the phenomenon of violence perpetrated by the GD's supporters (Amnesty International, 1992, 2012; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005 cited in Karamanidou, 2016; Fundamental Rights Agency, 2013). Since 2011, the Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN) started collecting information on cases in order to identify, analyse and highlight racist violence trends in Greece and thus fill in the failure of the state to respond to GD violence first and foremost due to the absence of an official data collection mechanism. Whilst police claimed that "they had detected one incident of racial hate crime on the streets of Athens", the RVRN records on racist violence unveiled a dark everyday reality (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021: 4). A significant portion could be linked to GD, however, the numbers represented the tip of the iceberg. Many of the attacks occurred in public places and GD used weapons such as batons, crowbars, folding truncheons, sprays, chains, brass knuckles, knives and broken bottles (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). GD's supporters often used to wear military trousers and black uniforms, reflecting the party's military-style organisation, in an attempt to arouse fear. Their targets were those they consider as internal and external enemies; namely left-wing activists, immigrants and refugees (Vrakopoulos and Halikiopoulou, 2019).

Karamanidou (2016) reveals that, under considerable domestic and international criticism, in 2012, the Greek government organised a specialised police office and a phone line for reporting racist violence (Ministry for Public Order and Citizen Protection (MPOCP) 2012; Ombudsman, 2013). In 2016, Greece was convicted in the European Court of Human Rights over its failure to properly investigate a racially motivated attack. Fekete (2020) predicts that in future time, undoubtedly academia will maximise research and publications on the accelerated boost of the GD in the years between 2008 and 2012, by providing various explanations about how such a violent semi-military National Socialist party, founded only a few years after the end of the Regime of the Colonels (1967-1974) by people closely liaised to the military dictatorship, could become the third largest grouping in the Greek parliament, and on its echoing shattering in September 2013.

The issue of racist violence in Greece has been also addressed by the European Court of Human Rights in legal cases, such the case of Sakir versus Greece. Sakir case concerns the violation by the authorities of their obligation under the European Convention on Human Rights, to conduct an effective investigation into a violent attack against an immigrant which resulted in injury (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). In particular, the Court found, inter alia, that the authorities had failed to investigate the possible racist motive for this attack (breach of the procedural part of Article 3 of the ECHR). Furthermore, the case of Gjikondi and others versus Greece concerned the murder of a foreigner and, inter alia, the failure to investigate the possible racist motives of the perpetrators (violation of the procedural part of Article 2 right to life of the ECHR) (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020). Moreover, Shehzad Luqman, a 27-year-old Pakistani national, was killed in January 2013.

In the meantime, an ethnic Greek anti-fascist musician, Pavlos Fyssas, with his songs, was annoying GD, as his father testified in court during the proceedings of the GD trial (Dima, 2015). His murder on the evening of the 17/18th September 2013 by Georgios Roupakias, who was a member of the GD party council in the area of Nikaias, with the help of a hit squad that had hunted Fyssas on the streets from a café he was found himself, changed this situation almost immediately (Alkiviadou, 2020). After his murder, Pavlos Fyssas, became a national symbol of anti-fascism in Greece (Kousoulos-Goumenos, 2019) and the persecution of the organisation's leadership succeeded in shedding light on GD's doctrine and action. Indeed, the country witnessed 'an unprecedented mobilisation of law enforcement mechanisms' that

resulted in the arrest and prosecution of the leadership and some party members for, among other things, leadership and participation in a criminal organisation in violation of Article 187 of the Greek Penal Code (Alkiviadou, 2020: 69-70; Gazakis et al., 2014: 7).

Consequently, its neo-Nazi action came into the spotlight. More specifically, it revealed a paramilitary wing involved in a wide spectrum of crimes and illegal activities (Deputy Public Prosecutor, 2013, cited in Koronaiou et al., 2015). The trial was led by state prosecutors on the basis of Article 187 of the Greek Criminal Code, described as being akin to the 'mafia clause', defining the nature of a criminal organisation. Lawyers representing GD's victims in the proceedings worked pro bono. GD lawyers, on the other hand, were employed by the political organisation at its parliament and were well-funded (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). GD claimed it was the victim of a state conspiracy, but this claim was demolished when lawyers challenging the party brought forward its victims, who were shown to be vulnerable individuals and low-paid workers (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021). Catalytic was the harangue of one of the lawyers of GD victims family, Thanasis Kampagiannis (2020: 222), when during the proceedings of the GD trial he aptly emphasised that GD:

> They wanted to send a message to the integrated, just like the Abu Hamed family in Perama. They wanted to reverse the process of coexistence where it had been achieved, like when you want to tear a garment, you tear it at the seams. That's what they were aiming at.

In October 2020, the trial, which lasted more than five years came to a verdict. The court convicted seven of GD's former MPs, including its founder and leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos, of heading a criminal -not terrorist though- organisation. They received sentences of 10 to 15 years in prison. The party's 'representative', Kasidiaris, were sentenced to prison terms of more than 13 years for leadership of a criminal organisation. The remaining MPs were sentenced to prison terms of between 5-7 years for participation in a criminal organisation (Alkiviadou, 2020; Gazakis et al., 2014). Twenty other prominent members or former MPs were found guilty of participating in the criminal organisation. Twenty-seven members were condemned for specific criminal acts. They faced multi-year sentences, while the murderer of Pavlos Fyssas received a life sentence. The more crucial element of this trial was that GD was now known in Greek society for what it always had been, a violent, criminal organisation (Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative, 2021).

Nevertheless, a recent report from the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo, shows that from 2016 to 2019 Greece experienced more severe right-wing violence per capita than any other country in Western Europe. Although few have been killed in these right-wing attacks, there have been as many as 3.1 serious violent incidents per million inhabitants in Greece compared to 1.3 in the other extreme right-wing hotspot in Western Europe, Germany. In Italy and the UK, countries with relatively high levels of violence, the ratio is 0.7 and 0.6, respectively. In addition, the report demonstrates that between the years 2016 and 2019, while many countries have very few cases of serious violent attacks and right-wing plots, in Greece there were at least 33 such events. Most of these incidents occurred in Athens, including neighbouring areas such as Villa and Piraeus (in total 17). However, in 2018 and 2019, really serious violent incidents also took place in major cities such as Thessaloniki, in the region of Macedonia and on the island of Lesvos, where far-right activists got into street fights with people protesting their presence (Jupskås and Fielitz, 2020; TRT World, 2020).

One of the more alarming issues regarding the phenomenon of GD was the proportion of young supporters, which is higher than the GD's average supporting level, as among young people GD maintain the second post in popularity. Koronaiou et al. (2015) suggest that GD's vote should not be considered as an act of symbolism and anger, but as a conscious political choice that cannot be ascribed only to sentiments. Their research highlighted that, when the proportion of young people who showed interest in GD rhetoric and practice rose and the organisation's influence became evident within the educational system, the essentiality to redefine the relationship of Greek youth with GD became pressing.

II.2.iii. Beyond GD. The old-new extreme right in Greece.

Fekete (2020) refers to the challenging issues that have arisen since the prosecution of the members of the GD and the beginning of the trial. Characteristically, the starting point of the questions was concerned with how the MPs of a political party can be prosecuted for structuring a violent criminal conspiracy and at the same time still be allowed to contest elections -with their founder and leader Nikos Michaloliakos, after his initial arrest, even allowed to broadcast to huge public rallies from his prison cell. The response to this paradoxical reality lies in the Greek Constitution of 1975, which was drawn up immediately after the

collapse of the Junta, established the Third Hellenic Republic and denied the banning of political parties. She points out the irony of the fact that GD has been beneficiated from the Greek Constitution, for which the utmost priority is to protect democracy, in particular given the fact that Michaloliakos, having met the late dictator Georgios Papadopoulos while in prison in 1976 for an assault on journalists, was handpicked by Papadopoulos himself to lead a reformed extreme right party in Greek scene. During that period of prison 'apprenticeship alongside high-ranking members of the military dictatorship', as Dimitris Psarras explains (2013; 2015), Michaloliakos became "acquainted with the structures of the 'Deep State', the ties between state institutions (the police, secret service, the military, politics and administration), the church and right-wing extremists" (Fekete, 2020: 52).

The above explanations are also connected with the fact that in parallel with the collapse of GD, there has been mobility within the concentric circles of the extreme right in Greece (Souliotis, 2020). Therefore, nowadays, an inquiry is currently looming over the state of democracy in Greece as the country has faced the potential resurgence of extreme right extremism for the second time within two decades. It is of utmost importance that the country demonstrates an unwavering determination to eradicate the influence of neo-Nazism. The rise of extreme-right politics is alarming, and the lack of concern from the Greek government, according to Samaras (2023) raises serious questions about their commitment to preserving the quality of democracy in Greece in this highly polarised environment. Especially nowadays, when the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory (Bergmann, 2021; Butter, 2020) gains attention in more mainstream political dialogue in Northern America and Europe (Ekman, 2022; Jedinger et al., 2023). The core idea of this conspiracy theory lies in the perception that welcoming immigration policies facilitating mass immigration to the Western states is part of a secret agenda organised by liberal political élites, which aims to gradually replace the autochthonous White and Christian population with Muslim and non-White immigrants and fuels anti-immigration views within societal structures (Bergmann, 2021; Butter, 2020).

With most of GD members in prison, the party has lost its leadership and political power in Greece. This may suggest that GD has reached its nadir, however, other extreme right parties have emerged recently to fill the gap left by GD. Indeed, several extreme right groups emerged to fill the void throughout the GD trial process, which also led to a gradual operational dismantling of the GD. Groups such as the Anentahtoi Maiandroi (AME) -Ethnikistes Combat 18, Apella, and Krypteia -all directly or indirectly linked to

GD- made their appearance targeting mainly refugees and immigrants (Racist Violence Recording Network, 2018). In 2022, a 23-year-old migrant and farm worker was brutally beaten by a group of nationalists in Athens (Ravndal et al., 2023). Currently, the ideology of dictatorship has replenished itself, directing its venom against refugees, immigrants and LGBTQI+ communities, the new 'enemies inside the walls' (Fekete, 2020: 64).

Historically, Greece has been a country with high levels of far-right violence (Frangoudaki, 2013; Sotiris, 2015). The RTV 2020 Report by the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) highlights three current trends that are particularly noteworthy, namely the escalation of violence in the naming issue of North Macedonia before the Prespa Agreement signed between Greece and the country now officially called the Republic of North Macedonia in June 2018 (Chryssogelos and Stavrevska, 2019), the ongoing refugee crisis and continued violent activity by extreme right militant groups (Ravndal et al., 2020). These trends are interrelated with the result that, especially in the border areas, an explosive mixture is created (Takou, 2020). In addition, Greece's pro-Nato stance in the war in Ukraine and growing anti-westernism have vivified the return of the populist radical right (Smith, 2023). The political representation linked to the ongoing financial crisis and the overall crisis of democracy that immersed the country into deep austerity are still present and are even more acute after the emergency phase of the Covid-19 pandemic was over. Extreme right groups and parties to appear as 'regulators' take advantage of this ideal situation (Human Rights 360, 2021).

A typical example is the ultra-nationalist party, Hellenic Solution, which appeared in the 2019 general elections and won 10 seats in the Greek Parliament. Although it has not endorsed the extremist dogma of the GD, it has many similarities with this neo-Nazi organisation. Until recently, its leader, Kyriakos Velopoulos, who has a long history of political activity with several right-wing parties, including the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) and NEW DEMOCRACY, more recently, appears to lead the 'new' extreme right politics in Greece (Samaras, 2021).

The situation in Greece after the national elections of May and June 2023 confirm the above prediction. More precisely, in this year's national elections, eleven of the seventeen extreme right parties that submitted an application to the Supreme Court took part in the elections. These are newly established parties, with a stronger representation in Northern Greece. Papaioannou, the director of the initiative "Simeio for the Study

and Counteraction of the Extreme Right", when interviewed by Antonopoulos (2023: no pagination), argued that:

> within the right wing there is certainly an extreme right trend that is legitimised, normalised. The extreme right agenda on law and order, immigration, national identity, gender equality and education can certainly unfold more comfortably in this friendly environment. Let's not forget that in these issues the right-wing and far-right agendas coincide to a large extent. The two spaces are not identical but are in osmosis and communication.

Despite some individual differences among scholars, their estimation, in agreement with the general feeling, is that the extreme right, as a whole, came out rather strengthened (up to +2.5%) in these elections, attracting up to 10% of the electorate, even without the extremist character of the GD (Antonopoulos, 2023). As far as the extreme right is concerned, three ultra-conservative parties entered the parliament, although in no way can they converge in terms of ideology or political perspective: Niki (Victory), which is a socially conservative party with many references to the Christian orthodox religion, the Hellenic Solution, which is a nationalist party with an anti-immigration agenda, and the Spartans, a rather xenophobic and extreme right militant formation, which was openly supported by former MP and GD member, Ilias Kasidiaris, who is in jail serving a prison sentence, and of which he seems to be the real leader (Asimakopoulos and Fouskas, 2023).

More specifically, the extreme right party, Hellenic Solution, received 4.45% and 12 seats. However, not only one party represents the extreme right in the Greek political scene. The newly formed party of Spartans entered the Greek Parliament. Indeed, Spartans won almost 4.7% of the vote, crossing the threshold and entering Parliament for the first time. The party's leader, Ilias Stigas, stated that Spartans constitute the new 'nationalist party' ready to defend and represent 'the ideals of Hellenism and the values that are currently lacking in our country'. Despite their lack of apparent preparedness, the Spartans were backed by more than 240,000 Greeks at the ballot box, with the party's leader, Vassilis Stigas, in his first public statement, thanking Kasidiaris profusely for providing 'the fuel' for the party to do so well (Smith, 2023). The third extreme right party represented in the parliament is the ultra-conservative Christian Orthodox party, Niki (Victory), gathering 3.7% of the vote and 10 seats (Tsagkroni et al., 2023). Like the anti-abortion, profoundly religious Niki (Victory), which rallied the Hellenic Orthodox church to win support in small

towns of Balkan northern Greece and villages, the extremist party was supported by young and old nationwide (Smith, 2023).

At the end of a marathon trial and after its entire leadership was sentenced to long jail terms, the chasm left by GD was waiting to be filled. Despite his imprisonment, Ilias Kasidiaris, earlier in 2023, sent a shudder through the media and, undoubtedly, parts of the judiciary, when leading a now defunct, hate-mongering organisation, Hellenes. The Greek judicial authorities prevented Kasidiaris's party from participating in the national elections (Smith, 2023). The renascent right has been able to tap into anger over soaring prices, just as the extremist group exploited fury over austerity policies demanded by Greece's creditors during its financial crisis.

Recently, Spartans were excluded from participating in the European Parliament elections by the Greek judicial authorities. The Hellenic Supreme Court, ruling on which parties can participate in the European elections, found that the Spartans party 'offered their party as a cloak to the new political party of Ilias Kasidiaris', the former representative of GD, who is currently in prison (Kitsantonis, 2024: no pagination). More specifically, the Supreme Court argued that Ilias Kasidiaris is the actual leader of Spartans, which 'substitutes' for GD, acting as a front and thus allowing him to bypass the eligibility restrictions to participate in this electoral battle (Kitsantonis, 2024). Besides, as Christopoulos (2014) mentions, GD's ties to the Greek 'deep state' -namely church, justice, police, etc.- that allowed its operational immunity all these years had never really been addressed. With this decision, the Greek Supreme Court ruled that the Spartans embraced totalitarian ideologies, bigoted ideas, xenophobia and crimes against humanity and that they 'aim to weaken and collapse the democratic political system, particularly through the use of violence or incitement in violence' (Kitsantonis, 2024: no pagination).

Populist right-wing and extreme right parties in many EU member states registered strong performances in the European Parliament elections. The agenda of these parties includes opposition to the Green Deal, economic insecurity and anti-immigrant sentiments (Grant et al., 2024). In Greece, in the most recent electoral procedure of the June 2024 European elections, extreme right parties significantly increased their share of the vote (Nellas, 2024). The Hellenic Solution managed to collect 9.30% of the votes, up from 4.18% in 2019; the ultra-religious Niki (Victory) was at 4.37%, and the Voice of Reason (3.04%) managed to elect an MEP (Ministry of the Interior, 2024).

The impact of the recent elections in Greece and the unexpected success of extreme right parties, especially the Spartans, has sparked debates about the socio-political situation in Greek society and the direction the nation is headed. First and foremost, it worries the academic community about the underlying factors that allowed this form of extremism to gain traction within the fabric of Greek society (Samaras, 2023). The potential resurgence of GD through the Spartans is worrying, considering the previous convictions and prison sentences imposed on its members. The support of Ilias Kasidiaris, even though it was controversial, managed to influence a significant portion of the electorate. This demonstrates the enduring appeal of the extreme right ideologies, even in the face of legal consequences. In parallel, as Jupskås and Fielitz (2022) point out, in Greece, we witness more and more heterogeneous patterns of political partnership, with perpetrators being highly energetic in social media networks and online forums, all of which makes it challenging to predict future trends in extreme right violence in Greek society. The fact that such extreme right parties currently have a prominent voice in the Greek parliament is a worrying sign of the rise of xenophobia and intolerance (Samaras, 2023).

II.2.iv. Responses towards right-wing extremism and radicalisation in Greece.

The contemporary upsurge of the extreme right has brought into the spotlight the responses of democracies against the phenomenon of extremism (Ellinas and Lamprianou, 2021). As far as societal responses to extremism are concerned, Pedahzur (2001) argues that racism, xenophobia, stereotypes, and even violence should be considered as almost structural parts of the modern democratic societies. Thus, an active civil society could serve as a connecting link between the state and its citizens. Ellinas and Lamprianou (2021) argue that in Greece, societal responses to extremism have a non-violent character, through protests and marches, street-level mobilisation and demonstrations, rather than through violent conflicts with extremism supporters. In addition, concerning GD, local authorities across the country, justifying their decisions as a defence of democratic values, often denied GD access to public spaces for their events (Ellinas, 2020). Correspondingly, the professional association of broadcasting employees decided on brief strikes every time the Greek Radio and Television had to broadcast GD's parliamentary speeches by essentially blockading them. Their purpose was to protect democracy against its opponents (Malkopoulou, 2021).

a. The legal and social policy framework.

Phelps et al. (2019) argue that, as far as the official acts of terrorism in Greece are concerned, none has been officially tied to the activities of right-wing extremist groups or individuals, who have instead been arrested for violent attacks against far-left groups and refugees. Counter-terrorism laws have evolved in the Greek legal structure and is addressed by different articles of the Greek Criminal Code (articles 187 and 187A). As far as the dangers of radicalisation are concerned, these are clearly recognised by regional bodies and governmental departments and institutions, which is evidenced through agendas to improve training for law enforcement agencies in responding to violent extremism (Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen, 2020). These actions, as stated by Phelps et al. (2019), are possibly covered, in a broad spectrum, by overreaching counterterrorism laws. In the case of GD, criminal law was put in motion. Indeed, Prosecutor and the irrevocable decision of the Judicial Council was that GD leaders and members were to stand trial for violating Article 187 of the Criminal Code on Criminal Organisation (Malkopoulou, 2021).

To continue, concerning racism, hate and violence, in Greece, already since the beginning of 2000, in reports published by institutional national Human Rights institutions, such as the National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) and the Ombudsman, by international organisations mechanisms, such as the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance of the Council of Europe (ECRI), by international non-governmental organisations, such as Human Rights Watch, and the Fundamental Rights Agency, had repeatedly referred to the continuing manifestation of racism and intolerance and in the absence of effective remedies (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020).

A groundbreaking initiative in the area of social policy within Greek locality is the adoption of a National Action plan against Racism and Intolerance 2020-2023 (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020). In accordance with Council of Europe Framework Decision 2008/913/EC of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia through Criminal Law, the 4285/2014 Law replaces the previous legislative provision and introduces a modern, detailed and stricter legal response on public incitement to violence or hatred.

Malkopoulou (2021) suggested that the demand of punishing the political or terrorist nature behind GD's criminal activities was to some extent met by the new 'anti-racist law'. More precisely, Law 4285/2014 in

Article 1, made a punishable offence of the public and intentional incitement to racist discrimination, hate or violence, and of the public and intentional praise, belittlement or denial of genocides, war crimes and crimes against humanity in Article 2. It also increased penalties and fines for Criminal Code violations that were motivated by racist hatred, foresaw administrative penalties for legal entities linked to racist crimes and authorised ex officio prosecution for racist crimes in Article 10. However, the left party SYRIZA expressed its criticism towards this new legal provision by emphasising the necessity of intention on the part of the perpetrator and the establishment of a link between the speech and the incitement to violence or hatred. Otherwise, it could restrict free speech rather than criminalise racist violence as such (Malkopoulou, 2021).

To continue, Law 4356/2015 (articles 15-19) established the National Council against Racism and Intolerance, as an advisory body, whose objective is the planning of policies against racism, the coordination of the bodies and the services involved for the harmonisation of the law with international and European standards and best practices and development initiatives across the spectrum of the Administration in order to effectively protect individuals and groups who are targeted due to race, colour, national or ethnic origin, descent, social origin, religious or other values and beliefs, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender characteristics. The National Council against Racism and Intolerance consists of representatives of the ministries involved, the National Commission for Human Rights, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Racist Violence Incident Registration Network, the National Confederation of Persons with Disabilities, the Ombudsman and other important civil society organisations. One of its main responsibilities is to develop a comprehensive strategy against racism, intolerance and racist crimes. The National Action Plan against Racism and Intolerance is supported by the European Commission's "Rights, Equality and Citizenship" (REC) programme (2016-2020). More specifically, the National Council against Racism and Intolerance (NCRI) was established by Law 4356/2015 as a collective advisory body and comes under the General Secretariat for Human Rights of the Ministry of Justice. It was constituted by virtue of decision of 10.03.2016 by the Minister of Justice (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020).

From the first pages of the National Action plan against Racism and Intolerance 2020-2023, it is highlighted that the protection and promotion of democracy, Human Rights and fundamental freedoms constitute the

basic principles of the Constitution of Greece; that Greece regards as an issue of utmost importance the safeguarding of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons located within the Greek territory, the protection of democratic institutions and the respect for the rule of law (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020). More explicitly, in this document, it is recognised that racism and other ideologies of inequality are in conflict with these principles. Moreover, racism, intolerance and discrimination constitute a violation of fundamental rights and human dignity and jeopardise social cohesion and peace, while undermining the foundations of democracy and the rule of law. It is also acknowledged that the development and implementation of the National Action Plan against Racism and Intolerance is paramount as it complements the national and European legislative framework with robust actions and commitments (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020).

In 2018, in its conclusions on the implementation of its recommendations, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) positively assessed Greece's efforts, such as strengthening the legal framework and the establishment of the National Council against Racism and Intolerance. Characteristically, the measures included seminars organised by the Hellenic Police and the School of National Security, which contribute to the intensification of police training through courses on the protection of human rights and racial discrimination (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020). Awareness of the general population and the provision of information regarding the National Action Plan is an integral part of the success of its implementation. The communication plan defines all visibility and information actions and means (Ministry of Justice – NSRF Executing Body, 2020).

Nevertheless, Phelps et al. (2019) point out that the provision of a legal framework that prohibits actions related to violent extremism and terrorism have a different aim than those legal provisions that promote stakeholder responsibility. Laws are required that encourage prevention efforts that deal with the complicated social and behavioural attitudes conducive to extremism and terrorism and not just the preparatory acts of extremism and terrorism themselves. The combination of such measures with laws would structure legal stability to support the development of long-term prevention endeavours (Phelps et al., 2019), where duties could be placed on certain societal stakeholders to raise awareness on radicalisation and challenge extremist behaviours. Thus, the foundation of legislative initiatives in

providing a straighforward differentiation between counterterrorism and counter-radicalisation, the boundaries of which are currently blurred in the Greek legal scheme, could be proven beneficial.

b. The introduction of psychologists in schools.

In connection with the above and while exploring the possibility of preventive agendas to tackle the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greece, especially in the field of education, I paid attention to the introduction of school psychologists in schools, as another significant initiative within Greek structures. This problematisation is connected to the work of Phelps et al. (2019), where they emphasise that there are no specified laws in Greek legislation that reflect the need to prevent those extremist behaviours leading to terrorist acts. They specifically stress (2019) the absence of legislative initiatives that specifically encourage public and private institutions to adopt working environments that are mindful of the signs and threats of radicalisation and extremism.

The commonplace entry point for young people to access mental health support is school. Indeed, Eklund et al. (2017) research records that students are twenty-one times more likely to visit a school-based psychological support service rather than a community-based mental health care clinic, and students would prefer to ask for help within school structures, if available. In Greece, the institutionalisation of the services of school psychologists is still in progress (Panteri et al., 2021). For the first time, permanently appointed full-time psychologists were defined by Law 2566/85 in the School Units of Special Education and Education (SUSEE {S.M.E.A.E.}) and in 1989 the first appointments were made.

Later, according to Law 2817/2000, the provision of psychological services in schools and the establishment of state assessment centers, i.e., Centers for Differential Diagnosis, Assessment and Support (CDDAS) to provide services by members of interdisciplinary teams, including psychologists were institutionalised (Institute of Educational Policy, 2019a; 2019b; Panteri et al., 2021). In 2008, with the enactment of Law 3699/2008, Special Education was integrated into the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs (Panteri et al., 2021).

The institution of School Educational Support Networks (S.E.S.N.) and the Interdisciplinary Educational Evaluation and Support Committees (E.D.S.C.) within which psychologists are employed in state schools, were established relatively recently (Government Gazette 315/2014). According to Guidance issued by the

Education Policy Institute in 2015, home and community are critical environments that influence the educational progress and well-being of every student. Special education staff, in collaboration with teachers, other school staff and principals, especially when parents need help understanding their children's educational needs and their role in their child's learning and social development, create bonds between home and school. Social workers and psychologists listen carefully and understand the community and its impact on the lives of students and families. Consequently, they are able to connect home and school with community resources, facilitate communication between home, school and community and, if necessary, expedite appropriate referrals. As part of a comprehensive school support services programme, implementing these practices will help students become healthy, self-sufficient, well-adjusted and productive adults, who value themselves and others. By providing a wide range of interventions and adopting a holistic, preventive approach, schools will be better equipped to reduce barriers to learning and contribute to children's healthy development (Institute of Educational Policy, 2015: 26-27).

Jimerson et al. (2009) highlighted that the practice of school psychologists encompasses direct, such as assessment, support for children and youth and programmes planning, and indirect interventions, such as supervision, consultation with parents, teachers and other specialists. Usually, a psychologist in collaboration with a social worker is hired at an S.D.E.Y. and offers their services in five different general education schools. The role of the school psychologist is advisory, supportive, and therapeutic to students, their families, and educational staff and includes assessment, individual and group counseling, consultation for teachers, the implementation of inclusive education programmes, and the promotion of prevention, information, and awareness programs for teachers, parents, and students (Panteri et al., 2021).

Moreover, in January 2017, the Institute of Educational Policy established criteria (342/19-01-2017) according to which it evaluates prospective psychologists and judges whether they meet the conditions to join the list of school psychologists. Among others, necessary criteria are at least postgraduate education in school psychology and practical training in special and general education school units (Panteri et al., 2021). Therefore, in current times, school psychologists have the opportunity to deliver a broad spectrum of services for the purpose of improving the outcomes of students and their families (Armistead and Smallwood, 2014 cited in Panteri et al., 2021). Hatzichristou (2002) pointed out that the introduction of school psychology in Greek education followed the steps of the USA' s field of school psychology, albeit

with several years of delay (Dimakos, 2006). Nevertheless, the Greek government, by recognising the beneficial impact of the institution of psychologists in school communities, students, parents and teachers, put a lot of weight in empowering the role of psychologists in schools, not only in numbers, but also in terms of responsibilities and provided support. As a result, more pshychologists in state schools have been placed even during the latest school year (Vougias, 2021). The Minister of Education announced the hiring of an additional of 2,000 psychologists for schools in the school year 2024-2025, underlining that their number will increase from 2,000 to 4,000 (E-dimosio, 2024).

Thielking and Jimerson (2006) revealed that many school psychologists would like to expand their role from traditional client-centred tasks to more systemic interventions, such as consultation. Specifically, as far as the Greek context is concerned, Panteri et al. (2021) highlighted that their study had a rather unexpected result. School psychologists participating in their research felt that prevention was part of their daily tasks. They continue (2021) by emphasising that the Ministry of Education should contemplate these conclusions regarding a long-term schema of the structure of school psychological services in Greece.

c. The anti-bullying platform.

The most recent initiative from the Greek government was the enactment of Law 5029/2023 (Official Government Gazette A 55/10.03.2023) entitled 'We Live Harmoniously Together - Breaking the Silence: Regulations for preventing and dealing with violence and bullying in schools and other provisions'. In continuation to previous legislative measures and actions (Artinopoulou et al., 2023), the new Law indicatively aims at providing the legal framework for doubling the number of psychologists and social workers serving in schools; establishment of a School Life Advisor in each secondary education school unit, strengthening supporting bodies, such as the Centers for Interdisciplinary Assessment, Counseling and Support, with an increase in the overall budget, cooperation with competent bodies for purposeful interventions in schools, introduction of Skills Workshops into the compulsory timetable from kindergarten to high school, the programmes "Bullying Diaries" (for high school students) and "School Mediation: Prevention and Resolution of Intra-School Violence" (for students from 6th grade and above), trainings for more teachers in relevant subjects, the 166 New School Curricula and the new school textbooks

that will accompany them cultivate the spirit against violence and discrimination (for example through the texts in Greek Language and Literature courses) (Newsroom Kathimerini, 2023).

In April 2024, the operation of the electronic platform for incidents of school violence began. The Ministry of Education has activated this legal drive as part of the government's initiatives to deal with bullying and the violence of minors. The specific digital platform in schools comes to support children, specifically, students so that in real-time they can register incidents of violence with a named complaint, with the aim of dealing with them, in addition to supporting the victims. Prime Minister of Greece, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, recently proceeded to set up a Committee for the Development of a National Strategy for the Prevention and Dealing with Violence and Delinquency. In fact, the committee met in mid-February under the leadership of the prime minister and the goal is to have a comprehensive plan delivered in order to deal with the violence by September 2024. The digital platform is included in this context (Newsroom Ipaideia, 2024). More than 15,000 teachers are scheduled to be trained, starting from June 2024 but mainly next September, on issues of dealing with school violence, according to the plan announced by the Minister of Education (Mastoras, 2024). Until the end of September 2024, 407 complaints have been recorded on this digital platform from parents and students as well (ESOS, 2024a).

When Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020) refer to Greek locality, they emphasise that no statutory duty in referring to or preventing radicalisation nor active role has been assigned to civil society organisations and frontline professionals. Their research (2020) has shown that, unlike -for example- in the UK, where an extensive, multi-factorial and multi-institutional strategy has been applied, Greece has not introduced any specified counter- and de-radicalisation agendas or referral systems. It is early to have solid conclusions about the performance of the latest crucial initiative or data clarifying the incidents by categories or context in order to have a more targeted policy in practice. Has any of these recorded incidents been related to right-wing extremism? Has any of these reports referred to racist elements? Remain to be seen whether these mechanisms and social policy in practice will name and specify threats of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism with Greek schools, especially since extreme right parties are currently part of the Greek Parliament. The above theoretical analysis has shown that mental health professionals in Greek educational environments, namely pshychologists, recognise and consider crucial their role and contribution in the prevention sphere for the purpose of protecting their students well-being. Subsequently,

findings from my fieldwork, as analysed in Chapter IV, explore the prevention mechanism particularly concerning right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to this alarming phenomenon from teachers' perspectives and experiences in Greek state secondary schools.

II.2.v. Right-wing extremism in Greek schools.

In light of and in direct connection with all the above, the role and impact of a more passive option of legislating prevention actions, which lies in the area of education and, where teachers are given a duty to promote values, such as diversity and inclusion, are recognised from Phelps et al. (2019). Irrespective of what these measures entail, revisions to the Greek legal framework are needed to recognise the significance of dealing purposefully and legally with the root causes of violent extremism and terrorism.

The recent conviction of members of the GD as members of a criminal -not terrorist, though- organisation has sparked a great deal of discussion by the educational community on social media about how they will communicate this result to students (Simeio, 2020). Racism and xenophobia also exist in schools, and they have experienced great tension since 2012. Racist behaviours occur inside and outside of school, between members of the school community or with third parties involved (Avgerou et al., 2016). These behaviours can take verbal or physical form. Many of these incidents are rarely reported to school administrations, as student victims and witnesses of attacks are afraid to report them (Ombudsman, 2013). Despite the fact that the Greek government identifies training and education as crucial in order to prevent the promotion of extremist ideologies, as well as forms of supporting terrorism, and Greece also recognises the role of family and school, the internet and social media (Jurczyszyn et al., 2019), a solid and purposeful legal framework regarding radicalisation and the role of the educational sector in the provision of radicalisation, extremism and terrorism does not exist (Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen, 2020).

The contradiction of all the above legal and social policy resourcefulness on school violence, bullying, racism, discrimination, hate crime and prejudice motivated by the Greek government, official bodies and scholarly is the fact that since 2020 the school subject of Humanities has been abolished from the school curriculum. Even though, in Gymnasiums (grammar schools for students aged 12-15 years old), students have the opportunity to attend actions for comprehending the meaning of active citizen through skills

workshops, such as the one entitled 'I'm Involved and Acting - Social Awareness and Responsibility', and thus to discuss social responsibility, inclusivity, volunteering, respect and Human Rights (Institute of Educational Policy, 2024), such initiatives for secondary schools students, who are at the most critical age before adulthood, are absent.

More specifically, Law 4692/2020 entitled 'Upgrading the school and other provisions' the nationally examined Sociology course was abolished, despite the hundreds of comments that were made in the consultation from university staff, teachers, parents, students, and the majority of the comments were for the continuation and the importance of the course in question, a course which, among other things, taught social roles, the functioning of the family, brought to discussion, reflection and awareness issues related to domestic violence, gender identities, intercultural relations and many other important issues. Characteristically, in 2019 students came into contact with Social Sciences 14 hours a week in secondary school, since the school year 2020-2021 and onwards they were taught Humanities only 2 hours a week (Vougias, 2021). The decision to abolish Humanities courses in school programmes and its counter-productive impact on students' ability, firstly, to build a healthy conceptualisation of what racism, extremism, prejudice and violence mean, and secondly, what Human Rights, inclusivity, respect, democracy and active citizenship entail was prioritised by teachers participating in my study. The above legal action, which has affected secondary schools and students at the age before adulthood, is one of the key findings of my study and is connected to teachers' role and the state's task to create informed and democratic future citizens.

Federation of Secondary Education Officers (FSEO) and Humanities and Social Sciences associations, such as the Panhellenic Union of Educators of Social Sciences (PUESS) demonstrated against the abolishment of Social Sciences courses (Alfavita Newsroom, 2021). The case of the decline of Social Studies in school programmes reached the Council of State. The Council of State with its recent jurisprudence (for example Council of State 1972/2022: 12-14) recognised the significant role of Humanities courses in promoting democracy in schools and that:

> school curricula, in the part that limit or abolish the teaching of the general education courses "Political Education" in the 1st Lyceum and "Modern World: Citizen and Democracy" in the 2nd Lyceum and in fact at a time when Sociology is also taught has been completely removed from the timetables of the Lyceum, they differ from the assessments of the legislator of Law 4186/2013, who, according to the explanatory

statement of this law, had considered it necessary to strengthen the teaching of political education courses, as a means of prevention of young people from fanaticism, political passions and extremism, as well as for the promotion of the values of Democracy and social cohesion that are going through a crisis. And this without the pedagogic and scientific criteria that make these changes appropriate emerging from the data in the file and from the data presented by the Institute for Educational Policy. Consequently, the school curricula, in the part concerning the courses in question, were issued illegally, without documentation regarding the observance of pedagogical and scientific criteria, ignoring the criteria for exercising the regulatory authority of the Administration.

At the same time, when I already had the approval of my research from Birmingham City University Ethics Committee and my interest was focused on how teaching communities would discuss the outcome of the GD trial and its members conviction as members of a criminal -not terrorist though- organisation in schools, in October 2021, I attended an online meeting entitled 'Fascism in education and society shall not pass'. This meeting was held after violent incidents outside school promises in Stauroupoli Thessaloniki in September 2021, when members of student unions, who had planned a movement outside their school in Stauroupoli Thessaloniki, complained that in the context of their informational action, they were attacked by far-right extremists. They specifically mentioned that they were attacked with bats, helmets and iron fists, which they (the extreme right extremists) had hidden inside the school (Souliotis, 2021). This attack not only triggered a political debate but it was welcomed, according to information from 'Kathimerini', by extreme right organisations on the Internet, while similar slogans began to appear in the region (Souliotis, 2021). During this meeting, participants emphasised that these incidents were not individual and coincidental; that all bodies involved should take these phenomena seriously and that, in cases, teachers live under a status of fear. Some of them supported the idea that in many schools these phenomena have surfaced and fascism in everyday life of school communities is evident.

The above conclusions are in accordance with Davies' (2008) work on the role of education in preventing violent extremism (PVE) and countering violent extremism (CVE). Davies (2008) argues that both formal educational work in schools and non-formal educational work in non-school settings, such as youth groups and sports clubs, can help through many measures such as building resilience and confidence among young people. They will thus enable students to gain knowledge about rights, embrace value pluralism, leverage networks to counter extremism and even engage young people in action for social change. Davies' (2018) recent review of counter-extremism education interventions internationally reiterates that there is no strong

evidence for the best way or sets of best ways of education to counter extremism. However, there is some promising evidence that equal access to education and quality education in addition to wider supportive factors within schools, such as effective collaboration with local agencies and links to wider curriculum structures can potentially reduce participation in extremism.

However, recent research conducted by Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) located the primary barriers in successfully addressing and countering challenging and disputed themes of interest within school classrooms and school communities in the lack of relevant topics, programmes and educational mechanisms and the lack of meaningful dialogue. In parallel, they emphasised the expression, adoption and perpetuation of stereotypical attitudes, the existence of indifferent teachers and the work fatigue as negative factors to explore controversial topics within the school structures. Limited time and pressure over the delivering of the prescribed school programme, their heavy workload and the supplementary duties they are assigned also work negatively when presenting and dealing with these issues (Kaplani and Shangoyan, 2023). Notwithstanding, the most crucial element of their study is the fact that teachers admit that they face the unpredictability of such incidents and the students' lack of trust towards them.

Another critical parameter, as pointed out by Zembylas (2019; 2020b), is that the affective dimension of the extreme right rhetoric has not received the necessary academic attention (Kølvraa, 2015; Miller-Idriss and Pilkington, 2017). Nevertheless, a targeted focus on the affective dimension of extreme right rhetoric and its pedagogical implications requires that scholars, policymakers, and educators pay particular attention to how political struggles are domesticated and affectively expressed in the classroom and beyond (Zembylas, 2019; 2020b). Bonnell et al. (2011) suggest that without explicit attention to the radical right through focused school-based interventions in schools, it will be difficult to address the multiple challenges of extreme right-wing infiltration of young people (Zembylas, 2019).

In light of the above, concerns around right-wing extremism within Greek schools and the role of teachers in the prevention of this alarming phenomenon have been better comprehended through the following theoretical exploration. More precisely, the subsequent analysis on how anti-radicalisation and anti-extremism policies place education at the centre of governmental agendas and the investigation of the Prevent duty in the UK's schools as a demonstration of active citizenship in the deposit of governmental efforts to deal with extremism and radicalisation, have offered me with essential information. Thus, I had

the opportunity to make analogous or contradictory conclusions on these concepts and discuss the model of teachers' contribution to the fight against right-wing extremism in Greek schools.

II.3. Governmentality in education and the original practice of the UK.

II.3.i. Governmentality and the role of co-opted civil society actors in anti-radicalisation agendas.

As mentioned above, the events of September 11, 2001, were the starting point to focus scholarly interest in research on youth radicalisation and violent extremism (Arshad-Ayaz and Naseem, 2017). Thus, some of the conversations in the initially well-intentioned field of CVE education have turned into securitised conversations. Governments around the world intend to use education to prevent extremism, whether it is religiously motivated, right-wing or left-wing, or anti-scientific activism related to Covid-19. Additionally, schools and young people are expected to participate in efforts to prevent and tackle terrorism (Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023).

Anti-radicalisation education policy is not necessarily the same in all countries. The process used in each country depends on 'the ethos of the nation, the aims of education'(Niemi et al., 2018: 3) and probably most importantly cultural and political cosmology of the nation (Adebayo, 2021). Therefore, teaching how to debunk conspiracies or engage in discussions on issues surrounding terrorism has been explicitly and directly shaped by the above factors. Others, such as democratic citizenship education, can be seen as broader educational projects redefined in terms of their potential to prevent radicalisation that leads to terrorism. These are challenged in the same way as most preventive violent extremism activities, in that the extent to which they actually contribute to preventing extremism is very problematic to demonstrate (Gielen, 2020). Nevertheless, it is not enough to simply evaluate an educational practice on its ability to prevent extremism alone (Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023; Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2020). Educational practices must also be evaluated by the extent to which they are consistent with the broader educational goals pursued.

The role of education in the prevention of radicalisation has been established in the European context through a number of EU-wide policy initiatives (O'Donnell et al., 2021). The inclusion of education, as a pillar of prevention, was evident in the establishment of the RAN, which drew frontline workers, including teachers and youth workers, into a network of practitioners addressing the prevention of radicalisation (Sieckelinck and Stephens, 2023). The Radicalisation Awareness Network and its Centre of Excellence is one of the core policy tools to deliver the objectives of equipping teachers and youth workers in addressing the root causes of radicalisation and strengthening resilience of young people; implementing deradicalisation and rehabilitation programmes (including in prisons) and developing approaches for handling returning foreign terrorist fighters (Kudlacek et al., 2017).

However, Aradau and Van Munster (2007: 3) argue that the 'war on terror' is taking the form of a new pattern of governmentality that is a trammel in the decision-making process, when it reaches the limits of knowledge or knowledge itself, surveillance practices, war, radical tactics against anti-social behaviour and integration strategies. Foucault's (2008) concept of governmentality could constitute the basis for our understanding of how 'citizenship' is mobilised to prevent violent extremism. 'Governmentality', is a contraction of two terms: 'government' and 'mentality' or 'rationality' (Foucault, 2007: 115). Government designates the 'conduct of conduct', that is, the art of conducting the ways in which others conduct themselves within a more or less open field of possibilities (Foucault, 1982: 220-221). Structuring the field of possibilities within which a person governs themselves is entailed in governing (Triantafillou, 2022) and thus by implication, the term "government" refers not to an institution (the government) but to a form of power that by definition assumes that the subjects over whom power is exercised have a significant level of choice or liberty to conduct themselves (Triantafillou, 2022).

Triantafillou (2022) cites that Foucault was not very straightforward with regards to whether the second part of the term 'governmentality' referred to rationality or mentality. Nevertheless, the language 'rationality' or 'rationalities' of government is the preferred one when delving into the reflections that Foucault and many of his academic supporters have developed. On the grounds that Foucault went to great pains in arguing that he was alluding not to abstract principles, ideologies or worldviews (or mentalities), but to the very concrete reflections, calculations, tactics and ways of reasoning about how best to govern a state territory and, not least, the wealth and well-being of the population inhabiting this territory, the word

'rationality' seems most legitimate (Foucault, 1991: 78-82; Foucault, 2007: 108). Governmentality then has been extensively interpreted as the 'conduct of conduct' or the social tactic that attempts to guide, shape or affect persons' behaviour (Gordon, 1991, cited in Aradau and Van Munster, 2007). Therefore, governmentality is a collections of means-ends calculations on how best to govern a state (Triantafillou, 2022).

Bigo (2011) deciphers the Foucaultian architecture on security apparatus by supporting that the security dispositif is a set of procedures. The security dispositif emerges from the police state and its interventionism as a different way to manage population by 'laissez-faire', as a 'freedom of circulation'. Security is related to normality and liberty, not with war and survival, nor with coercion and surveillance. Security reduces the uncertainty, to the aleatory and the probability calculus articulating legal and disciplinary mechanisms is not sufficiently coherent and does not have the consistency of law and discipline. Security is a feature of freedom of circulation. The key concept is freedom of movement. In light of the above, security is the product of a dynamic of openness and freedom. The dispositifs of security are centrifugal. It is non-interventionist, it lets things happen and has a constant tendency of expanding. It is not forbit (Bigo, 2011). He continues (2011) by unfolding the Foucault's theoretical structure on security that regulates by making use of some instruments of prescription and prohibition, by responding to a reality in such a way that this response cancels out the reality to which it responds -nullifies it, or limits, checks, or regulates it. Security tries to work within reality by getting the components of reality to work in relation to each other. It can call itself liberty, protection, safeguard, survival, love, in making use of sovereign and discipline. In that sense freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of dispositif of security and security is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of freedom, capacity of circulation. Freedom is a technology of power. Security normalises in the sense that the norm is sough from the starting point of the most pronounced curves of the statistical distribution of danger which are labelled as abnormal.

The operation of normalisation consists in establishing an interplay between these different distributions of normality and [in] acting to bring the most unfavourable in line with the more favourable. Security is based on risk. Security then is about the production of a category, of a profile. Profiles drawn from statistical categories and differential risk, normalising and putting under the ban certain cases rather than others and

finalising the criteria to discriminate between categories until each category is one unit only. Security is the result of a process which relies on the statistical majority of a class of events, of a statistical population and normalisation is related to the management and life environment and of the margins (Bigo, 2011).

Based on Michel Foucault's work on governmentality and modern risk's social reasonings, Aradau and Van Munster (2007) conceptualise risk as a dispositif for ruling social problems. A dispositif consists of "discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" (Foucault and Gordon, 1980: 194). Thus technologies and governmental rationalities affect social behaviour and 'construct' patterns of subjectivity and ordered agency in the population to be governed and constitute a component of the diagnosed social problem.

The result of this process is the design of a 'governmental' subject given that in self-governance, the individual assumes the role of the state. Dean (1997) observes that citizens are turned into 'multiply responsibilised' subjects regarding several areas of the state action. Subsequently, individuals are encouraged to become self-policing rather than be brought into line by the direct force of the state. Aradau and Van Munster (2007) aptly claim that we are not only supposed to monitor our own behaviour but detect signs of risk in others. Ross (2007) analyses the concept of citizenship in reference to the meaning of identity and its instrumentalisation within security agendas. He states that civil identity and citizenship can be constructed in ways that are not automatically ascribed to national identity. Oliver and Heater (1994: 8) advocate that when individuals practice civil virtue and good citizenship, receive and contribute to social and economic benefits, enjoy without exploiting their political and civil rights, do not allow any sense of national identity to justify stereotyping or discrimination other people, experience senses of non-exclusive multiple citizenships and, by their example, teach citizenship to other people, become citizens.

Citizenship is a significant aspect of our identities given that participation in a community and political engagement are crucial elements of this concept. Therefore, citizenship requires the collaboration of all and, in this sense, could be considered as a duty and a decisive component of enjoying a community. Ross (2007) highlights that participation is an active state and it is not assenting to be a part of something or merely accepting a label. On the contrary, it is a communal activity, not just a spectator activity, and certainly not an élite pursuit. However, all members of a community must participate in a society to

function. Foucault scholars argue that neoliberal institutions sought to 'activate' individuals by making them responsible for the risks and uncertainties of everyday life. The 'multiple responsibility' of citizens refers to the management of employment, economic security, crime and welfare (Dean, 1997). In this way, citizens are encouraged to self-policing rather than be bought into line by the direct power of the state (Mythen and Walklate, 2006).

Consequently, as Bassel et al. (2021) point out, this neoliberal definition of active citizenship is associated with a broader move away from the welfare state, as debates around the concept of 'Big Society' have shown and have framed social problems as linked to a lack of responsibility and social cohesion on behalf of citizens. Thus, the 'Big Society' schemata focus on transferring power from central to local governments; supporting co-ops, mutual, charities and social enterprises; providing communities with more powers; encouraging individuals to take an active role in their communities. Subsequently, these agendas structured a perception of societies that make individuals responsible for their own problems and thus aimed to encourage responsible, active citizens to participate in their communities in a framework of downsising government fundings (Bassel et al., 2021).

II.3.ii. Prevent in the UK as a model practice.

a. Prevent duty.

The investigation of the idea of the responsibility of teachers to help students build resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism and the design this responsibility could have within the Greek educational context motivated me to explore the Prevent safeguarding policy in the UK. I took into consideration that the UK government has become influential in the field of CVE, and its legislation and policy framework has been exported around the world (Kundnani and Hayes, 2018). The counter-radicalisation policing-oriented agendas in education in Europe is generally -directly or indirectly- influenced by that of the UK (Ragazzi, 2017; Thomas, 2016). Thus, this section was constructive in my research on how Greek educators should or would deal with the right-wing threat while delivering their work.

Traditionally, the UK's approach to intelligence, security and counter-terrorism has been based on a division between internal and external threats. In early 2003, the first exhaustive counterterrorism agenda, CONTEST, was introduced by the United Kingdom Government. The Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT), part of the Home Office, is responsible for CONTEST and is the Government's lead unit on counter-terrorism. CONTEST was revised during 2008 and 2009. 'CONTEST 2' was published in March 2009. In this amended version, citizens were explicitly comprised as partners in the collective effort to keep Britain safe (The Henry Jackson Society, 2017).

This updated strategy aimed at leaning on 'principles that reflect British values'. CONTEST has four 'strands': Pursue: to stop terrorists attacks, Prevent: to stop people becoming terrorist or supporting violent extremism, Protect: to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack and Prepare: to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack. Its overall purpose is to reduce the risk from terrorism to the UK, its citizens and interests overseas, so that people can go about their lives freely and with confidence (Home Office, 2023a). Since 2011, an element of the British Government's Counter-Terrorism and Security Act had been fundamental British values (Home Office, 2015). The campaign for the promotion of 'democracy', the 'rule of law', 'liberty', 'mutual respect' and 'tolerance of different faiths and beliefs' (Department for Education 2014a; 2014b) in all schools in England had been part of the above strategy.

Developments through the Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015, meaning CONTEST 3, have meant that all public sector workers have a legal duty to tackle any extreme behaviour (The Henry Jackson Society, 2017). The training of staff aiming at understanding radicalisation and developing the ability to recognise the momentum in radicalisation and extremism is in line with the compliance of stakeholders. It also addresses the establishment of a process for managing concerns about people who may be vulnerable to radicalisation and pass this process to staff. Once sufficient concern has been expressed about a person and reported to Prevent, a committee of social services, local community representatives and police officers will be appointed (Awan et al., 2019; HM Government, 2018). Thus, a legal requirement upon public sector bodies in the UK, such as local authorities, prisons, NHS Trusts, schools and universities, has bonded the delivery of Prevent duty and made them subject to a statutory duty to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism or support terrorism (Grierson, 2019). This duty builds on training staff to comprehend the concept of radicalisation and identify any relevant signs and to guarantee that public resources and venues

are not exploited as a platform for disseminating extremist content or for hosting extremist speakers. Prevent also extends to supporting the rehabilitation and disengagement of those already involved in terrorism (Cabinet Office, 2023; The Henry Jackson Society, 2017).

Cabinet Office (2023) guidance refer to the objectives of Prevent, which are to tackle the ideological causes of terrorism, intervene early to support people susceptible to radicalisation and enable people who have already engaged in terrorism to disengage and rehabilitate. More explicitly, as part of this process, once referred to Prevent, the case of a person of sufficient concern would be assessed by a Channel panel. The panel is chaired by the local authority and attended by multi-agency partners such as police, education professionals, health services, housing and social services (Home Office, 2023b). Subsequently, referred people to Prevent and the Channel programme could be offered mentorship as well as other methods of guidance and support, which may be accepted voluntarily.

The Prevent duty is internationally unprecedented concerning counter-terrorism and counter-extremism (Thomas, 2020). Although its first incarnation was considered to be somewhat ground-breaking as an approach to preventing violent extremism (Kundnani, 2009; Lakhani, 2012), it faced widespread condemnation due to funding decisions, a conflation with wider community cohesion initiatives, and accusations of covertly acting as a vehicle to gather intelligence and spy on Muslim communities. Zedner (2021a) also emphasises that, whereas most countries and international organisations have focused on CVE initiatives, since 2013, the UK governments adopted a broader approach to cope with non-violent extremism, such as mere expression or thought.

More explicitly, alongside Prevent apparatus, the UK has continued to rely upon the decidedly coercive mechanisms of counterterrorism law and criminalisation. These mechanisms apart from addressing violent extremism, target all forms of extremism and non-violent expressions of extremist perspectives in respect of which the enactment of coercive measures and expansive new criminal laws is deeply precarious (Zedner, 2021a). Echoing claims that the new provisions are 'Orwellian', the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to privacy, Joe Cannataci, went so far as to accuse the UK government of straying toward 'thought crime'. In so doing, he endorsed the fundamental principle that thought is not a legitimate target of criminalisation. Thought -or mere viewing- without further action may constitute right-wing

extremism, but it is not terrorism, and neither is it thought alone a proper subject of punishment (Zedner, 2021a; Zempi and Tripli, 2023).

More broadly, Christodoulou (2020) observes how the securitisation of education can have pedagogical, ethical, social, and political effects. As mentioned above, Prevent in the UK, as a specific example of a safeguarding discourse, started as an educational intervention. However, Arshad-Ayaz and Naseem, (2017) argue that it ended up as a surveillance regime that seeks to co-opt teachers, administrators, and students as agents of the state. Kundani and Hayes (2018) have warned of the 'instrumentalization of civil society' and its co-optation in security paradigms. More precisely, the Prevent agenda has been argued (Davies, 2014a: 149-150; Macaluso, 2016: 1; Mattsson et al., 2016; Ragazzi, 2017: 171-172; Taylor and Soni, 2017: 242) that it is expands the scope of counter-terrorism initiatives beyond the remit of traditional law enforcement agencies to non-security sectors, such as education. In this instance, schools and teachers are expected to perform security-related functions.

The elusive issues around the Prevent agenda were also addressed by Lakhani and James (2021), who accept that the implementation of the Prevent duty is a complicated and extremely difficult task. Rights and Security International (2023) claim that the purportedly independent review of the UK's Prevent agenda belittles professional expertise, including that of doctors, psychologists and people who work with vulnerable adults, and does not demonstrate a serious approach to ending any form of violent act. Rights and Security International (2023) emphasises that the risk for a failure to take seriously the concerns of UK Muslim communities about Islamophobia in the operation of Prevent has materialised despite the fact that the UK's civil society organisations have expressed their problematisation. Evident is the fact that all case studies singled out for special emphasis involve Muslims. Indeed, as Zempi and Tripli (2023) support that critique on Prevent reveals that young British Muslims are subjected to scrutiny due to of anxiousness of their perceived vulnerability to radicalisation (Robinson et al., 2017; Saeed and Johnson, 2016). Furthermore, Hamid (2011: 247) highlights that "the words "Muslim" and "youth" together most often trigger associations with violent extremism". Zempi and Tripli (2023) continue by arguing that pathologised constructions of Muslim youth as 'suspect', violent and dangerous, and as fundamentally different from normative young people emerge from these ideological representations (Durodie, 2016; Hamid, 2011; Mythen et al., 2013).

On the contrary, the Rights and Security International report (2023) states or implies that right-wing extremist or misogynist 'incel' beliefs should only lead to Prevent referrals when there is an actual risk of violent activity. Furthermore, despite the fact that under international human rights treaties that are binding on the UK, the freedoms of thought and opinion are absolute. Nevertheless, this report (2023) argues that Prevent should turn from prioritising safeguarding to attempting to change what people think, based on an apparent assumption that such arguments will prevent violent acts.

b. Fundamental British values.

To continue, in this sub-section a reference to the fundamental British values agenda is included. I explored its purpose, application and problematisation because in my study, and in particular in Chapter IV, where empirical data and findings are discussed, I investigate if an analogous, specified framework in the form of fundamental Greek values could have a positive impact in tackling right-wing extremism in schools.

As mentioned above, since 2011, an element of the British Government's Counter-Terrorism and Security Act has been FBV (Home Office, 2015). Fundamental British values curriculum agenda is not a separate curriculum strand or a discrete theme in the repertoire of the English school programme. On the contrary, promotion of fundamental British values, as a cross-curricular topic, forms part of the requirement for students' moral, spiritual, social and cultural growth and it is implemented in different ways across different school environments, from history fieldtrips to World War Two battlefields, and celebrating Christmas (Busher et al., 2017), to mock general elections, British values days and citizenship/PSHE lessons (Haughton, 2017, cited in Winter and Mills, 2020).

More explicitly, although fundamental British values has been illustrated as a 'new' curriculum scheme, scholars (Gillborn, 1995; Craig and O'Neill, 2013, cited in Habib, 2018) argue that symptoms of the much-older colonial education-security liaison are concealed in its philosophy and reasoning. Much scholarship shows that curriculum practices often represent the values of dominant groups and played a key role within colonial curricula (Apple, 2018; Kanu, 2006). Public school values of nationalism, glorification of war, racial, moral and religious superiority were passed to state schools, via school textbooks (especially History and Geography) and juvenile literature (Mackenzie, 1986, cited in Winter and Mills, 2020).

Promoting a set of liberal political and social principles -democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance- the British values requirement can be conceptualised as a liberal, or civic, nationalist approach to citizenship. Soutphommasane identifies a key principle of this proposal set in that 'a shared national identity' is needed to sustain a liberal political community, and a 'community of shared belief' (2012: 71-72). Vincent (2019a) argues that the jeopardy of this logic lies in nationhood resulting in individual belonging defined by an 'ethnic core' (Soutphommasane, 2012: 73). This will eventually lead to an ethnic nationalist dominance of a 'legitimate' citizen identity and subsequently to an exclusion of those who are not perceived to be part of the nation or do not belong and not deserve to be part of the nation (Banting and Kymlicka, 2017). According to Winter and Mills (2020) British values are more than a counter-terrorism strategy, it is a psychic defence mechanism that protects and privileges whiteness; denies the normalised state violence and radical exclusions on which liberal values have been built. Introducing such a counter-terrorism measure into English schools uses the school curriculum to re-assert and defend nationalist white supremacy.

Thus, addressing extremism is not easily a question of introducing or inculcating values but rather also an issue of supporting students to develop the skills that would allow them to distinguish lies from facts and the needed logical mechanisms to reject the latter (Ben-Porath, 2023). It is fundamental to recognise that this vision of education, and the role of addressing extremism within it, rests on a foundation of strong protection of open inquiry and open expression and is therefore distinct in both principle and practice to the agendas advocated by the Prevent strategy and similar anti-extremism initiatives. Therefore, the fight against extremism, properly understood, can be recognised as a dimension of the key educational mission of schools rather than an add-on political mission (Ben-Porath, 2023).

Critique on the role and purpose of the Prevent strategy in the UK, which situates itself in a pre-criminal, European counter-radicalisation-focused, community-based sphere (Taylor 2020: 868) could not be left unexplored in my literature review. The work on Prevent brought into the spotlight concerns around the impact of counter-extremism and counter-terrorism initiatives on Muslim communities (Kundnani, 2009; Miah, 2017a; Ragazzi, 2016; Taylor, 2020). Prevent, as a 'Muslim-centered' (Breen, 2023) policy, has further implications for the marginalisation of Muslim communities in the UK, due to its asymmetrical focus on the safety and security of the white majority, and on what Muslim communities should better do

to secure this (Breen and Meer, 2019; Martin, 2014; Taylor, 2020). In addition, the surge in children linked to terrorist plots motivated by far-right ideology (Dodd, 2022; News Wires, 2024) fueled Breen's (2023) recent focus on the need for giving space for a public policy proposal to address threats to security in more unbiased ways.

Since my study focuses on right-wing extremism, the UK's Prevent prioritisation on Islamic extremism (Breen and Meer, 2019; Meer, 2012; Meer and Modood, 2013) seems dissimilar and distant from my research purpose. Therefore, the implementation in Greece of an agenda similar to Prevent in the UK for the prevention of right-wing extremism is unlikely to analogically lead to criminalising a minority religious or ethnic group as in the UK. As analysed above, the extreme right in Greece is preoccupied with the beliefs of nationalism, xenophobia and opposition to refugees and LGBTQI+ communities and evangelises the ideals and memorable past of Hellenism (Fekete, 2020; Samaras, 2023; Smith, 2023). Taking all the above into account, in my study, critical concerns about Prevent in the UK, as a public policy, address the use of a surveillance mechanism as a whole. These concerns are returned in my research findings, as presented in Chapter IV of my thesis, especially regarding the responsibility to deal with the extreme right threat in school environments.

II.3.iii. Prevent duty and right-wing extremism within the UK's schools.

As far as right-wing extremism in the UK' s schools is concerned, Grubben (2006: 60) mentions that teachers and educational institutions are "an important partner" in pro-actively challenging extreme right ideologies which impact broader societal relationships (Lakhani and James, 2021). Lakhani (2020) suggests that responding to the hypothesis of reducing erroneous referrals, it is more about teachers being well-informed about the situation and not only about enabling teachers to better identify students "at risk" in order to support them. An effort to maintain balance across all of these accounts, though this will undoubtfully be a challenging task to undertake, one that will differentiate from institution to institution. However, the encouragement of stronger relationships locally could be an assuring path to address these anxieties, and thus the enactment of social capital, where experience, advice and knowledge can be drawn upon in informal settings, when is needed. Moreover, it is essential to be emphasised that there was a distinct

commonality in the research of Lakhani (2020) concerning how determinedly the clear majority of participants took their professional duty of care towards students and protection from all threats related to safeguarding.

The present climate of increased polarisation, however, renders the efforts to efficiently identify and define what beliefs and standpoints are considered extremism complex and challenging. In recent years, polarisation in terms of ideology has drawn a lot of attention, given that many democratic states are experiencing political fragmentations around core policy topics, sometimes along with the surface of controversial political idols, who elicit strong populist emotions among citizens (Ben-Porath, 2023). Furthermore, academics (Moffat and Gerald, 2019; O' Donnell, 2016) record anxieties around asking teachers to spot signs of radicalisation, particularly when radicalisation itself is ill-defined within policy and academia. Subsequently, Lakhani and James (2021) support that this is vital given that, although there are very distinct and obvious overlaps between xenophobia, racially motivated hate, including what has been described as "new racism" (Carter, 2018), hate crimes and the extreme-right, conflation between them should be avoided as potentially being counter-productive (Lakhani and James, 2021). There are also wider implications that need to be taken into account in terms of broader concerns associated with the prevent duty.

Within the context of the study of Lakhani and James (2021), this could relate to better determining the relationship between extremism and terrorism, including the wider question of where the balance lies between education, freedom and security (Dudenhoefer, 2018; Miah, 2017a; Ramsay, 2017); the epistemological shifts in pre-criminal counter-terrorism space (Heath-Kelly, 2017b); the tensions that exist between fostering debate, safe spaces and referrals (Elwick and Jerome, 2019); and the issue of losing trust between students and teachers when a referral is made (Moffat and Gerard, 2019). The implementation of the duty has also raised wider questions about whether or not teachers should be expected to undertake these roles, where commentators have warned against both the potential securitisation of education and burdening teachers with the responsibility of 'policing' their students (O'Donnell, 2016). This could lead, according to Lundie (2019: 323), to the "blurring notions of due process and culpability which have typically bounded police work".

Therefore, there is problematisation around the duty developing a 'counter-productive' nature (Davies, 2016a; Durodie, 2016), and fear of teachers being drawn into a 'villain-victim' imagery of their students (Sieckelinck et al., 2015), resulting in the alienation, disengagement and disaffection of pupils more generally, with wider anxieties over academic freedom (Taylor and Soni, 2017). In addition, Hart (2021) sounds the alarm of the threat indicated in the post-pandemic world, which refers to Prevent been seen as an issue of less importance and thus becoming uncritically delivered and further embedded in schools. Schools will be influenced by social reorganising that will no doubt come as society regroups post-pandemic. Ben-Porath (2023) emphasises that the most important ambition for schools, at any time and especially in times of polarisation and rising extremism, is to prepare students for their roles as citizens. Strengthening students' powers to make their voices heard in the democratic environment in an informed and effective way and to listen to others and work in collaboration with them are at the heart of the role of schools and education.

Taking all the above into account, my theoretical analysis of the concept of responsibility to tackle right-wing extremism threat within the educational field and the tangible representation of this 'governmental duty' in UK schools paved the way for my exploration of the possibility of introducing an analogous security apparatus in the Greek educational environments. This section provided me with the academic background to build my argument for introducing my forth research question in my study. Subsequently, I was able to address the question of how a stricter agenda to tackle the right-wing extremism threat could look like in Greek everyday school life to participants in my study. Therefore, my research brought into light the problematisation of Greek teachers on the likelihood of being asked, while delivering their work, to act in a 'pre-empting' space in the form of identifying and dealing with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism among their students.

To summarise all the above, the presence, action and conviction of members of the GD, as members of a criminal organisation, has attracted the interest of scholarship in an ongoing effort to decipher the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek society. Academics and official bodies strive to metabolise the outcome of open dialogue, scholarly engagement, explanations and reflection to the wider society with regards to the presence of right-wing extremism in Greece. While significant steps have been taken so far, the surface of a more normalised right-wing extremism in the Greek Parliament sounds the alarm for the

emergence do deal with the deeper roots of the phenomenon, otherwise it will continue gaining support in polarised eras.

Whereas democracies worldwide have devoted significant part of their anti-extremism and anti-radicalisation agendas in the participation of agents of civil society, with the UK having firstly prioritised active citizenship as an instrument to deal with the above alarming phenomena, in Greece such mechanisms are absent. However, my literature review revealed the crucial role of teachers in the preventive sphere of tackling this alarming phenomenon, even though the instrumentalisation of such strategic tools for the state to exploit the meaning of active citizenship in modern societies remains controversial. In particular, as far as the 'model practice' of Prevent duty in the UK is concerned, as exposed above, in scholarly, criticism, problematisation and challenges interweave the above duty, especially within educational settings and question its effectiveness. These concerns fueled my interest in investigating what a preventive, surveillance mechanism in the Greek educational sphere could look like. Therefore, my research later in Chapter IV investigates the ways Greek teachers conceptualise and experience right-wing extremism when delivering their work with a focus of my empirical data on how teachers experience this alarming phenomenon and the concept of responsibility in the context of a preventive policy. Furthermore, scholarship suggestions on how to build resilience and resist this threat provided me with the necessary background knowledge to analyse teachers suggestions on how building resilience against right-wing extremism could be achieved within schools.

II. A conclusion.

This Chapter informed my actual research by offering me an exploration of the core themes of my thesis, right-wing extremism, radicalisation and existing policies and responses to deal with this menace. Firstly, my literature review was devoted to the main focus of my research, the rise of the extreme right in Greek everyday life. Having as a starting point GD and its members trial and conviction for criminal acts, I also investigated Greece's policies towards this alarming threat at societal and legal levels with an interest in the educational response to this treat. Furthermore, the counter-extremism and anti-radicalisation initiatives, particularly within the field of education, inspired my study in terms of how these agendas are structured

and justified. The exploration of citizens' role, as active members of modern societies, in addressing the above phenomenon was informative because my intention was to document the role of teachers, as social actors in the fight against right-wing extremism. More precisely, the example of Prevent duty in the UK, as a part of the country's anti-extremism and anti-radicalisation agenda, and especially its implementation within educational settings as a surveillance mechanism, was illuminative as it offered me the opportunity to question which could be the limits, forms and context of such an initiative in Greek educational sector, while conducting my fieldwork and analyse my findings. In light of the above, the following Chapter refers to the methodology chosen to conduct my research and for empirical findings to reveal the themes of interest related to right-wing extremism in Greece, the process of radicalisation, the role of teachers in the preventive realm and the building of resilience within schools. Therefore, Chapter III presents my philosophical paradigms and methodological steps that best answer my research questions and decipher the themes that are connected to the above pillars of my literature review and emerged through qualitative data collected via participants' observation, semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photographs and follow-up interviews.

Chapter III: Methodology

III. An introduction.

Chapter III of my thesis is devoted to the methodological steps taken to answer the research questions and defends the selection of the hereunder research methodology and research design. More explicitly, it outlines how I conducted my research and reflects on the main themes connected to my methodological approach. In this Chapter, trustworthiness of my study is evident in the ways I present and explain how I chose the methodological path analysed below and the philosophical paradigms that best answer my research question. I continue with analysing my sampling strategy, recruitment and access to fieldwork. Then, I address theoretical insights with the practical exercise of each method I chose, namely participant observation, semi-structured interviews with teachers, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews, by adding my own experiences in organising and conducting each of the above data collection stages. The following section traverses my whole study and is referred to the valuable issue of ethics in my research. My study took place within schools, and thus, the realisation of the study within these sensitive environments required an ethical approach. I continue by explaining how I chose to analyse my data. I took into consideration that I was delving into the everyday life of teachers in secondary schools to explore the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and, thus, a high level of sensitivity on my behalf was necessary. Therefore, flexibility, adaptability and openness throughout my research journey made all the difference.

III.i. Delving into literature review and initial explorations.

The first phase in the research design started in the first year of my studies and involved an in-depth and methodical critique and analysis of the existing literature designed to identify the range of potentially relevant documents and publications available directly or indirectly related to the theme of interest of my study. Xiao and Watson (2019) recognise that literature review is a vital element of academic research. The review of the relevant literature provides researchers with deep and broad body of the work done in the area of exploration and equips them with the tools to identify gaps to investigate. Hence, familiarising myself with what is already known about the concepts of extremism, and areas of interest, as the anti-radicalisation agendas worldwide under the lens of methodological theories in order to comprehend how to raise questions about procedures, such as radicalisation and resilience, paved my way to situate my research within the

scope of what has already been developed and studies that have already been conducted in this area. Thus, the literature review provided me with the opportunity to fulfill the first objective of my study. Subsequently, the review of the literature on preventing right-wing extremism, especially within educational settings demonstrated the crucial role and impact of social policies targeted at building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

Although the reality of Greek teachers in terms of the prevention of right-wing extremism within schools is unexplored and unframed since there is no solid legal and social policy framework specifically addressing this alarming phenomenon, teachers in Greek state secondary schools were positive in participating in my study. Thus, my research focused on their contribution in tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. To decipher the lines and limits of their involvement, I was keen to investigate how the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of teachers influence their understanding of the practical implementation of safeguarding policies in tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. This provided me with the possibility to address the second objective of my study.

Carnwell and Daly (2001) suggest that a satisfactory literature review should gather information about a specific subject from many sources and be well written by containing few -if any- personal biases. Thus, by summarising, analysing, and synthesising the relevant literature, official documents, guidance on safeguarding policies, I had the opportunity to question whether a more securitised mechanism -similar to Prevent duty in the UK for example- could work in Greece. Delving into existing literature also demonstrated concerns about traumatised relationships of trust between teachers and students when, in the name of security, agendas with an active participation of teachers apply.

This resulted in a further demarcation of research focus to the people and process aspects of building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. Therefore, the third research objective was approached from a people and process perspective. Finally, Chen et al. (2016) highlighted that delivering a comprehensive and successful literature review by differentiating the article authors' views and the researchers', could be a challenging task. To avoid the above complexities, I chose to apply a clear search and selection strategy for my literature review because it was my road map from the start to the end of this research procedure.

III.ii. Research philosophy. Interpretivist-constructivist paradigm.

One of the first steps when I started my PhD studies was to establish a philosophical worldview. I realised that my research aim and objectives would be established on beliefs with regards to the ways knowledge is generated and this could come to the surface through scholarly research (Creswell, 2009). My primary research question guided the procedure. I return to the introductory chapter of my thesis and repeat my core research question: **What is the everyday reality in schools in terms of right-wing extremism? And how have Greek teachers perceived the phenomenon of right-wing extremism?**

Thus, my focus was on the day-to-day experiences of teachers in state secondary schools in Greece. More explicitly, the purpose of my research was to shed light in teachers perceptions and experiences about this alarming phenomenon and their role to protect students from the threat of right-wing extremism. This is the reason why it was vital, as part of my research process, to create a methodological design, choose an approach to my data analysis and more essentially position myself within a specific research paradigm. The beginning of my research prioritised my questioning about existence, the nature of knowledge, my engagement in it and what can be known, and even my consideration of the nature of the relationships created and developed between me and the researched (Rapley, 2018).

As a researcher, I needed to comprehend the meaning of the philosophical paradigm and its importance in my research, which was design to bring new knowledge in a social sciences topic. Therefore, I familiarised myself with the meaning and purpose of a philosophical paradigm, as defined by Neuman (2014: 85), who consider paradigm as a theoretical framework, as a "very general theoretical system with assumptions, concepts, and specific social theories". This understanding provided me with the opportunity to figure out what theoretical lens I needed to decipher teachers experiences of right-wing extremism. Consequently, it was necessary to signify paradigm with my orientation about how I, the researcher and researched people see and think about the social world. It was important for me to articulate how one comes to know through an informed thought process (Otoo, 2020).

I then explored what would be my epistemological positionality in the course of my study. According to Crotty (1998) objectivism, constructionism, and subjectivism are the three major types of epistemology. More explicitly, Crotty (1998) argues that objectivism solders the view that things exist as meaningful

entities independent of the operation of any consciousness and consequently, in reality, social entities exist externally to social actors. In subjectivism, meaning does not come out of an interplay between subject and the object and object itself makes no contribution to the meaning but is imposed on the object by the subject (Al-Ababneh, 2020; Crotty, 1998). At first, I was considering that the primary focus of my research was to make teachers in state secondary schools in Greece be heard and their personal viewpoints about right-wing extremism recorded. Thus, a subjective approach was identified as having the potential to address this research purpose, and through the exposition of teachers perceptions presented in the research, I would have the opportunity to present the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek secondary schools.

When I started my research, I wanted to decipher what the concept of right-wing extremism is through the interpretation of teachers in Greek state secondary schools. This knowledge would not have an objective view. At first, the interpretivism paradigm seemed to be in accordance with the acceptance that there is no single correct route or particular method to knowledge (Aliyu et al., 2014). More explicitly, the interpretivism paradigm refers to language as a means to describe what is going on in some circumstances. Indeed, by following the interpretivism paradigm, I came across multiple realities based on people's subjective experiences of the external world. My research, when planned, was aimed at a full description of the phenomenon under study with all its variables that are well identified, interpreted and described that the whole truth can be seen or said (Kumatongo and Muzata, 2021). In view of the above, by approaching this study from an interpretivism perspective, it firstly provided me with the opportunity not to conceptualise research mechanisms in terms of my contribution to gaining knowledge of realities positioned to exist outside of the gnosis procedure (Romm, 2001). Hence, with my engagement to the interpretivism paradigm, the collection of theoretical and empirical knowledge assisted me, as a researcher, to gain robust insight from actions that have occurred in a real-life context and preserved the intended meanings, which form an understanding of underlying social procedures.

However, when delving more into my research, even during my observation as a passive participant, I realised that a further constructive approach was necessary to derive underlying meaning from the social phenomenon observed. More explicitly, I recognised that data was inflowed in my study by following an escalation approach. At a first level, teachers were providing their perceptions about right-wing extremism, professional roles and resilience. However, at a second level, I understood that their experiences also shaped

their understanding of the phenomena and concepts under study. My research was devoted to the exploration of other people both perceptions and experiences for the phenomenon under study, namely right-wing extremism. However, this exploration could not be separate from culture, history and ideology (Chen et al., 2011). Since I was keen to investigate the phenomenon of right-wing extremism under the prism of teachers' experiences, this exploration could not be distant or even detached from the social and educational environments around them, laws, policies that are linked, even indirectly, to the phenomenon to be studied. A characteristic example of my decision to apply a combined philosophical paradigm in my study was at the observation stage of my study, when teachers shared personal experiences of their past, when GD was a political party of the Greek Parliament, and their teaching approach to discuss and deal with this in the classroom. Then, I realised that even their background knowledge was forming not only their interpretation but also the construction of the new knowledge in the context of my research.

Furthermore, during the data analysis phase, it was my field notes and their leading role in conducting the fieldwork that confirmed that -eventually- the meaning was not only interpreted but also constructed both by participants and myself, the researcher. The crucial of my research eventually was not only to understand what right-wing extremism is in Greek schools but also what is the contribution of teachers to protect students from this threat. Thus, it was no longer a question of interpretation but also a question of suggesting solutions and constructing a response to this phenomenon. This led to the adoption of constructivism as an additional and complementary methodological approach. Constructionism supports that subject and object emerge as partners in the generation of meaning as it refers to the meaning that comes into existence in and out of human engagement with the realities in the world as there is no truth waiting to be discovered as well as no meaning without a mind. Meaning is constructed and not discovered (Crotty, 1998). I acknowledged that a combination of a subjective and a constructive nature of the captured information about the everyday life of teachers in state secondary schools in Greece was more appropriate to succeed in my research. Consequently, I explored the possibility of adopting a constructivist–interpretivist paradigm (Schwandt, 1994).

By adopting a multiparadigm model, I was able not only to interpret the social phenomenon under study but also have a more insightful answering of my research question (Bogna et al., 2020). This approach recognises that past and present interactions construct knowledge and these interactions do not replicate the

social world, nevertheless they provide an interpretative representation of it (Charmaz, 2014: 19). Thus, researchers are able to acknowledge how their interactions with participants in research shaped the stories they shared and their reflections (Chronister et al., 2022). As mentioned above, the realisation of my study made me ascertain that reality is a product of human interaction with the real world. This means, knowledge is built up socially (Dawadi et al., 2021). Then, this social construction of knowledge in the context of my study meant that teachers perceptions and experiences could not be interpreted separately from the world around them. Society, culture, laws, policies, and prior knowledge could not be excluded from the construction of the new knowledge (Chen et al., 2011). The need to delve more into the educational implications of extreme right discourse for the broader public and the role of institutions could not be outside my research context.

Indeed, my research paradigm should not be away from these parameters that form teachers understandings and experiences and construct new knowledge on the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within Greek schools. During each phase of my study and data analysis process, I familiarised myself with the existing knowledge of people under study, teachers, and their cultural and professional backgrounds, ideological heritage and background information provided by the social environment around them. This is the reason why, I took my study a step further and I repositioned my research paradigm to a combination of an interpretivist and contructivist one. Having in mind that my central research inquiry was to delve into Greek teachers everyday life and the phenomenon of right-wing extremism, I realised that eventually it was no more a question of interpretation but a question of meaning-creating.

III.iii. Methodology in the interpretivist-constructivist approach.

Research methodology is the science of systematically solving the research problem by logically adopting various steps (Patel and Patel, 2019). Bryman (2016) defines research strategy as the general orientation to the conduct of social science. As mentioned in the previous section, my research adopts a combination of an interpretivist-constructivist paradigm. Subsequently, qualitative data were a powerful source of analysis and formulated the outcome of my study (Bryman, 2016).

Qualitative research can be interpreted as "an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2014: 32). Thus, my study aimed to portray an in-depth comprehension of key themes, including right-wing extremism in Greece, the process of radicalisation, and the analysis of teachers' experiences within the educational environment about the subject of their responsibility related to the prevention of radicalisation attributed to right-wing extremism. While thinking about how to form my research design and making decisions on which qualitative research methods would satisfy my research purpose, I returned to my research questions, as exposed in the introductory Chapter of my thesis. I took into consideration that I was about to explore a challenging phenomenon in sensitive environments. Basing my research only on qualitative semi-structured interviews on how teachers experience right-wing extremism while delivering their work would not provide me with the opportunity to have a comprehensive illustration of the phenomenon. Understanding what the phenomenon entails requires a deeper exploration. This could be achieved through a mixed-method design where observation could decipher the everyday experiences in a vivid and timely way while an artistic representation of the key themes of my research could add an of note contribution to my study.

This is the reason why the use of qualitative methods enabled me delving deeper into the concepts under investigation. Following Spiller et al. (2018) model, the focus of my research was not placed on numbers to verify my findings but, on the contrary, my goal was to provide a qualitative insight of the phenomenon under research. Hence, it goes beyond giving a mere snapshot of events and can show how and why things happen – also incorporating people's own motivation, emotions, prejudices and incidents of interpersonal cooperation and conflict (Charmaz, 1995). For me, it was not a matter of quantity to decipher this sensitive phenomenon in the Greek context but a matter of quality of how Greek teachers experience it in terms of identification, dealing and solutions.

III.iv. Mixed methods research design and method triangulation.

After a critical review of the literature on anti-radicalisation agendas, especially with regards to right-wing extremism, the issue of preventive mechanisms to build resilience against right-wing extremism within educational settings drove my research interest. Therefore, the spotlight of my research was directed to the

educational settings and more specifically in state secondary schools, as crucial stakeholders -even potentially- involved in the fight against right-wing extremism in educational environments.

Triangulation has been considered a qualitative research strategy to test validity through the meeting of information from different sources (Carter et al., 2014). Triangulation can also include the use of multiple data sources or methods in qualitative research to comprehensively understand phenomena (Patton, 1999). Flick (2018) clarifies triangulation is aiming at broader, deeper, more comprehensive understandings of what is studied. My mixed method research design was aimed at revealing the discrepancies and contradictions in the findings from the three qualitative methods I applied in my research and not only at confirming findings obtained from using one methodological approach (Flick, 2018). More precisely, my research design, as shown in Figure 1 below, included observation of classroom activity; semi-structured (in-depth) interviews with teachers and Heads of state secondary schools in Greece; participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews to decipher the understanding and insights of teachers in state secondary schools regarding the concepts of right-wing extremism, radicalisation and the mechanisms of building resilience against right-wing extremism within educational settings.
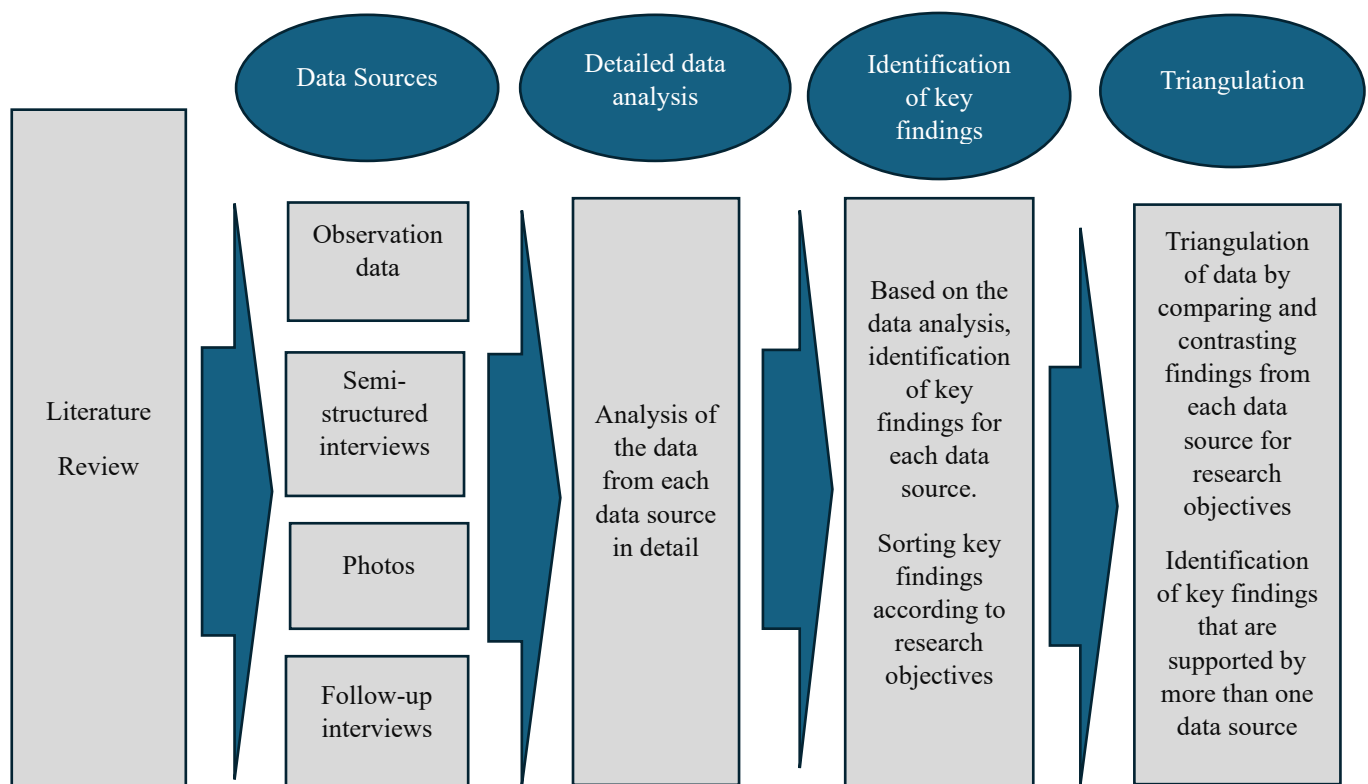

Figure 1: Research design.

Therefore, based on Denzin's idea that triangulation, as a strategy, constitutes a step on the road to greater knowledge, and less towards validity and objectivity of interpretation (Bryman, 2016; Denzin and Lincoln, 2018; Flick, 2004a), an explicit method triangulation approach of the qualitative methods was adopted in my research. Method triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection about the same phenomenon under study (Polit and Beck, 2004; 2013).

Thus, I had the opportunity to avoid the flaws that come with reliance on a single research technique. Research questions were the driving force of my study because they are associated with every other aspect of my design. Priority was given to the ways in which participants conceptualise, interpret or construct the social environments around them and, specifically, the subject of their responsibility related to the identification of signs of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism and prevention of this phenomenon (MacDonald et al., 2000).

Consequently, by recognising that even though the single interview encounter has its place in research, it seldom addresses the complexities of the research questions social researchers so often examine in social science studies (Darbyshire et al., 2005). Complicated issues require complex methodologies and methods. Method triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection about the same phenomenon under study (Polit and Beck, 2004; 2013). The adoption of multiple methods and the level of complexity they would bring to the study is one useful and effective way to step forward (Chamberlain et al., 2011; Mannay 2010).

My mixed method approach helped me fulfil the second and third research objectives, as the role of teachers and the requirements of an agenda addressing the issue of right-wing extremism in schools were investigated from different angles. Thus, by adopting a mixed qualitative method model, I had a holistic and constructing data pool to impove the soundness of the findings. The collection of data from the above different sources improved the quality of my findings and assisted me in the interpretation, construction and analysis of information collected.

Finally, Geertz (1973; 1983) suggests that a thorough description of source data, a bound connection between the data and the emerging analysis as well as by 'thick descriptions' can enhance the credibility of the research. Thick descriptions involve detailed and rich descriptions not only of participants' experiences of the phenomena but also of the circumstances under which those experiences take place. As mentioned

in the above section, in the course of my study method triangulation was adopted through the use of three qualitative methods to guarantee the trustworthiness of my research (Patton, 1999). Therefore, thick descriptions were achieved via the above three qualitative research methods. These research methods were applied to my study and took place over the course of almost one school year. Consequently, not only were the participants' experiences deciphered by the above methodological choices, which provided me with rich data but also the circumstances of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools and the culture of the teaching community in terms of the above concern were highlighted by my engagement with the school community during each phase of this research over almost eight months.

To continue, the requirement of transferability to ensure the trustworthiness of my study has been successfully fulfilled. More explicitly, my research could be the starting point for future research in other educational settings or countries to build, compare, expand or contradict the outcomes of my research (Stahl and King, 2020). As analysed in Chapter II, right-wing extremism is a global threat. Thus, the minimum contribution from my research in the direction of finding efficient ways to deal with it, especially in the field of education, could find applications in different settings or contexts. Finally, by carefully monitoring my emerging research design based on method triangulation and through keeping a detailed chronology of research activities and procedures, influences on the data collection and analysis; emerging themes, categories, analytic memos or models, I was able to satisfy the criteria of the dependability and confirmability of my research (Bowen, 2009; Koch, 2006; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Morrow, 2005).

III.v. Sampling and recruiting in my study.

In line with my core research question, my purpose was to decipher teachers everyday experiences of right-wing extremism in state secondary schools. I considered that if my study proved to be illuminating could provide education community in Greece with a map of how to identify and cope with this alarming phenomenon, while future research in this topic could be based on my findings and lead to the introduction of empathetic measures to understand and solve issues related to this threat.

The reason why I chose as research subjects teachers in state secondary schools in Greece was that, from an exploratory point of view, teachers in secondary schools are responsible for educating students shortly

before adulthood and entering adult life when they will be able to vote and be members of social groups as active citizens. My mixed method approach was based on the principal themes of my research, radicalisation and right-wing extremism. Consequently, these themes are directly related to the process of dealing with the problematisation of students around social issues, just before entering adult life. The ways teachers experience their duty in responding to these social anxieties, especially at this crucial age of children, satisfied my research ambition.

Therefore, all participants in my study were teachers in schools that were located in urban centres (population > 26.000 citizens according to the Census results of 2021, as published on 17.03.2023) as they have a multicultural character and thus diversity of the selected participants was ensured. Recruitment of participants was undertaken in such a way that participation was truly voluntary and there was no coercion, either explicit or implicit (Israel and Hay, 2006). In order to avoid biased answers being given in the context of my research, people who have been adversely affected by extremism could not take part. Thus, both in the information sheet and consent form (see appendices) a statement mentioning that "if you have been adversely affected by extremism, please consider your participation and do not participate in the research" was added alongside support services. However, none of the participants was adversely affected by extremism.

The first component of my mixed method ethnography was classroom observations, thus observing classroom activities attended by students aged 14-17 years old could be considered less precarious and at the same time more informative. Thus, observing the course structure for Political Education (Citizenship) in Lyceums in Greece was assessed as quite interesting. As far as teachers participating in my mixed method ethnography are concerned, I adopted a purposive sample approach with reference to my research question. Given that theoretically specifying minimum sample sizes is difficult to be defined (Charmaz, 2006), a group of eight (8) participants produced data that reflect diversity regarding the above chosen public sector and then this sample was snowballed in order to include twelve (12) more interviewees who will diversify further the sample (Silverman, 2013).

Gender was not an exclusion criterion. Participants of all genders were included in the present research study in order to ensure diversity and equality. This is the reason why participants from diverse racial, ethnical, cultural, social, political, or religious background were included. Age was not an exclusion

criterion. Teachers of different age groups ensured a plurality of perspectives. The roles of participants within Greek state secondary schools are tabulated in Table 1.

Table 1 - Participants' Roles within Greek state secondary schools.

Interviewees' roles	No.
Head of School/Teacher	3
Management Administrator/Teacher	1
Political Education (Citizenship) teachers	13
Other speciality teachers	3
Total	**20**

Overall, I accessed thirteen (13) schools, however the observation took place in the twelve (12) of them. In addition, twenty (20) participants were involved in semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews. The list in Table 2 below includes information about how schools and participants in my thesis have been named.

Schools	Teachers	Role
School 1 & 1a (2 classroom observations with 2 different teachers)	Imran	Head of school/Teacher
	Keith	Teacher (Political education)
	Andrew	Teacher (Political education)
	Beatrice	Teacher (other speciality)
School 2 (1 classroom observation)	Julia	Teacher (Political education)
School 3 (no classroom observation)	Anna	Teacher (other speciality)
School 4 (1 classroom observation)	Sophie	Teacher (Political education)
	Joanna	Head of school/Teacher
School 5 (1 classroom observation)	Holly	Teacher (Political education)
School 6 (1 classroom observation)	Donna	Teacher (Political education)

School 7 (1 classroom observation)	Marie	Teacher (Political education)
	Josephine	Teacher (other speciality)
School 8 (1 classroom observation)	Vicky	Teacher (Political Education)
	Richard	Management Administrator/Teacher
School 9 (1 classroom observation)	Philip	Teacher (Political Education)
	Paul	Head of school/Teacher
School 10 (1 classroom observation)	Helen	Teacher (Political Education)
School 11 & 11a (2 classroom observation, same teacher)	Michelle	Teacher (Political Education)
School 12 (1 classroom observation)	Emma	Teacher (Political Education)
School 13 (1 classroom observation)	Colette	Teacher (Political Education)

As mentioned below in section III.x., only for the purpose of presenting my data in my thesis in the simplest way, classroom observations were listed only with 'School' and an arithmetic component and all participants were named by using pseudonyms. As analysed below, to preserve the full anonymity of my research sample details and avoid the risk of schools and participants being identified, I decided not to include further information about the background of my research participants and regional or other identifiable information about schools. At this point, I mention that my qualitative study, by thoroughly examining a small-scale body of data, is considered to be a pursuit to raise questions. Thus, it emphasised on multiplicity of individuals realities each with their own inherent validity.

III.vi. Access.

A crucial element in the course of my study was to establish rapport and trust before data collection could properly start. In order to establish rapport and trust, contact with gatekeepers is valuable. This is the reason why contacts with gatekeepers, for example friends or academics, could provide me with the opportunity to gain access to the above social settings. At first, these contacts would possibly provide me with the

opportunity to contact Schools' Principals in order to provide them with a clear explanation of the aim of my research and the methods that I have selected in the context of my study.

My first attempts to introduce my research to gatekeepers and find potential participants provided me with the opportunity to understand the school reality of teachers in Greece and methodically build my approach to schools and teachers to have a positive outcome in terms of granting access. Since my background was not in education but in law, these initial unofficial discussions and explorations were essential to better comprehend the group I intended to observe. The approval of the research study in Greece was granted in March 2022. At first and before returning to the face-to-face teaching activities, teachers and Heads of Schools in Greece were overloaded with tasks and extra anxiety to successfully deliver teaching activities while ensuring mental health of students. This is the reason why I decided to enter school classrooms in September 2022 when Covid-19 restrictions were lifted.

More specifically, from the next day of the approval decision in March 2022, I adopted an escalation approach to introduce my research to schools in Greece and examine the possibility of participating in my project. Firstly, I sent emails to schools in order to introduce myself and my research study with an attached letter in a pdf form (see appendices) with all the necessary information about the study, the approval letter details and the possibility to learn more on the study via a 2-3 minutes video clip I had prepared to familiarise schools teachers, Heads and parents/guardians with details of the purpose and the context of my research. After a couple of days, I sent gentle reminders emails to schools and then after a few more days I started phone calling schools to introduce myself and research and try to explain my project in simple terms. Connection with the teachers' community culture and even indirect interaction with students in the course of my study was needed. My ethnography required high-level transparency of the whole procedure to build and preserve trust not only in participants but also in students, even though students were not the subject groups under investigation. My antennae were always open to everyday elements and clues related to the culture of this community to enhance rapport and run my research activity smoothly.

Therefore, the whole fieldwork process allowed me to exercise both my academic skills and knowledge and my socialising skills to introduce, present my study and finally materialise it. Consequently, my research offered me the chance to reflect on my role as an early-stage researcher and analytically and systematically balance the gathered data and context and culture of my ethnographic study. To continue,

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the first responses of schools principals in Greek state secondary schools were really encouraging. Initial letters, emails and phone calls had a positive outcome but none of the schools asked to access the short video clip. In person and phone communication had a more tangible effect in the consideration of my study after returning to face-to-face educational activities.

Thus, in the context of my study, participants observation took place in state secondary schools during the school year 2022-2023 in the face-to-face version of teaching activities. Despite the fact that the initial intended sample of schools from Greece was four (4) state secondary schools (Lyceums), eventually twelve (12) state secondary schools (Lyceums) in Greece accepted my first research phase, namely observation, to take place in their school settings. The observation phase of the Political Education course (Citizenship) included two (2) 1-hour face-to-face sessions on two (2) selected days per week over a period of four (4) weeks in each state secondary school (Lyceum). Only in one (1) school I was not able to complete the framework of the two (2) 1-hour face-to-face sessions on two (2) selected days per week over a period of four (4) weeks due to the fact that the last week was at the end of teaching sessions for the school year 2022-2023. However, I collected rich data over a period of three (3) weeks and thus the material collected was fully responded to the aim of my study.

Twenty (20) teachers and Heads of schools participated in the semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews phases of my research. All participants were of diverse ages and genders and with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This ensured a plurality of perspectives and provided me with sufficient data. As stated before, an initial round of formal letters introducing the aim and scope of the study was sent out in schools requesting teachers to participate in my research. Thus, participants were able to contact me and express their willingness to participate in my study. In addition, given that I spent adequate time in schools settings first to introduce my research and explain in detail the research context and latter to conduct observation in school classrooms, other teachers approached me and expressed their willingness to participate because they found the theme of my study interesting and essential for the school community.

III.vii. Data collection.

As mentioned above, my mixed method approach was applied in the course of my primary data collection phase and it was extended in four stages. Silverman (2020) defines multimethod qualitative research as the one with a combination of various qualitative methods and Justesen and Mik-Meyer (2012) specifically refer to the mixing of interview studies with various types of observation methodologies and analysis of documents. The figure 2 below schematically depicts the primary data collection methods chosen.

```
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ participants │  ⇒   │    semi-     │  ⇒   │ participant  │  ⇒   │  follow-up   │
│ observation  │      │  structured  │      │ -generated   │      │  interviews  │
│              │      │  interviews  │      │    photos    │      │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```
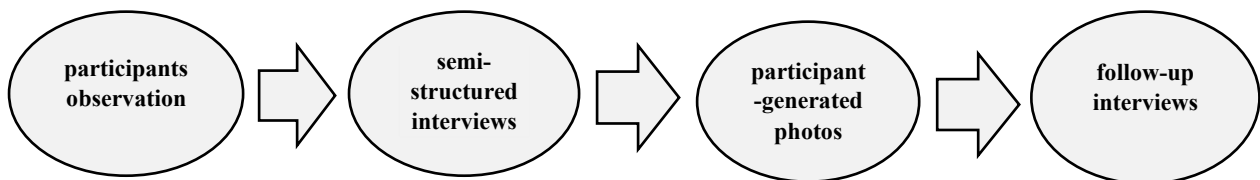
Figure 2: Primary data collection methods.

Specifically, the first stage included participants' observation; the second stage included semi-structured (in-depth) interviews; the third stage included participant-generated photos and the last stage included follow-up interviews.

At this point, a special reference to the emotional work in the course of my study is made. Comprehension of the emotional work of the researchers is crucial to gather high-quality data (Hoffmann, 2007). This is the reason why sociologists of emotions build the argument that the relationship between emotion and knowledge should be reevaluated. Gilbert (2000) argues that an awareness of emotions could be advantageous for the research procedure and maximise high-quality results. Currently, Sociology scholars have come to accept the role of emotions in research rather than promote the isolation of emotions in the name of objectivity (Parvez, 2018). Researchers' personal experiences and emotions are now considered to be valid sources of scholarly knowledge (Granek, 2013). Knight and Zempi (2020) point out that dilemmas of dealing with our emotions emphasise that refined conversation with our emotional selves can offer additional value to strengthen the trustworthiness and credibility of qualitative research.

Characteristically, Zempi in Knight and Zempi (2020) refers to the value of talking openly and honestly about what it was like to experience anti-Muslim hostility and how it affected her, which has helped her reflect upon and more fully comprehend her emotions. Also, having the opportunity to talk about it has made it feel less isolating for her. Keeping a research diary throughout my research study was a valuable tool during the phase of the fieldwork and offered me a chance to reflect on the process and its influence on me as a qualitative study researcher. Indeed, literature recognises that personal diaries or journals or

diaries can be a simple but at the same time constructive practice for researchers to explore and acknowledge their emotions, and their role within the research structure (Darra, 2008). Personal diaries or journals can positively help researchers cope with sadness, and distress and release emotions (Goodrum and Keys, 2007). Crucially, they offer an effective way to reflect because they can guide researchers to a state of openness where prior beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes are identified (Dowling, 2006). Therefore, I reflected on my emotions in each abovementioned stage of my ethnography. I recorded my thoughts and conclusions of my everyday research activities in a diary. Thus, the routine of tracking my day-by-day steps and synthesising the whole experience offered me the opportunity to deepen my emotions and reflect on the research process.

III.viii.1. Participant observation.

Participant observation is ideally suited for gaining an insider's perspective, while allowing the researcher to observe surroundings and behaviour (Stafford and Stafford, 1993). Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the situation under study (Erlandson et al., 1993). Participant observation involves attempting to understand and interpret the meanings and experiences of a group, a task which anthropologists argue is only possible through participation with the individuals involved (Burgess, 1991; Silverman, 2006). According to Fetters and Rubinstein (2019), observation has the advantage of capturing data in more natural circumstances.

Researcher's relations in the field will heavily influence the accuracy and truthfulness of the data collected. Rapport and trust need to be established before data collection can properly begin. Fieldwork roles are seen as developmental, moving through a series of phases as the research progresses. The essential base of participant observation is participation in, and observations of, everyday life. The research question or questions are defined and redefined as the research process continues. The method is closely akin to in depth case studies stressing a holistic examination in a particular setting. Information gathered by a variety of techniques is recorded. Field observations allow researchers to move beyond selected perceptions and protocols, and better understand the nature of particular activities, who performs them, and the contexts in

which they occur. Consequently, as Mulhall (2003) argues, the primary reason for using observational methods is to check whether what people say they do is the same as what they actually do.

Following Spradley's (1980: 58-62) model, I adopted a passive participation role where I, as the observer, was present in the field but avoided interaction as far as possible. Following Crang and Cook (2007) argument, to be an observer of a 'culture' implies a detached sitting-back and watching of activities that unfold in front of you, as the researcher, as if you were not there. My main role as a researcher was to collect data, and the group to be studied was aware of my observation activities. I was not a member of the group. I was present -in the background of students' class- during the delivery of the course of Political Education school subject (Citizenship) in the face-to-face version. My interaction with teachers occurred through the following interviews. The observational data provided me with the opportunity to generate a more complete understanding of the group's activities.

In the context of safeguarding policies, the ways this course gives attention to the issue of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism, especially when delivered to adolescents, who are in a phase of turbulence, reorganisation, and identity search, could provide me with meaningful data with regards to how the structure of this course is attuned with the needs of the audience they address. Thus, the choice of observation, as a qualitative research method, responded to the need to study and understand teachers within their working environment, classrooms, and collect -in real-time- data related to the structure of the course of Political Education (Citizenship) and the ways this course work for the benefit of the students and the building of resilience against right-wing extremism.

More explicitly, it was beneficial for my study and me, the researcher, to take advantage of the whole period from the beginning of the school year 2022-2023 in September 2022 up close to the end of the school year (May 2023). Additionally, I was able to build a relationship of trust with participants and students, even though students were not the direct subject of the study. I had the opportunity to observe how the context of the above courses was in line with safeguarding guidance and policies within the educational settings and in natural circumstances. Therefore, the observation phase paved the way for a targeted data collection via the subsequent data collection methods, namely semi-structured interviews and participant-generated photos and encouraged the search for cohesion in the findings of these three different research methods applied.

A simple recording of the goings-on during classroom activities in a field diary, as a form of material evidence, was adopted. The field diary conceptualised the construction of data collected during this phase (Crang and Cook, 1995). All proper names were blanked out in an attempt to preserve the anonymity of those involved. I kept detailed field notes in a paper notebook based on events or behaviours and my reflections on them. It was more practical to merely write down phrases or notes to remind me of key events and then write up detailed notes in a private space. Although this technique relies on an accurate memory and recall of events, it envisages effectively issues related to confidentiality, as 'researched' people may ask to look at notes taken contemporaneously. Thus, it was essential to create a high-quality, professional document that demonstrates respect for participants. Field notes were analysed like any other qualitative text by, for example, searching for key words and coding for thematic content (Fetters and Rubinstein, 2019). Consequently, as Phillippi and Lauderdale (2018) argue, field notes improved the depth of my qualitative findings. The most decisive element of this study was to clarify my intention not to collect personal data from students given that students were not the subject of my research. This is the reason why my field notes did not concern students during the face-to-face teaching sessions.

III.viii.2. Semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews contributed meaningfully to the outcome of my research study. The use of semi-structured interviews requires a certain level of previous study in the research topic area because the interview questions are based on previous knowledge (Kallio et al., 2016). What you want to know determines which questions you will ask. What you already know will determine how you ask them (Leech, 2002). The option of semi-structured interviews has the benefit of making better use of the knowledge-producing possibilities of dialogue, allowing greater freedom to explore any individual issues that are important to the respondent and myself, the researcher. Instead of been hidden behind a predetermined interview guide, semi-structured interview, with its basis in human conversation, allows the skillful interviewer to modify the style, pace and ordering of questions to evoke the fullest responses from the interviewee. Most importantly, it enables interviewees to provide responses in their own terms and in

the way that they think and use language. It proves to be especially valuable if the researchers are to understand the way the interviewees perceive the social world under study (Qu and Dumay, 2011).

The use of semi-structured interviews for data collection aims at harvesting information about the subject of interest from key informants who have perceptions, beliefs and personal experiences (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019). Taking into consideration the sensitive character of my research project, this methodological approach of conducting interviews generated accelerated intimacy with participants (Wilkerson, 2007, cited in Dresser, 2019). Qualitative research approach generates unique, diverse and "rich" data that, otherwise, it could not be possible to collect by using other methods (Wiktorowicz, 2004: 2). Qualitative interviews are considered to be the most appropriate method since they enable greater flexibility and adaptability that is conducive to both researcher and interviewee (Silverman, 2013). After deciding on the purpose of the study and research questions, the next step was to determine who will provide the best information to answer the research question. Good interviewees are those who are available, willing to be interviewed and have lived experiences and knowledge about the topic of interest. Sampling strategies are influenced by the research question and the purpose of the study. Unlike quantitative studies, statistical representativeness is not the goal of qualitative research.

Underlying the semi-structured interview is the assumption that the questions must be comprehensible to the interviewee while, at the same time, the interviewer must respond sensitively to differences in the way the interviewees understand the world. Thus, semi-structured interviews are able to produce different responses contingent to the traits of the interviewers. Different interviewers will evoke different responses from the same interviewee given the way questions are asked and probed (Qu and Dumay, 2011). The researcher can explore new paths that emerge during the interview that may not have been considered initially (Gray, 2004). Researcher and subjects co-construct knowledge together. Hand (2003) and Dearnley (2005) found that the open nature of the questions encourages depth and vitality, which helps new concepts to emerge. According to Doody and Noonan (2013), this increased the validity of the study, by assisting them in collecting rich data for analysis. Finally, Pilcher (2017) suggests that conducting interviews in a semi-structured way has the advantage of comparison between participants.

In the context of my study the actual research for semi-structured interviews started after September 2022 as well, when restrictions related to the global pandemic of Covid-19 were lifted. Given the sensitive nature

of my study, face to face semi-structured interviews (and follow-up interviews) were preferred from participants. The interviews took place within school premises in a quiet, private and able to get a clear recording room. It was helpful that there was a room in each school setting where we had the opportunity to discuss privately without interruption, and where it was quiet enough to hear and audio record the interview.

I also followed the suggestion of Josselson (2013, cited in DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019), who states that, within the interview space, an arrangement with a comfortable distance between the interviewer and interviewee with a low table in between for the recorder and any materials (consent forms, questionnaires, water, and so on) should exist. Researchers need to develop critical questions that do not harm the participants psychologically or irritate them in any way (Muthanna, 2019).

Having good knowledge of interview construction (asking good questions), and some training is essential for interviewers (Yin, 2009). Stephens (2007: 211) observes that, in face-to-face interviews, the non-verbal cues and 'small utterances' play a larger role than we might anticipate in continually shaping and guiding the interview (Irvine et al., 2013). Additionally, researchers must systematically develop and refine their initial ideas, usually starting with a good understanding of the related literature (Phellas et al., 2011). Findings from my literature review were used to guide the structuring of the interview protocol and interview questions.

Thus, after some background questions, the questions were designed to address the main issues of my study and more specifically the themes of safeguarding policies and training experiences, the role and responsibilities of teachers in terms of the implementation of safeguarding policies with regards to right-wing extremism, the knowledge about radicalisation related to right-wing extremism, the aspects of everyday professionalism and the role of Human Rights in building resilience towards right-wing extremism.

The recordings from twenty (20) semi-structured interviews were collected as the empirical data of the second phase of my study. Additionally, as far as teachers at state secondary schools in Greece are concerned, the interviews were conducted in Greek, and subsequently, I translated the above material into English. More precisely, after background question (in section I of the interview protocol, see appendices), the main questions of the interview protocol were, as follow:

II. Safeguarding policies & training experiences.
1. Would you like to tell me about the ways the official guide (if any) addresses the issues of radicalisation especially with regards to right-wing extremism? Is there any training session about this?
2. How would you practically evaluate the safeguarding policy and training experience (if any) concerning right-wing extremism?
III. The role and the responsibilities of teachers concerning the implementation of the Prevent duty for teachers in the United Kingdom and the implementation regarding safeguarding policy from teachers in Greece.
3. Do you think that the engagement of teachers in the fight against radicalisation especially with regards to right-wing extremism is essential and why?
IV. Knowledge about radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.
4. Practically, how could you identify any threats of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism among your students?
V. Professionalism.
Now, let's talk about professionalism in reference to safeguarding policies. In this sense, professionalism concerns conduct, behaviour and attitude within the school, which is the work environment that this research aims to be concentrated on.
5. How is your professional behaviour balanced with the dealing of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within the classroom? Could you please be more explicit about your experiences?
VI. Human rights.
6. Do you think that teaching Human Rights and citizenship is adequately delivered under the current framework of safeguarding policy?
7. Do you think that compulsory involvement of teachers within the framework of a stricter safeguarding agenda could harm the relationship between teachers and students? If yes, how would you describe this?

Although the questions were set to further address the identified themes from the literature review, they were flexible to allow any new knowledge to be discovered through the exploration of the experiences of educators in practice. The empirical data collected during this second phase of my study also allowed an overview of the existing policies in practice and hence enabled the exploration of my research topic.

The opportunity of transferring the rich accounts of findings regarding, according to Geertz (1973), a thick description of the details of a culture from this specific qualitative study to other situations will provide other researchers with what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer as a database for making judgments about transferability of findings to other milieu (Bryman, 2016). It is worth mentioning that, while saturation determines the majority of qualitative sample size, other factors that can dictate how quickly or slowly this is achieved in a qualitative study. Charmaz (2006) suggests that the aims of the study are the ultimate driver of the project design, and therefore the sample size. The number of participants depends upon the number required to inform fully all important elements of the phenomenon being studied. In ethnography, the main strategy is purposive sampling of a variety of key informants, who are most knowledgeable about a culture

and are able and willing to act as representatives in revealing and interpreting the culture (Moser and Korstjens, 2018).

My research specified that the selection of participants should be based on their knowledge and experience in state school environments. Indeed, in my ethnography, my main strategy with regards to semi-structured interviews has to interview a variety of key informants, who were most knowledgeable about the education culture in recognising and dealing with right-wing extremism and were able and willing to act as representatives in revealing and interpreting the role of teachers in addressing this alarming phenomenon (Moser and Korstjens, 2018). Thus, my research specified that participants were selected from various state secondary schools with different experiences and knowledge to ensure that a balanced representation of educational roles was represented within my data.

III.viii.3. Participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews.

An innovative approach to qualitative research can be offered through visual methods given their potential to enrich verbal and textual data, prompt discussion and enable participants to communicate about difficult or sensitive themes (Trombeta and Cox, 2022). Participatory research designs have the power to open researchers' access to participants' subjective experiences through different channels and new perspectives and thus enrich data (Cox et al., 2014; Glaw et al., 2017; Padgett et al., 2013). Additionally, these designs promote connection between researchers and participants especially in terms of the verbalisation of experiences that are difficult to express or conceptualise (Drew et al., 2010). Over time, the use of photography has been developed from mostly being a form of documentation to being embedded in analytical paths in research. 'Photo elicitation' emerged as a technique in which photographs were used by researchers as stimuli for invoking narrative responses from participants (Flick, 2002; Harrison, 2002).

In line with my research question the use of participant-generated photography as a stimulus for qualitative interviews with individuals has been considered as a rather valuable tool. I came from a different background and I had no previous education experience. I considered photos would be a significant pool of data of how educators, in the context of their work and their position as role model for students, perceive right-wing extremism, the role of school and solutions to deal with this threat. Photovoice methodology, as

Burles and Thomas (2014) point out, offers the opportunity of a conscientious proceeding of narrative creation through various interpretations of 'truth' based on the framing of images and the accompanying iterative discussions between researchers and participants, as well as between participants themselves. I was keen to explore their individual 'truths' about the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in the meta-GD era and how their everyday experiences could be presented in this artistic manner.

Thus, in the course of my research, participants were provided with cameras and asked to take photographs reflecting their perspectives on the themes of interest (Frith and Harcourt, 2007; Goodwin, 2001; Turner, 2005; Turner and Cox, 2004). The photos were then used as stimuli in qualitative interviews to elicit participant perceptions on the themes of interest. According to Rose (2016), this methodology was expanded with the realisation that photographs are valued sources that hold a plethora of information in static images. More specifically, in continuation with the previous section, during the first semi-structured in-depth interview with each participant, I provided each participant with a disposable camera. I then asked them to take photographs of what they consider related to the themes of interest. Participants received instructions in both verbal and written forms. Verbal instructions included a demonstration with the camera and participants had had the opportunity to try using the camera themselves, while I was still present to give assistance (Brown et al., 2013).

Participants took photographs of anything that reminded them of the themes related to my research study, and they were free to take as few or as many photographs as they desired. I spent time with each participant ensuring they will be able to use the disposable cameras provided. Participants had a suggested time-frame of four (4) weeks to take their photographs. Photographs were developed free of charge and used as a stimulus for discussion in the follow-up qualitative interview session. Among others, participants were asked to explain the significance of the images and the reasons they chose to depict their experiences and perceptions. Participants chose the order in which they wished to discuss the photographs. Participants' photographs were not individually analysed as data objects. The data from the photographs constituted part of the textual record, represented by interview transcripts that documented the participants' discussion of the photos (Goodwin, 2001). Photo follow-up interviews were also transcribed verbatim.

By comparing the results from two types of interviewing methods, Collier (1957) concluded several positive outcomes of using photographs as an interview aid. In my study, the research data obtained with

photographs were precise and often direct to the questions asked about the photographs. Second, the photo elicitation interviews were longer and more comprehensive because photographs served as a language bridge that allowed interviewees to clearly describe relevant processes and situations. Third, photographs helped participants recall their experiences by prodding latent memories and stimulated their emotional elements projected onto the photographs (Feng, 2019). Furthermore, as Balmer et al. (2015) point out, photographs in my research allowed them to explore phenomena that may have remained 'hidden' in an interview only.

Consequently, as Carlson et al. (2006) argue, photographs provided me with insights into phenomena specified within my research study that were either unique or added to spoken and written expressions and, crucially, worked to position participants as creators and initial interpreters of data in photovoice study. Bloustien (2003) describes the camera as a tool for being reflexive about oneself and the ways in which we understand and frame our experiences of the world. Turner and Cox (2004) suggest photographs have the ability to evoke powerful metaphors that might be difficult without the catalyst of the picture to articulate. Indeed, the different interpretations illustrated the importance of listening to the story behind the photographs taken. Another advantage of using photographs taken by participants themselves as communication support materials was that my bias were more easily minimised. Photographs taken by participants, therefore, constituted a useful tool for facilitating dialogue (Brown et al., 2013).

According to Drew and Guillemin (2014), a solid visual analysis process will therefore illustrate the incorporation of participants voices and researchers voices, describing these different layers of perspectives and claims as part of showing how different aspects of the emerging analytical story become prioritised or diminished in the overall study chronicle. In the course of my study, participants co-created knowledge with me. More explicitly, participant-generated photographs constituted the stimulus for the qualitative follow-up interviews, during which participants were asked to discuss and explain meaning and the significance of their photographs within the framework of the key themes of my study (Brown et al., 2013). Therefore, according to Fitzgibbon and Stengel (2018), a reality where participants were integrated into my research study, without being only passive providers of information was achieved.

III.ix. Ethical considerations and sensitivity in practice.

The general ethical principle with regards to research studies is to impose no harm. To ensure this outcome, research is normally carried out under the auspices of some governing body or research board (Qu and Dumay, 2011). Additionally, participants must be informed of all dangers and risks. This ethical attitude should incorporate respect, sensitivity and tact towards participants throughout the research process. In addition, it is important to consider the power imbalance between the researcher and the participant. Israel and Hay (2006) highlight that researchers need to establish trust with their participants, firstly by protecting them, promoting and guarding the integrity of their research against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organisations or institutions, and deal with new, challenging problems.

Given the sensitive nature of the theme of my study, namely right-wing extremism, following the Ethics procedure established at Birmingham City University, my study was conducted in compliance with the Birmingham City University research ethics rules and regulations and the individual Directorates of Secondary Education in Greece. The primary data collection through classroom observations from fourteen (14) classroom observations in (12) schools, semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews with twenty (20) participants, was performed based on the university's ethical guidelines and practices, those of the individual Directorates of Secondary Education in Greece, and the appointed supervisory team. Thus, any feeling of discomfort was avoided.

More precisely, all participants were engaged in my research project voluntarily. A potential risk could be the feeling of stress for participating in my study. In order to further minimise the risk of stress, the above qualitative research methods have been selected. Furthermore, I informed participants that, if they felt distressed and unable to contact any person associated with my study, they could contact the support services that are available at Birmingham City University. I also listed organisations that offer support services in Greece. These organisations were added both in the Debriefing Form and the Participants Information Sheet.

As far as the observation phase is concerned, my intention was not to collect personal data (personally identified or identifiable information) from students given that students were not the subject of my research. As mentioned above, the use of the observation method is aimed at deciphering the context and the structure of the above courses in a realistic setting and not at collecting data of students. This is the reason why my field notes did not concern students during the classroom sessions. Furthermore, I did not use video

recordings of the sessions to avoid the complexities of ethical issues that could arise. To establish rapport with parents/guardians of the students from the outset, in parallel with approaching schools and negotiations with Heads of schools and class teachers, I sent an "Access Request Form" (see appendices) to the Head of each school to explain the purpose of my study. This form included details of my research methods. Since students were not the subject of my study, parents/guardians of the students were clearly informed beforehand about the goals of my research project, the process of the observation phase in the classroom, the anonymisation of the data, and the voluntary character of the participation in my study, in writing with an "Opt-out Sheet", which was delivered to parents/guardians of the students by the teachers (see appendices).

Consequently, if they did not wish their child to be observed in the context of my research study, they were be given the opportunity to freely opt out of their child's indirect participation in my study by filling in the opt-out form (opt-out sheet) and returning it to me, the researcher, via email. In addition, my email address was at the disposal of the parents/guardians to respond to any questions/concerns that they may have had. The "Opt-out Sheet" was returned from a student's parent only in one school. Thus, being attuned to the ethical reasoning of my study, I did not enter the specific classroom for my observation phase. I proceeded with the observation in a different classroom where there was no objection from the parents/guardians of the students.

In connection with the above, especially with regards to participant-generated photographs, I informed participants -both in verbal and written form- that taking photographs within the framework of my study should not put themselves or any third party (physically, mentally, or psychologically) at risk (see appendices). Consequently, any physical risk for participants or third parties was deterred. Initial contacts were made through telephone or email and followed up with more details so the individual could make an informed decision about whether they wish to be interviewed. Participants knew what to expect in terms of length of time, the purpose of the study, why they have been selected and who will be there. In addition, participants were informed that they can refuse to answer questions or can withdraw from the study at any time, including during the interview itself. In order to avoid the free sharing of the photographs by the participants (for example on social media etc.), which could pose issues of confidentiality, disposable cameras were used. Moreover, the use of disposable cameras minimised the ethical and legal complexity

of copyright, if participants took photographs of artwork, used images from a magazine or downloaded images from the internet. By arrangement, the disposable cameras and the relevant instructions and documents were given at the school where the participants were teaching. In this way, the participants were able to collect disposable cameras on time.

Following the ethical guidance with regards to the procedure of my study, a letter of invitation was sent to the participants, which informed them of the purpose of my study, how the above-mentioned research method would be used in terms of collection, analysis and storage of the data, what their participation in my research means and what risks, if any, were involved. Subsequently, before each interview session, participants were made fully aware my research framework, and both an "Participation Information sheet" and an informed "Consent Form" were given to each one of them (see appendices). I, the researcher was responsible for obtaining consent.

More precisely, the "Information Sheet" was used in order to introduce myself, my institutional affiliation and provided the participants with all the necessary information with regards to my research project and their voluntary participation in my study; that I would telephone or email shortly after she/he received the letter to arrange a possible appointment. The right to withdraw from research could only be exercised if research participants knew (1) that they were research participants, (2) that withdrawal was possible and that they had an absolute and unconditional right to withdraw, and (3) the process by which they could withdraw (Holm and Ploug, 2017). In the course of my study, participants were informed that they reserve the right to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason they wish, and to inform me if there was any data that was inconvenient to use as part of the study. Additionally, they were assured that the information they provided, both written and oral, would be used in accordance with confidentiality. Participants were briefed that the interviews transcription process would take place exclusively on my university laptop that was connected to OneDrive and not on a shared network computer (for example on a computer in the university library) and that their data would be anonymised. I informed the participants that only I and my Director of Studies would have access to the above data and all data would be stored in a secure place, complying with the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998. Participants were informed that data from cameras would be kept confidential through data storage procedures within the university. Furthermore, participants were apprised of the destruction of their data at the end of my research. Each

in-depth interview was audio-taped individually for each participant. As mentioned above, all interviews were transcribed verbatim in order to secure an efficient analysis of the data, preserving the exact words used, grammar, unfinished sentences and even pauses.

As far as the participant-generated photos were concerned, in order to avoid the complexities possible to emerge from the taking of photographs within the educational environment, I suggested that participants should take photographs in public and try photographing objects only. Asking participants to take metaphoric photos versus realistic photos to depict their experiences related to my research project could minimise any ethical issues. Consequently, the ethical considerations of photographs within the school environment and those related to taking photographs of children or students were minimised. In any case, participants were provided with a "Photographee's Consent Form" (see appendices) to return to me, the researcher. Moreover, technical strategies for handling ethical challenges and anonymising images including blurring faces; cropping to remove identifying features were adopted in the course of my study. Following all the above, I was able to build trust and minimise the feeling of stress. As far as third parties are concerned, since photographs containing people were published only with the consent of every person in the photograph and only when it was considered that the photo is integral to the research finding, any feeling of stress was minimised. The following section illustrate the way in which anonymity and sensitivity towards participants were managed and controlled in favour of the participants and in accordance with the ethical rules of the Birmingham City University research regulations and these of the individual Directorates of Secondary Education in Greece.

III.x. Confidentiality and anonymity.

Taking into account the seriousness of the ethical issues that raised concerning my research study, full anonymisation of the data produced in the framework of the observation phase -even from the start of the collection process and not only at the stage of analysis- ensured that the ethical considerations related to children indirectly participating during the observation phase were minimised and that the GDPR guidelines would not apply in the classroom observation study. Anonymisation involved techniques that were used to convert personal data into anonymised data. Anonymous data from which no connection to a specifically

identifiable person could be drawn, based on either the specific data alone or through linking to other datasets fell outside the applicability of the GDPR (Recital 26) (Vlahou et al., 2021).

According to the European Commission (2018b) ethics and data protection guidance, one of the best ways to mitigate the ethical concerns arising from the use of personal data was to anonymise them so that they are no longer related to identifiable persons. Data that no longer related to identifiable persons, such as aggregate and statistical data, or data that had otherwise been rendered anonymous so that the data subject could not be re-identified, were not personal data, and were therefore outside the scope of data protection law. The timing of the anonymisation process was paramount. To secure the anonymity of the participants, my research study was anonymised in its entirety. Thus, any risk of disclosure was blockaded. The data management throughout the research process was in line with the provisions of the 1998 Data Protection Act and the respective one in Greece (Bill of Law no. 4624/2019).

Anonymity is never complete in most types of qualitative inquiry because the researcher knows who is involved in the research. Confidentiality then remains the only guarantee to the participants that their identities could be protected in front of their colleagues, students, and the public (Petrova et al., 2014). Confidentiality needs to be assured to encourage participants to provide truthful answers. To maintain confidentiality and anonymity of participants, references to names including colleagues, locations (such as cities, towns, schools, buildings, etc.) were replaced in the transcribed data by bracketed text. This helped to preserve the anonymity of my case study location and individual participants. In light of the above, with regards to the observation study, I fully anonymised the data I collected from the start of the collection process and not only at the stage of the analysis.

At every stage of the process, the data were treated with confidentiality, and the anonymity of participants was ensured (Priyadarshini, 2020). Since the ultimate goal is complete confidentiality for the participants to enable them to speak openly, freely and deeply, data were analysed without compromising the participants' identities (Petrova et al., 2014). Apart from names, full anonymisation was concerning time, place, and other identified or identifiable information and thus no further data and information about the schools participating in my study were mentioned. Subsequently, to reduce the risk of any person being identified during my research, each person was anonymised prior to the interview by allocating a unique identifier for each person (unique ID code) prior to the interviews and using only the identifier when further

processing the data. This unique ID code did consist of letters and numbers that will not be associated with the participant identity. Thus, each code had any gender and human-identifiable feature removed, hence contributed to ensuring confidentiality. The purpose of this unique ID code was to enable me to track respondents and do the follow up mailings. The code sheet was always in my possession or secured in a locked space at Birmingham City University. At the conclusion of the study, the code-sheet will be destroyed.

Consequently, the anonymity of participants was maintained throughout both the data analysis and the reporting of the findings and results. I chose to codify participants by using titles of favourite books and numbers, so as to be able to organise their data from all stages of my study (observation, semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews) and their responses and address their quotations in the discussion of findings. In accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 the respective one in Greece, as mentioned above, my research sought to use all information fairly, lawfully, and solely for the purpose that was stated. The collected information will be held responsibly and for no longer than my research requires. To present the data in my thesis, all participants were named with pseudonyms. Classroom observations were listed only with 'School' and an arithmetic component. This strategic choice has the benefit of providing the gathered data with a simple and vivid appearance. In addition, I decided not to include further information about the background of my research participants and schools, such as regional or other identifiable information, to preserve the full anonymity of my research sample details.

III.xi. Thematic analysis of data.

The collection of qualitative data usually relies on interpretation, meaning that the data requires a number of explanations. This happens because huge amounts of qualitative evidence are normally collected (Alhojailan, 2012). Furthermore, as Cassell and Symon (1994) argue, there is no distinction between data collection and its analysis. Consequently, there is an overlap of interpretation and analysis to reach conclusions. Thematic analysis allows the recognition of significant differences in how people conseptualise the phenomenon of right-wing extremism, as well as how preventive agendas help the identification of signs, concerns, vulnerabilities and offer tools to address these issues (Jason and

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Glenwick, 2016). Following Brown and Collins (2021) paradigm, all text and visual data of my research were qualitatively analysed using thematic analysis, as shown in Figure 3 below.
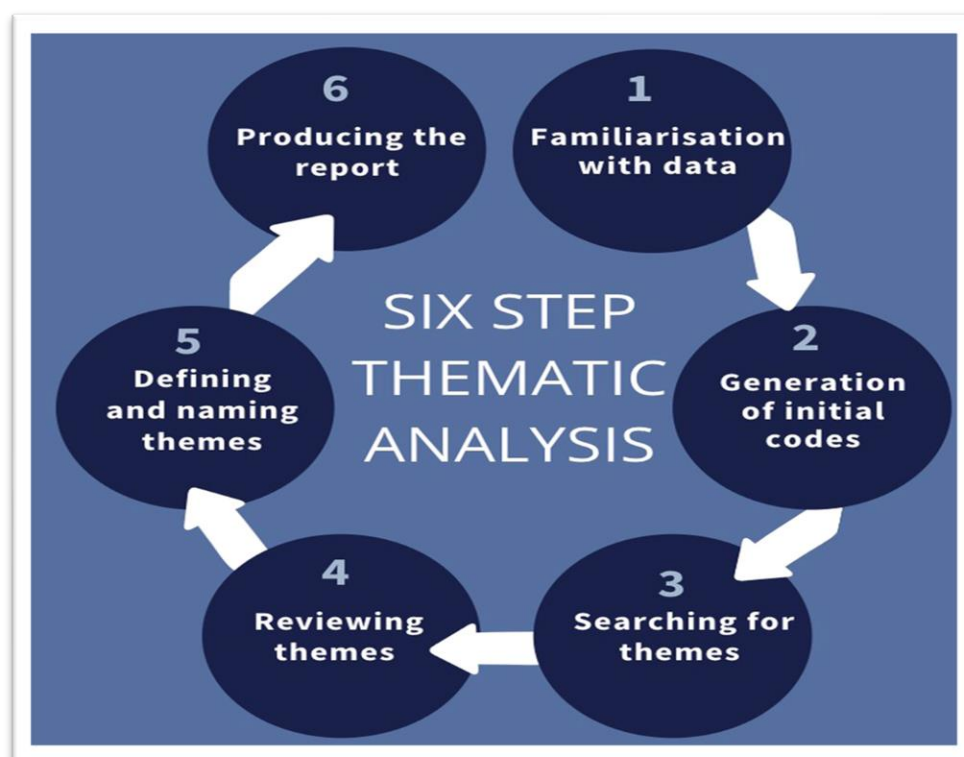

Figure 3: Braun and Clarke six-step thematic analysis. Source: Journal of Medical Radiation Sciences (2022).

As per the approach to qualitative data analysis, I followed the six (6) steps thematic analysis schema provided by Braun and Clarke (2006). During data analysis, I needed to make choices and take key decisions on what counts as a theme. The categorisation of a theme was judged on whether it is essential to addressing the overall research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Campbell et al., 2021). At this stage, I went back and forth between the data gathered from all three above methods in order to identify themes. Following, Braun and Clarke (2006: 96-97) model, I was keen to organise the data into a story said in to "coherent and internally consistent account". My primary goal was the story I wanted to write and the themes identified to provide scientifically adequate answers to my research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Following Lochmiller's (2021) suggestion that the authentication of an excellent thematic analysis involves making straightforward connections between the overarching theme and secondary themes that substantiate, strengthen, and further illuminate it, I reviewed and revisited my completed thematic map and

the meaning of each theme. Qualitative data of my research put weight on people. Thus, my data were multifaced and typically rich in context, rendering thematic analysis crucial adding to my quiver. The first step of my thematic analysis included familiarisation of myself with the data; the second step was focused on the generation of initial codes followed by the search for themes; the fourth step was reviewing themes; the fifth step was directed in defining and naming themes and the last one referred to the production of the conclusive themes. At this point I repeated this procedure twice to maximise the trustworthiness of the analysis results. For the purpose of coding, following Mahel et al. (2018) argument that qualitative data analysis software packages, such as NVivo, do not support the data analysis procedure, manual coding for the qualitative analysis of the data was adopted.

Software packages provide retrieval facilities to generate answers to complex questions and excellent data management, however, the manual approach of physically writing on sticky notes, arranging and rearranging them and the schematical plan stimulates a more purposeful synergy with the data, compared to a technological approach (Mattimoe et al., 2021). In addition, as Mahel et al. (2018) point out, the manual coding and analysis results in displays of the analysis, thus the sticky notes, concept maps and visual representations of the process remain in place and offer the researcher the opportunity to engage with the research material over a period of time and on a variety of levels. On the contrary, software packages operating on a computer screen, do not further broad overviews of the data and result in fragmentary outline of the data. The above is an iterative process and involves re-reading, coding and recoding until all data has been included in sub-themes and overarching themes (Mattimoe et al., 2021). As Basit (2003) argues, using manual coding approach might be more suited to those who wished to ultimately quantify their data; therefore this approach did not match with my objective of using these pilots as a stepping stone to further qualitative analysis. Additionally, I rejected using computer software for reasons of personal preference.

This method gave a tangible quality to my research since I felt this approach gave me an overview of the whole spectrum of my study. To be more explicit, I felt more confident managing the thematic analysis manually first to build my confidence as a researcher and most importantly to delve deeper into the research scene and the everyday life of teachers. By manually analysing themes, I had a direct engagement with the procedure of depicting what my fieldwork data were saying. This step helped me draft my discussion in a more readily way.

For the transcription of the data, I chose a verbatim transcription. Verbatim transcription is the conventional way of recording qualitative data (Hill et al., 2022). Verbatim transcriptions, enhanced by researcher-determined notation of non-verbal behaviour, has been recognised as determinant to the reliability (Seale and Silverman, 1997) and to the validity and trustworthiness (Easton et al., 2000) of qualitative studies (MacLean et al., 2004). García-Horta and Guerra-Ramos (2009: 152) argue that qualitative software is no substitute for the requirement and capability of the researcher to "assign meaning, identify similarities and differences, establish relations" between data. They suggest that, whilst software for qualitative data analysis might be useful for working with structure, software packages cannot currently handle the making of meaning, interpreting data, working out categories, making decisions on coding and interpreting the outcomes of analysis and processing (2009: 153).

Presenting findings in a report or a study requires the integration of quotes into a more traditional written format (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019). Therefore, I adopted a manual thematic analysis to structure, analyse, and represent the qualitative data collected in the context of my research. This method allowed the exploration of more than one type of data set whilst working with the assumption that these data sets are linked; meaning was explored by moving back and forward between the data sets rather than seeing them as separate. During my research process, I considered how my research may have affected and possibly changed me personally and as a researcher.

Hence, the text data transcripts and visual data were thoroughly scrutinised to ensure that I have gone beyond what I was looking for at the beginning of the analysis process and reach higher levels of abstraction (Ayres et al., 2003; Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Vaismoradi et al., 2016) whereas themes should capture something crucial in terms of the overall research questions (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). The codes were abstracted from the transcripts and visual data to provide an insight into the exploration of right-wing extremism within Greek schools. Subsequently, the emerged themes from each qualitative method in my research were synthesised and produced the final categories (subthemes) and themes, as legitimate research endeavours (Koch, 1998). I followed a generic inductive approach, which allowed research findings to emerge from the repeating and significant themes from my data pool without being restrained by a tradition-specified qualitative framework (Thomas, 2006). The generic inductive approach in coding helped me build up clear connections between research objectives and research findings (Liu, 2016). Furthermore,

given that my analysis aimed to capture both the verbal and visual data, a polytextual thematic analysis, as developed by Gleeson (2011, cited in Edmondson et al., 2018) was undertaken.

Thematic analysis is a flexible and accessible method in case of complex qualitative data with a willingness to systematically and rigorously approach and accurately represent those data. For novice researchers, as myself thematic analysis was my first step toward learning about and using more sophisticated analytic methods (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and establishing the comprehension of other more complicated qualitative analysis techniques (Lester et al., 2020). Consequently, my analysis of empirical data by applying a thematic analysis model resulted in a strategic justification for underpinning knowledge. Thus, the last objective of my study to provide suggestions for a targeted and beneficial implementation of safeguarding policies in schools but under a holistic and inclusive human rights approach was fulfilled (Flick 1992; 2004a; Flick et al., 2004; 2007).

III.xii. The value of flexibility, adaptability and openness from start to finish.

My PhD journey from the start was a unique, amazing but also challenging experience, which provided me with the opportunity to delve into new and exciting areas, meeting new people, enter into school settings and realise that this path, despite its difficulties, is an adventure for life. First and foremost, the concept of stability was questioned from the very first month of this journey as a PhD student. I started my studies as a PhD student in February 2020 and a month later the Covid-19 pandemic broke out. This unforeseen condition, under which my study took place for a significant time of my research, changed the framework of being a PhD student at the time. Despite the fact that in 2020 I was exploring the literature on the themes of interest of my study, the new online reality changed the form of supervision meetings, visits to libraries and engagement with the doctoral community. It was reassuring that all PhD students' activities were transferred swiftly to an online version. However, the stress of the unknown during this unprecedented reality for the whole humanity and me in combination with the solitary nature of doctoral studies was beyond my expectations of this experience. Surprisingly, having in mind that I have a purpose and I was passionate about my PhD was a great comfort and motivated me to take advantage of the technological benefits of the new circumstances in conducting qualitative research.

Initially, I planned to study two different localities, namely Greece and the UK, as the 'gold standard' of anti-radicalisation agendas, and thus conduct an ethnography within schools in these two different countries. However, access to secondary schools in the UK was impossible. While approaching schools to discuss the possibility of participating in my research, two Heads of secondary schools in the UK were positive in booking an appointment for me to present them my research framework. However, the global pandemic of Covid-19 resulted in a worldwide lock-down of all businesses and institutes during this phase of my research study. Since the approval of my research study from Birmingham City University Ethics Committee in July 2021, I tried to gain access to state secondary schools in the UK, however, it was an impossible task due to the pandemic and staffing issues, given that in the UK, after lock-downs a severe lack of educators and teachers in schools was noted. Thus, when returning to a more 'normalised' everyday school reality, the realisation of this comparative study became unrealistic.

This is the reason why I shifted the focus of this study to the Greek educational reality and the teachers' experiences in dealing with right-wing extremism. Persistence and patience were the two characteristics I found extremely valuable in the course of my study. In Greece, the online classroom seemed to burden educators with new and more responsibilities and anxieties. Therefore, there was a reluctance in welcoming a research project on the sensitive issue of right-wing extremism in the online school envrionment. Nevertheless, when teaching activities returned to the face-to-face version, a number of school principals and teachers were positive in hosting my research in their school. Being patient to gain access and finding willing participants was worth the waiting because being present with teachers and -indirectly- with students provided me not only with rich data but also with the opportunity to materialise my ethnography by being present in real-time and place and explore new paths of knowledge but also communication of my research and interaction. So it became clear to me that this is what I want to do, that this experience was worth every sacrifice, wait, and anxiety.

Gaining access to the school community for the observation and interview phases, both before and after participant-generated photos, made me realise how passionate I was about my project and thus I had the chance to metabolise this to teachers and students when I first introduced my research. I had the opportunity to start fieldwork after losing the most important person in my life. Whilst everything seemed pointless at the time, I chose to leave grief behind and offered heart and soul into my fieldwork. This purpose made

everything possible in me and motivated me to pursue the realisation of my study. Having been provided with the ethical approval to conduct this research, both in the UK, via the Birmingham City University Ethics Committee procedure, and via the Greek Directorates of Secondary Education process, as the responsible bodies for approving research in the education field, I felt confident to materialise the fieldwork stage. Given that my background was in law, without having connection and familiarity with the everyday life of teachers and students in Greek state schools, what was revealing for me was not only the interest of teachers in participating in my study but also the curiosity and positive attitude of students towards my research.

What was evident from the first day of introducing my research to schools and starting the observation phase in classrooms was that all people involved in my study either directly or indirectly desired transparency. From day one of the fieldwork I realised that being open to questions and explaining with confidence and calmness the context of my study to take place in the schools setting was the first step to building trust and rapport with teachers and students, even though students were not the subject group under study. It was a unique and memorable experience for me as an early-stage researcher to be given the step to present my study and gain access to schools. Even though a short video clip was produced with the details of the study for schools to be familiar with the project, it was not asked or used by schools.

Reflecting on this, I realised that in-person communication with Heads of schools, teachers and students and transparency in presenting the framework of my study maximised the positive attitude towards my research and the positiveness in participating in my study. I am grateful to all Heads of schools and teachers for their generosity in providing me with the possibility to speak openly and honestly about my research and myself. It was the first time since I started this PhD that I was in the spotlight and my audience was a totally unfamiliar community until the first day of the fieldwork. However, honesty and transparency made everything possible. At the end of the fieldwork, I confirmed that respecting the community by being ethically attuned to the research guidelines and context, true to myself and the community under study and open to questions, reflected emphatically on the realisation of my research study.

In light of the above, the most valuable experience to reflect upon was lived at the end of the fieldwork in Greece, when I was asked to talk to students about my research and the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. I felt very honoured because what I had in mind was to offer back something to the school

community, as my personal thank you for their participation. This was the reason why I thought a presentation focusing on this subject of interest would be the best choice. At the time I thought that it was a unique opportunity for the first time to speak to a wider audience. However, since the programme of the fieldwork was extensive and my timetable to complete my PhD study was tight for personal reasons, which also challenged the realisation of my research, I did not have the opportunity to expand this experience to all the schools participating in my study. This is the reason why I promised myself that, after the completion of my PhD studies and in liaison with Heads of schools and teachers, I will return to all school communities participating in my study to offer back an output of my experience and knowledge on this alarming phenomenon. It is the least I can do since I am grateful for supporting my research study. At first, I felt stressed and puzzled about how to present something tangible to students about right-wing extremism and signs of radicalisation. Teachers were my superpower in this effort since they trusted me and motivated me to organise a PowerPoint presentation with the key issues on the phenomenon. I decided to be open to questions and discussion. The experience was beyond my expectations for the following reasons.

Firstly, I realised that both students and teachers were open to experts presenting their themes of expertise because they value the need for a more modern school; a school open to research and educational activities more related to real-life issues through a scientific lens. To capture the interest of my audience I made use of PowerPoint slides because my primary goal was to deliver something simple, tangible and academically supported for students at this age. Students paid attention, asked interesting and to-the-point questions and also were keen to discuss the role of many social actors in the fight against right-wing extremism, like the role of the family and the Church.

Secondly, the support and willingness of teachers to open a dialogue with arguments and profound problematisation on this sensitive issue revealed to me that their willingness to delve into a modern, more sensitised school with a realistic angle to alarming social issues, was honest and was emerging from the comprehension of their responsibility and role to protect the well-being of their students, keep them informed and away from extremities. Even in a case when a student tried to trigger a tense in the classroom by doing -in an underground way- a characteristic gesture of the supporters of right-wing extremism, dialogue, the opportunity for being open, honest and mostly not punitive to this kind of behaviours and instead being empathetic to the causes of this kind of behaviours, was the key element to build a relationship

of trust with the audience and eventually have a conversation with students who shared their experiences, expressed their opinions and their willingness to be more engaged in activities with social impact. I was also positively surprised when students asked the reference list of this presentation to explore more on the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. It was also an opportunity for students to comprehend how a presentation with academic material and context can be materialised. This was also pointed out by teachers as well.

Finally, my reflection on this experience was that transparency, trust and honesty between teachers and students and me, as the researcher-presenter, left a positive result and motivated students to be alarmed and in close communication with their teachers. Once again, through the course of my study, it was also evident that both teachers, as participants, and students, as the indirect group of my study and only during the observation phase, required a modernisation in teaching and school experience, which will give floor to more research projects to take place within the school settings. It should be noted that I was emotionally charged when, at the end of the study, in several schools, students wanted to discuss with me the possibility of hosting more research projects in the school environments, as they were enthusiastic about the passion and dedication a researcher invests in his/her research and this motivated them to look for this possibility for their future. Given that teachers in Lyceums (secondary schools) prepare students for their future endeavours just before adulthood, it was another element to add to the data interpretation, the fact that school communities ask for a modern school, open to research, as an additional route to knowledge and as a professional direction.

III. A conclusion.

This Chapter presented discussions around the methodological decisions made by the researcher throughout the research process. At this direction, the choice of research design, philosophical stance, research methods, techniques and tools were justified based on the discussion of various methods and views. The decision to employ an exploratory research approach to accomplish the research aims and objectives was made with respect to the nature of my study, research questions and the circumstances in which my research was conducted. The choice of an interpretivist-constructivist approach as the philosophical stance enabled

an exploratory study into right-wing extremism within Greek state secondary schools (Lyceums), using the perceptions and experiences of teachers, together with rich knowledge collected from guidance, bibliography, academic articles and peer-reviewed journals. An inductive approach towards my research sphere, coupled with qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis enabled the in-depth research of knowledge from various perspectives (Silverman, 2020). This Chapter was finalised by the discussion of ethical considerations, to demonstrate the efforts of the researcher in the production of an authentic piece of work, with high academic values and sensitivity. Therefore, I reviewed my experience conducting an ethnographic study by emphasising the need to be flexible, adaptable and open from start to finish. The next Chapter will present themes arising from the findings of my empirical data collection procedure using the research methods discussed in this Chapter and discuss the outcomes of my fieldwork under the lens of my thematic analysis.

Chapter IV: Findings & Discussion

IV. An overview.

My primary data collection delves into the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within the Greek educational sphere. The qualitative thematic analysis of concepts and ideas derived from my findings, as collected through observation of classroom activities of the course Political Education (Citizenship) in state secondary schools (Lyceums), semi-structured interviews with teachers and Heads of schools, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews, is based on the projection of three main themes: **I. Visibility** of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in state secondary schools, **II. Responsibility** to deal with the phenomenon and **III. Resilience** towards this alarming threat within school environments. Under each of the above themes, my thesis identifies a number of sub-themes that further illuminate my data analysis of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. My literature review, as presented in Chapter II, is invoked back along with the findings of further readings to support the discussion and my journey in interpreting the research data. Thus, findings from my primary data are synthesised with the existing literature review in order to contribute to our understandings of deeper meanings of the experiences and challenges associated with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within Greek school everyday life, as well as the solutions directed to the reinforcement of the idea of 'active citizenship' as identic to the 'social being' concept built on a student-centred, cosmopolitan approach and address the second, third, fourth and fifth research objectives of my study. Finally, my analysis of the above themes, within the context of current, additional theoretical exploration, ascertains the importance of my findings and demonstrates the impact my study could have on future practice within educational society in Greece and research. Figure 4 below showcases the themes and subthemes that were surfaced during my data analysis procedure and refer to the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek state secondary schools.

Visibility
Concepts & ideology
Causes & connections
Nornalisaton of the extreme right

Responsibility
The family
The school
The state

Resilience
Active citizenship
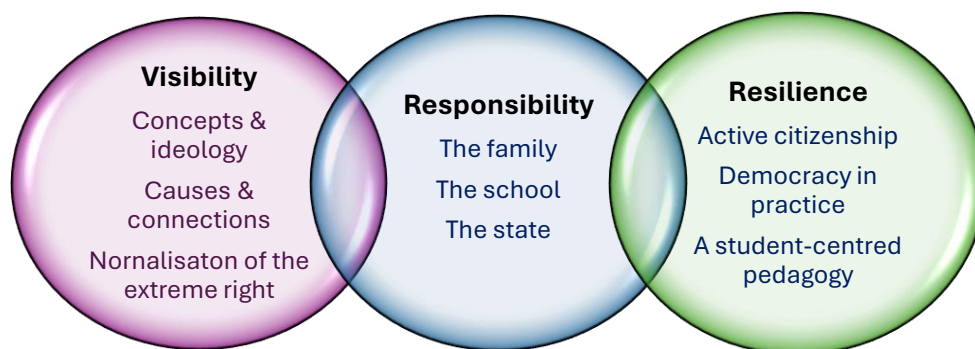Democracy in practice
A student-centred pedagogy

Figure 4: Maximal themes and sub-themes.

All italicised portions of this Chapter are excerpts from my field notes and interviews (in the two phases of my study that entail interviews) during my fieldwork and by referring to 'educational subjects' in these excerpts I refer to participants in my study. In addition, my comments in my field notes are not italicised. As I mentioned in my methodology Chapter (Chapter III), classroom observations were listed only with 'School' and an arithmetic component. All names in the texts and excerpts were changed. Participants were named by using pseudonyms. In addition, I used the third person plural in my filed notes to avoid the risk of identifying participants' gender and thus protect the identities of the people with whom I conducted my research.

IV.1. Visibility.

IV.1.i. Introduction.

In this section, the key issue of how right-wing extremism is perceived and experienced within Greek education environments is analysed and discussed. I identified that **visibility** was the first theme derived from my empirical data. Under this theme, **concepts and ideology; causes and connections and the normalisation of the extreme right** (beyond GD), emerged as subthemes within the context of my mixed method ethnography. More explicitly, my first theme is connected to the challenging and complicated concept of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to this threat. In addition, my study indicates experiences of right-wing extremism within schools are also connected to family. Students supporting the right-wing extremist ideology are influenced by their close environment and, mostly, by their parents. Finally, my study revealed that GD was the starting point to identify and deal with the concern of right-wing extremism in schools but its influence is still present. Currently, it comes under a more normalised camouflage. Therefore, the inquiry of the first theme of my research answers my first research question as it explores the everyday reality in Greek schools with right-wing extremism and teachers' experiences with this phenomenon.

IV.1.ii. Concepts and ideology.

In Mudde's (1996; 2019) work, most categorisations of right-wing extremism include the following five elements: nationalism, racism, xenophobia, the call for a strong state and anti-democratic attitude.

In the course of my study, frequently right-wing extremism was related to fascism and Nazism and signs of the phenomenon were categorised within the framework of racism and fascism. I observed that extreme right is a phenomenon not explicitly recognised and identified within all school classrooms participating in my study. In some cases, the phenomenon was unknown, while in others the extreme right was directly connected to the GD political party. Thus, my observation data revealed that GD was used by teachers as an example case to explain to students what right-wing extremism entails. Marie, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 7) started an interesting discussion in the classroom around the issue of right-wing extremism in modern Greece and specifically tried to make students think about the reasons why people embrace this ideology. The passage below is referred to in this discussion:

> "*Reference to fascist regimes. The educational subject referred to Golden Dawn example. Many are now in prison. Students comment that one of them has already started up a political party and is taking advantage of the trial to attract voters.* [I understand through this comment that the students have a negative attitude towards Golden Dawn] *The educational subject aptly asked the students if even today there are people who embrace these notions. The students opened a particularly interesting discussion by trying to give their explanation about why some people still believe in them……..*" (Fieldnotes, School 7)

The open dialogue Marie had with the students provided them with the opportunity to express their opinions on this alarming phenomenon and their negative attitude towards political parties that are ideologically driven by racist and fascist attitudes. First and foremost students and Marie had an opportunity to share valuable information about this alarming phenomenon, feel confident to identify signs of this threat and mostly feel safe within school where teachers recognise their role to help student express their anxieties and questions.

Emma, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 12) deciphered the GD's dogma and the violent acts of its members. She continued by saying that GD is now characterised as a criminal organisation. The murder of Pavlos Fyssas was the starting point to reveal illegal actions of this neo-Nazi organisation and face the dark side of right-wing extremism in modern Greece, especially while specific incidents and stories came into the spotlight about the violent mobilisation of GD supporters. Emma emphasised the need to explain to students what right-wing extremism is in order for students to be informed and avoid being drawn into this fascist ideology:

> *"The educational subject asks the children if they know what right-wing extremism means. ………What characterises the GOLDEN DAWN that could be characterised as extreme right?*
> *- Preeminently racist characteristics and attitudes. - Violent actions - Infringement of rights - Far-right extremist activism. Reference to the murder of Pavlos Fyssas. Reference to the GOLDEN DAWN trial. It is now a criminal organisation and is in prison."* (Fieldnotes, School 12)

Furthermore, Sophie, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 4) linked the phenomenon of right-wing extremism to the unfree regime of the Junta, where unfreedom of expression, tortures and exiles took place. The discussion on the historical background of extreme right-wing ideology in Greece was really interesting. More explicitly, there was an uneasy situation within the classroom when students were questioned about the political positioning of the Junta regime. Sophie tried to clarify that Junta's status was based on unfreedom, constant policing and the lack of democratic procedures.

I observed that Sophie, in the context of an open dialogue, listened to the opinions expressed, however she emphasised in a pedagogical way the importance of comprehending the historical truth about what the extreme right dogma entails. This observation provided me with the opportunity to witness how modern schools deal with these dark pages of the history of modern Greece and how this case of an unfreedom regime could be used as an example of what are the dangers of extreme right ideology for people and democracy. The passage below refers to this observation:

> *"The educational subject asked the students what they thought of the Polytechnic anniversary celebration. Some children thought that the students showed courage then against the Junta. ……... At this point, the opinion expressed by some children was that the students did not overthrow the Junta, but the student uprising had to do with other events (related to elections, rights, etc.). View that the Junta fell because of the events in Cyprus. The educational subject looks surprising from the students' point of view but tries to mention to the students that the Junta imposed a regime where there was no freedom of expression, but constant policing and curfews. Democracy gives importance to the citizen, the educational subject pointed out, and that is why we must preserve democracy and take care of it. …… The educational subject tries to convince the children to understand the meaning of the Polytechnic events and what the Junta regime meant."* (Fieldnotes, School 4)

To continue, in Julia's observation, who is a teacher of the Political Education course at a city centre school (School 2), an extended dialogue and sharing experiences about signs and threats from right-wing extremism took place. Thus, Julia explained to students what right-wing ideology looks like in our everyday lives and how we could distinguish its threatening elements. At this point, I mention that another crucial

element was indicated in the course of the observation phase and this was the essentiality of the relationship of trust between students, which will be analysed later in this Chapter (section 2.iii.).

More explicitly, there was a conversation around swastikas that have been painted within school premises, even recently. This mobilised Julia and the rest of the school community to detect these signs and erase them. It was a positive element that students felt comfortable sharing this incident with their teacher and it was a characteristic of the work done by Julia to build this relationship of trust. However, the antennae of the school community should be always open to detect any sign of right-wing extremism in schools and protect students. This relationship of trust was then firstly explored in terms of the visibility of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools. Swastikas and other visual or tangible symbols of fascist and Nazism ideology, such as meanders, were considered to be indicative of right-wing extremist ideology. The following passage outlines this discussion:

> "*At this point, students mentioned to the educational subject that there are students in the school who have painted swastikas on the school premises even recently.* [The educational subject was surprised] *The educational subject told the students that they would take care of the matter. They said it is unfortunate that the school has swastikas painted inside its premises*". (Fieldnotes, School 2)

To continue, Keith, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 1 & 1a), equated extreme right ideology with anti-immigration racist attitudes expressed by students towards other students of different racial backgrounds or ethnicities:

> "*Most of the time it is not with an event that happens, but with what is said and extremities may be expressed about other children, who are immigrants/refugees because their colour is different. ....*" (Keith)

This categorisation felt into Mudde's (1996; 2019) work on right-wing extremism including the elements of xenophobia, nationalism and racism. Beatrice, a teacher of a speciality not related to Social Sciences at a school in an urban area (School 1 & 1a), also recognised signs of right-wing extremism in the form of slogans or drawings. Additionally, it could have a pattern of political positioning. Per se, her following statement:

> "*Symbols can certainly appear on painted desks, notebooks, boards, walls, whatever. Certainly that and certainly phrases, words, gestures. That is, those again which are respectively characteristic. In general, this is how it is detected.*" (Beatrice)

Both Keith and Beatrice were familiar with what right-wing extremism entails in terms of ideology and concepts expressed either verbally or through a visual element, a very common phenomenon especially

during the years when GD was present in the political scene. This was also supplemented by Emma's photo below with a GD graffiti on a wall:

Photograph 1: This photo shows a characteristic graffiti of GD's supporters

".. I would say relatively forgotten, in relation to the that some years have passed… Yes. But the Greek province, it also plays a role. So we see what has now been characterised as criminal, the organisation of the GOLDEN DAWN, as a nostalgic writing on the wall, on a wall." (Emma)

GD capitalised on social despair, uncertainty and job insecurity in the most extreme way (Christodoulaki, 2020). Emma placed this symbol in the past and also said that GD was in rise in the Greek province in the years of the economic crisis. During the time of the economic crisis, as Emma pointed out with her photo, the presence of GD was more evident given that the social effects of austerity paved the way for this neo-fascist organisation.

Sophie outlined the militaristic character of GD dogma. She emphasised that GD had expanded its extreme right ideology with battalions in the years of its presence in the Greek political and social scene. Human Rights 360 and Social Change Initiative's (2021) report referred to the violent attacks executed by GD supporters during the period of the economic crisis. These attacks were organised in a militaristic form to attack immigrants and refugees. Per se, her photo and the following statement:

Photograph 2: This photo shows little soldiers

> "*The next one is little soldiers. He is ready with his gun after all to shoot, and a military vehicle next to him; it is a toy of course. And it reminds me of the militaristic character of the extreme right. ……. Little soldiers and it reminds me a little of the training from the footage we see any way on TV, in the media, the training of the Golden Dawn...eh... With the battalions acting like soldiers, and tough soldiers at that. Yes, I very much identify with this military character.*" (Sophie)

In addition, teachers' understandings referred to the ideas of patriotism and nationalism to help students distinguish them and avoid being drawn into dangerous ideologies, such as right-wing extremism dogma. Julia did a clarification on what patriotism and nationalism are. The purpose of her reference to these concepts stemmed from her professional attitude to provide students with clear (as much as it is possible) definitions of both ideas. She recognised that, in many circumstances, nationalist and populist groups promote their ideology under the concept of patriotism in order to seduce people that were questioning about their ideological basis (Wodak, 2019). The relevant quotation is as follows:

> "*At this point, patriotism and nationalism were explained. Patriotism is the love for the homeland, but with respect for the homelands of others. Others are not excluded. On the contrary, nationalism is the love of a country without respecting the countries of others. ………. Is the extreme right synonymous with fascism? So could Hitler's party be considered extreme right?* [The students answered yes]." (Fieldnotes, School 2)

Moreover, Michelle, a teacher of the Political Education course at a city centre school (School 11 & 11a), specifically built on the concept of nationalism and populism, as expressed by Wodak (2019), and further discussed the concept of revisionism. Revisionism is commonly associated with the manipulation of certain

historical events for political goals. She referred to Hitler's narrative about the Aryan Race to help students

conceptualise these challenging concepts and expanded her explanation by arguing that revisionism could

be adapted in any country, especially when historical events boost nationalistic outbursts. The passage

below from my fieldnotes was indicative:

> "*Adolf Hitler's entire narrative about the Aryan Race brought war, destruction, and the annihilation of people……….. Revisionism for the great homelands, for example, Greater Albania, Greater Bulgaria and so on. We must look at it with scepticism because revisionist views create problems and extermination of populations.* [The educational subject tries to create a healthy reflection in the children so that they do not accept without a fight the opinions of those who talk about racial purity because these opinions are connected to the extermination of others].*"* (Fieldnotes, School 11)

To continue, the passage below of classroom observation in Emma's school included information about

right-wing extremism in Greece:

> "*The educational subject draws a diagram of the Greek parliament on the blackboard. Communist Party of Greece/DAY25/ Coalition of the Radical Left/ Panhellenic Socialist Party / NEW DEMOCRACY/ GREEK SOLUTION. If GOLDEN DAWN was still a party in the Parliament, it would be on the extreme right of the Greek Parliament. It was a far-right and still a fascist/Nazi party. They may not identify themselves as far-right/fascist, but their views were fascist/Nazi views.* [The children report to the class and to the subject that Kasidiaris has found a way to make videos on YOUTUBE]."
> (Fieldnotes, School 12)

Emma draw the political scene in Greece (before the national elections of June 2023) to better situate the

extreme right parties in current times. In this way, she linked perceptions of where right-wing ideology

stands within the Greek Parliament. The most surprising incident during this observation was that students

knew that, at that time, Ilias Kasidiaris had found a way to promote his extreme right dogma via YouTube.

This was evidence of the need for researchers and policymakers to focus on shedding light on the role of

the Internet in the spread of extreme right violent ideology, as stated by Gaudette et al. (2020).

Furthermore, Richard, a teacher of Social Sciences and Management administrator at a school in an urban

area (School 8), reffered to the effort of GD's supporters to create incidents within school environments by

spreading fake news and accusing people of not accepting their ideology. He stated thus that GD tried in

the past to influence students and teachers' efforts to protect students from their dangerous dogma, which

triggered their reaction by accusing them of false allegations within the local community. This was evident

in the fact that GD and right-wing extremist parties, in general, adopt communicational tricks to make an

impression within local, and not only, communities. It was crucial that at this point Richard specifically

paid attention to the need of educators to shield themselves with mental strength and resistance to deal with these incidents. His argument echoed in my mind during my data analysis, especially at the time responsibility, as a theme, emerged. This is why, later in this Chapter (section 2.iv.), the necessary resources and support the state provides teachers with to deal with such incidents were investigated. The passage below is as follows:

> "*Now, the right-wing radicalisation and fascism from this point of view exist because this particular political party, which was fortunately banned by the Greek public order, was trying either with students or with students' parents to somehow enter the school and impose various things. By writing slogans against persons ……… vulgar slogans, Then, they tried in the local community to spread false news against people again. To undermine them in the eyes of the people here that they are ambassadors of other things and that, in reality, they are not what they say they advocate, do you understand? And there now he/she needs mental strength and resistance...*" (Richard)

In liaison with the above, Sophie with her photos and discussion during the follow-up interview artistically draw a parallel between right-wing ideology and rusty bars and dark subway stairs. She explained her choice to take these photos as for her this threating ideology remains dangerous and old-fashioned. This artistic representation of Sophie was explicitly given and I found it very creative. Discussion around these photos made me realise that, although right-wing ideology has become mainstream during the last years (Europol, 2023; Hietanen and Eddebo, 2023; Wodak, 2019), its dogma and allegations, as Sophie deciphered in my study remains anachronistic. The skeleton in the closet like extreme right ideology, associated with fascism, Nazism and racism, has today acquired a popular profile to gain new voters (Lee, 2019: 9; Macklin, 2018).

Photograph 3: This photo shows the subway stairs

"*In the first photo, I photographed the subway stairs as you go down. It gave me the feeling that when you touch these far-right ideologies with so much racism, so… It's like you're entering a dark tunnel, a dark path. Like going down somewhere you don't know where it will lead you, to some instincts marked black, dark.* [Okay, now on to the second photo]. *In the second photo, I tried to get a black, pitch-black space. With exactly the same reasoning, when I bring to my mind far-right attitudes, and ideologies it is something black.* [Something dark]. *…….. Something dark and something rusty as I have in the third photo…… The connection to the third photo is... The third photo has railings. And even rusty ones. Bars because the ideology of the extreme right is associated with a lack of freedom.*" (Sophie)

Furthermore, Josephine, a Social Sciences teacher at a school in an urban area (School 7), outlined the notion of nationalism that prevails in right-wing ideology. She took a picture of a building full of plaster statues of ancient gods to emphasise that right-wing extremism builds on the 'glory past' of the Ancient Greeks and the racial supremacy of 'us' the Greeks as opposed to 'the others'. Her perceptions has an academic basis on the work of Pelinka (2018) and Wodak (2019; 2020), who both argue that leaders of right-wing extremist parties, through strategic argumentation, create their own beliefs, visions, nationalistic identities and threat scenarios to create a division among people living in a country into two sides, namely 'us' and 'the others'.
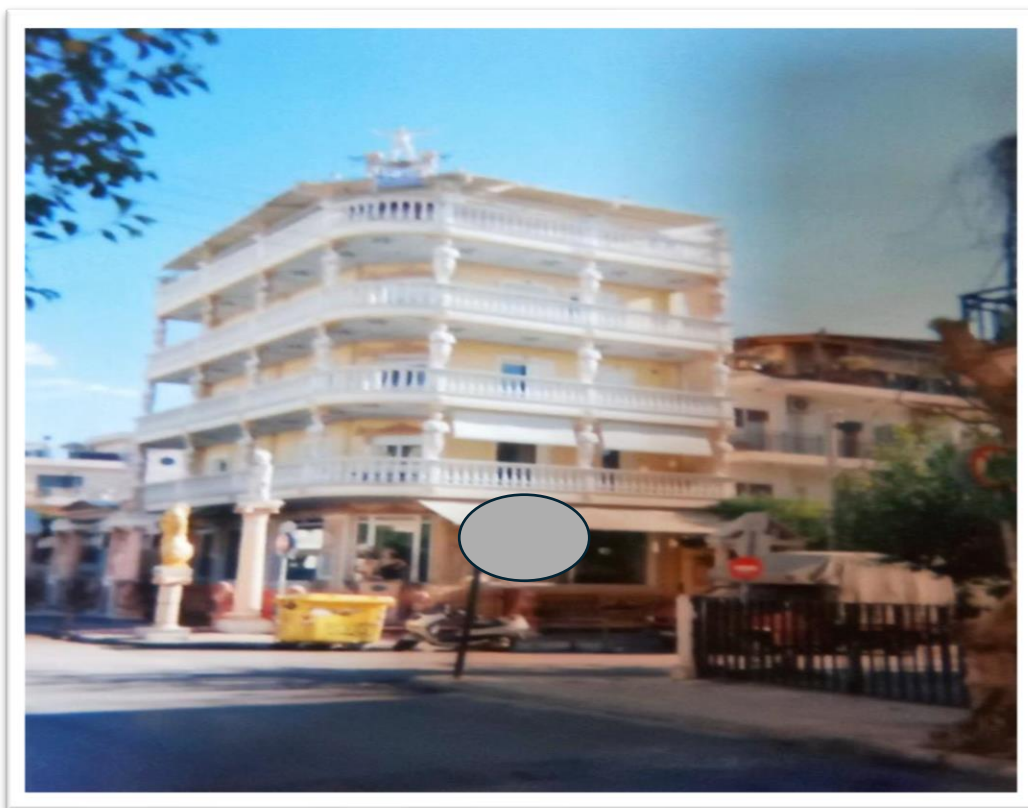
Photograph 4: This photo shows ancient Greek plaster statues

"..so this gave me the impression of extreme nationalistic love for the country, something more than patriotism, a turn to the past, archaeolatric, which, however, is beyond the framework of everyday life and normality, that is, it promotes nationalism, let's say, so I suppose, of course, this is my assumption, but I suppose that the promotion of the Greek element as such it also shows a refusal towards something foreign or something more European or perhaps more Eastern." (Josephine)

In line with the above conceptualisation of right-wing extremism from Josephine was Donna's perception of right-wing dogma. Donna was a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 6). The photo and passage are as follows:
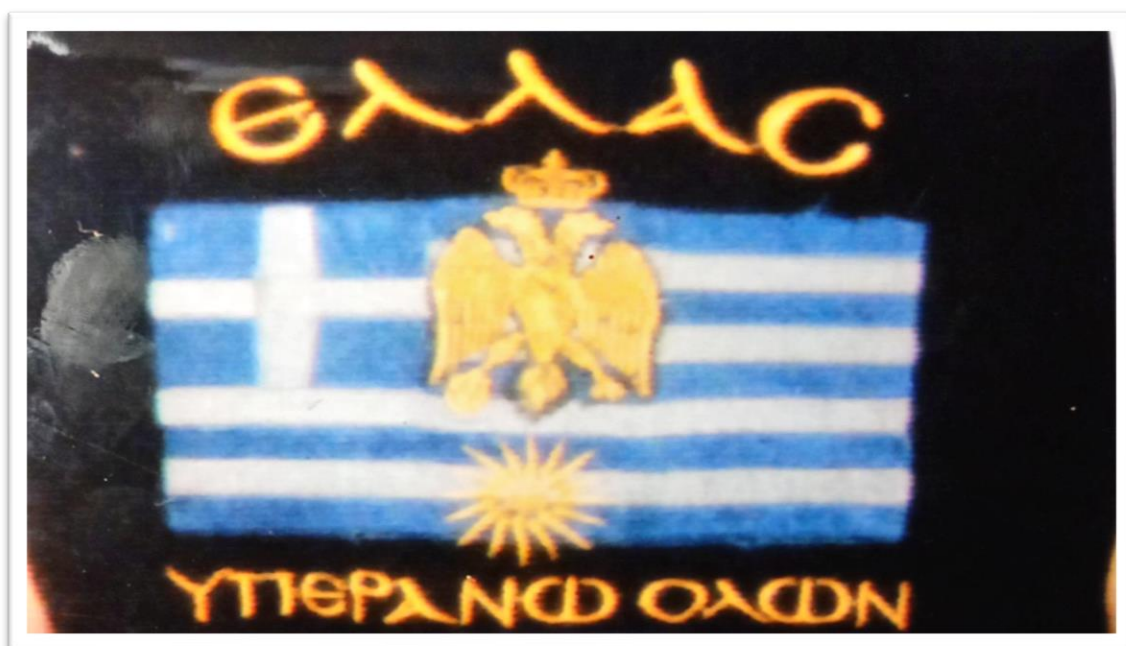
Photograph 5: This photo shows the symbol of the Byzantine Empire, the sun of Vergina and the motto "GREECE ABOVE ALL"

"In general, they are very fanatical about this element. They had other T-shirts but they refused to wear them. They told me they would wear only this one...It is also about lefties. They have an "allergy" to the left." (Donna)

At this point I should mention that Donna had taken a photo of the back of a supporter of extreme right ideology. However, she did not return to me the form of this person (see appendices) stating that there is no problem with this photo being used in the context of my study. Accordingly, even though the back of this person could not lead to its identification (neutral gender for anonymity reasons), I isolated the context of the blouse for anonymity and confidentiality reasons. Donna's representation and conceptualisation of right-wing extremism is in line with what scholarship recognises as one of the most distinctive ideological features of radical right groups (Bar-On, 2018). Their allegation that they have the right to protect their

cultural and national identities from menaces, the most significant of which is the alleged 'invasion' of immigrants. Therefore, it is not only political élites but also cultural and educational élites that become the enemies of extreme right movements; cosmopolitan liberalism and the sociocultural Left are seen as betraying the nation and corrupting the values of the nation-state (Rydgren, 2018).

IV.1.iii. Causes and connections.

Emma tried to find the origins and liaisons of the phenomenon to place it in its actual dimensions. More specifically, within the following passage, she argued that unemployment is a purely economic problem and that immigrants and refugees are not to blame for the economic recession. During this session, she emphasised that -although extreme right parties and organisation built their allegations about the deep financial crisis and the boost in the unemployment rates on the accusation of refugees and immigrants- they intentionally avoid referring to the economic root of this crisis. GD has been mentioned as the political party that exploited its rhetoric based on the Greek financial crisis. Great recessions during numerous historical periods have been provoked by clear economic criteria. Her statement is as follows:

> "*Citizens believe that jobs are being lost due to the oversupply of labour by immigrants. ……….. No, the crisis creates unemployment. It is primarily an economic problem. It has nothing to do with the fact that there are more of us or that foreigners came and took our jobs…… So, it is not the case that immigration is to blame for unemployment, it is a purely economic phenomenon. Who usually talks about immigrants as a cause of unemployment? Which political space talks about unemployment as a result of immigration? The far-right and GOLDEN DAWN preach this.*" (Fieldnotes, School 12)

To continue, Colette, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 13) pointed out the political background of violence. She presented to students the case of the murders of Shahjat Luqman and Pavlos Fyssas, who both have been murdered by members of the GD. She outlined to students that the racist and fascist ideology of extreme right-wing parties dynamitise violence.

> "[The educational subject refers to the murder of Shahjat Luqman, who was murdered by the fascist, criminal organisation that also killed Pavlos Fyssa]. *GOLDEN DAWN has been classified and prosecuted as a criminal organisation. ……..* [The educational subject asks the children if disrespect has anything to do with violence or if it has a political background as well. The educational subject asks the children if they could coexist with someone who has, within the framework of freedom of ideas, fascist views.] *That is, if someone extols fascist notions, could you coexist, even if he/she preaches democratic qualities?* [The children answer no. The educational subject also refers to Hitler and his rise through democratic processes]." (Fieldnotes, School 13)

Later in my study, participants emphasised the role of the family. Helen, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 10), paid attention to the causal relationship of family liaisons and children behavioural problems that sometimes were reflected within the school community:

> *"They are at an age where I don't know what they are carrying, what problems these children have in their homes and what they have been taught at home, or the values they have taken from home. It needs attention, the truth is."* (Helen)

Helen's statement echoes Pels and de Ruyter's (2012) work. They emphasise that family and school are underappreciated sources of informal social control and social capital that may address concerns related to right-wing extremism. Kuhn (2004) referred to the parental influence on the socialisation procedure of adolescents. Deviant political views and behaviours have been investigated under the lens of family climate, emotional relationships, parenting nurture, and connections. Existing research strengthens the above results. Scholarship, among others, has identified parental abandonment, lack of parental engagement, emotional carelessness (Noll, 2012; Simi et al., 2016) and poor family functioning (ObaidAllah Sarour and El Sayed El Keshky, 2022) as family risk factors that maximise vulnerability to violent extremist behaviour.

My study revealed connections between the family and students' willingness to embrace right-wing extremist dogma arose. As far as the Greek reality is concerned, Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) argued that a significant number of participants in their research admitted that parents do not support enough teachers' efforts to deal with polarising statements made by their children within the school structures. However, participants in my research expanded the above outcome and specifically mentioned that family could be the starting point for students to openly support political parties of right-wing extremism.

Keith indicated that the adoption of right-wing extremism, in many cases, was the aftermath of family support of extreme right ideology. He also stated that (at the time of my research) many students were interesting in the Kasidiaris attempt to participate in the national elections in June 2023. He assumed that their sympathy for the former MP of GD steamed from family support to the extreme right, even now that GD has been recognised (at the first degree) as a criminal organisation:

> *"They put the issue to me and even told me that Kasidiaris will contest the elections… Now, I imagine that from their house too, am I right? Why should they now watch what is happening with this trial and the Kasidiaris' attempt to go back to the elections? On their own (the children)? A bit difficult... I'm afraid it starts with the family..."* (Keith)

On the same page was also Anna's conclusion when explaining the role of the family in the support of right-wing extremist dogma from students. Anna, a Social Sciences teacher at a school in an urban area (School 3), indicated that their phobic attitude towards immigrants and rejection of diversity has been brawn within the structure of the family. Students, who spoke of the pure nation of Greece, were most of the time instructed by their family members:

> "*This is what most people fear* [meaning people who support extreme right]. *They are not afraid of the movements of populations in general nor the labour balance disruption. They feel phobic towards national homogeneity destruction. This disturbs them. They cannot stand it, i.e. those who have fascist ideas, even young children, who are few, of course, but they have these. After all, they are like this from their parents, because their parents are like this, what they cannot stand is that, in our country, there are people who are not Greek, who live here, who receive benefits, who go to the same schools, supported by the state. Yes, they can't decide on* [=accepting] *this diversity that exists in our world anymore, they can't stand it*." (Anna)

Indeed, the above statements are academically supported by the research of Duriez and Soenens (2009), who found that parents through their own endorsement and display of racist notions can induct their children to adopt the same attitudes. Participants in my study voice the outcomes of the above study, which explored the parent-child similarity in racist beliefs and behaviours. This is particularly significant given that teachers in my study work with students in adolescence. Their observations on the right-wing extremist background of the family are also in line with Altemeyer's (1998) and Erikson's (1968) conclusions that the development of opinions on societal issues, such as intergroup relations and politics start from adolescence. Thus, the enforcement of radical ideology is often directly linked to the first meaningful social environment we enter in, the family (Stankov, 2021).

In addition, participants' experiences of right-wing extremism in schools and their statements on the role of students' families, as deciphered in the course of my study, are backed by scholarship's outcomes on family dysfunction and distant family relationships that might prevent the parents from identifying early signs of the radicalisation process (van San et al., 2013). Wali (2013) also supported that alienation and disconnection from the family might increase the risk for young people being radicalised. This is particularly the case when young people turn to radical organisation to experience a sense of belonging. Many extremist ideology supporters, during their upbeinging, experienced an absence of family structures with extremely limited emotional comfort (Horgan and Braddock, 2010). Thus, balanced family

relationships advance psychological well-being that is, in turn, connected to decreased radical and extremist inclinations (Stankov, 2021).

The above findings are further explored in the next section of this Chapter, which is devoted to the concept of responsibility to tackle the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism in schools. Observations, teachers' perceptions and experiences are, then, structured within the context of the socialising role of the family and the family's co-responsibility in the fight against this threat.

To continue, in the following statement Imran, a Head of school and teacher at a school in an urban area (School 1 & 1a), paid particular attention to the fact that there were cases of teachers who acted helpfully to the extreme right. He referred to teachers who positively support the promotion of the extreme right:

> "*But there are many times also reports of people who act helpfully, I don't have any at my school, they act positively in promoting these practices (of the extreme right), ……there are also people, who are indifferent, and this is negative, that is, while they see this, they do not react, somehow consciously.*" (Imran)

The above observation either demonstrated the connections that right-wing extremism supporters had even been within school environments or emphasised the need for a mechanism to ensure that teachers do not hold racist or fascist attitudes. This observation opens a great discussion on the issue of the evaluation of teachers to perform their educational tasks and questions about the criteria that need to be established for teachers to be active in the school community. Several concerns arose since Greece suffered for a long time, especially after World War II from division on political polarisation. It also problematises whether political criteria should be put in the margins, even if teachers embrace right-wing ideology in case pedagogy fulfills its purposes. My research offers a starting point for this puzzling discussion since clear policy on the criteria of working in education does not (and probably should not be?) affect good education delivery.

IV.1.iv. Normalisation of the extreme right.

As mentioned above, the majority of sighs of behaviour related to right-wing extremism were based on racism and anti-democratic attitudes and were expressed mostly verbally or on clothing or drawing swastikas and Greek flags. However, a tendency to a more normalised right-wing ideology was identified in my research.

Colette, within the following passage, clarified that in Greece, even though GD has been condemned as a criminal organisation and its MPs have been sentenced to imprisonment, the phenomenon of right-wing extremism still exists. She justified her argument by saying that fascism is a reality, and this reality has a political origin. Fascism is adjusted to the historical momentum and sociopolitical and economic factors that create and update its dogma to preserve its power and support (Wodak, 2019). The passage from classroom observation is as follows:

> "[The educational subject asks the children if they have encountered fascist/racist behaviour at school. The children report that they have seen GOLDEN DAWN stickers on the street]. *The fact that GOLDEN DAWN was condemned does not mean that the phenomenon has been eliminated.* [Reference to the attempt of people ideologically close to this ideology to create a new party]. *It's not all over, it's not over. Fascism is a situation; it is a reality. Mark the whole world. We can recognise it every day in some behaviours next to us. The political background of behaviours.*" (Fieldnotes, School 13)

In line with the above argument expressed by Colette, is Andrew's observation. Andrew, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 1 & 1a), emphasised that since the economic crisis was not the cause but the occasion for supporters of the extreme right to express their beliefs, the phenomenon is deep-rooted in Greek society's structure. Thus, it will reemerge. The passage is as follows:

> "*The issue with the extreme right did not arise in 2011-2012 during the crisis, with the memoranda that coincidentally launched the percentage of GOLDEN DAWN. A part of Greek society, which is... I estimate over 20% are deeply conservative and deeply far-right. Until then, maybe for reasons of shame (?), they found other channels to express themselves. I don't think it has disappeared even today. We saw it getting up with the Prespa Agreement issue. The only certain thing is that history will give reasons for it to come again.*" (Andrew)

My research revealed that that the phenomenon does exist at schools but not at the same level of intensity as it has been in the past and more specifically when GD was operationating in many areas and was member of the Greek Parliament. However, teachers talk about a lurking phenomenon at the time of my study. Andrew's above statements confirm what Fekete (2020) and Souliotis (2020) argue when referring to the right-wing extremism supporters who inveigh against refugees, immigrants and LGBTQI+ communities. Imran supported the same view by saying that:

> "*I have not seen students who express themselves and act, I have seen students give Nazi salutes, I have heard of a case this year as well, a student pressuring someone to give a Nazi salute, there are, lurking cases like that, okay, clearly I've made recommendations whenever…that… It's not as intense… It is not intense what we are saying is before the trial, ok and after the incident with Fyssas also happened, but still, maybe the incident*

with Fyssas would not have happened, that is, the Fyssas incident somehow changed the situation, nevertheless there are, there are generally such perceptions, they are not easily expressed, nevertheless... Underlies this… It's lurking, so I don't think it's gone." (Imran)

Furthermore, Julia emphasised to students that extreme right supporters, as those supporting GD, do not differentiate from us all. Supporters of the extreme right are people next door. She clarified this to students to make them realise that we should distant the profile of extreme right supporters from people who wear Nazi costumes or so. People who embrace right-wing ideology are 'normal people' as the rest of the non-supporting the extreme right dogma. Racist and fascist beliefs are currently mainstream and are presented under a more normalised profile (Brown and Newth, 2024; Wodak, 2019; 2020). The fieldnotes are as follows:

> "*The educational subject mentioned this to emphasise the importance of family but also the fact that all these people who participated in the rallies and supported the Golden Dawn (GD) were no different from us, everyday people and you can't tell from a first impression what they stand for.* [This may have been mentioned in the context of the normalisation of the far-right] *The educational subject asked the students how they think it is possible to fall for all this (extreme right-wing ideology and fascism) and adopt extreme views…….."* (Fieldnotes, School 2)

However, Holly, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 5) worried that even after the condemnations of the MPs of GD, there were still supporters of the members of condemned GD at schools. She characteristically mentioned that:

> "*We see the children being too bigoted like that, and they don't want to hear anything. …….these children are, and especially the Roma students, as we mentioned above, are all fanatical supporters of Kasidiaris, Golden Dawn, and even to the point that in conversations that take place in the classroom they openly declare, take a position, and threaten children. And beyond the condemnation of Golden Dawn, their fanaticism is to the exact same degree, it is ...* " (Holly)

Most importantly and in continuation with the above, students possibly did not to openly support right-wing extremist parties or organisations in order to avoid visibility and then suppression from the educational community. Anna indicates that students did not still paint swastikas or other Nazi symbols. On the contrary, they paint Greek flags and thus avoid being accused from their classmates or teachers for supporting Nazi's ideology within schools. The passage is as follows:

> "*One, two, at the most three there are children in the whole school who have such opinions, and they still just paint the Greek flag or some meanders, which is supposed to be a little exculpatory, it doesn't directly point to us accusing them.*" (Anna)

Indeed, in Halikiopoulou and Vlandas (2022) and Brown and Newth (2024) work the nationalism ideology of the extreme right is presented as a new nationalism and a meta-fascism that entail the new mainstream extreme right and promotes racist, nationalistic and anti-immigration agenda under a more normalised programme. Julia also referred to the attempt of the convinced member of the GD, Ilias Kasidiaris, to participate in the next national elections procedure and enter the Greek Parliament, as analysed in Chapter II (section II.2.iii.). This happened before the liaison of the Spartans (Asimakopoulos and Fouskas, 2023). Julia has recognised that students were curious about this event. She was really surprised when she realised that leaflets of his extreme right parties were circulated outside and near school settings. Indicative are the following photo and passage of the follow-up interview:

Photograph 6: This photo shows a leaflet of the Kasidiaris' party saying: "WE VOTE NATIONAL PARTY GREEK PEOPLE FOUNDER ILIAS KASIDIARIS ALOUD WITH BOUGAS"

"It says, "HELLINES DYNATA" (=GREEK PEOPLE ALOUD), the party founded by Ilias Kasidiaris…. I want to say that some things the children, especially at school, think are silly, so we have to show them a little bit that hey, up to here. It's not funny, I don't know, I didn't tell them that there shouldn't be that party, that you should not [expressed with emphasis]*, under no circumstances, I told them just be careful, if you intend to follow such an ideology, pay attention to one, two, three, four, five things, what this ideology says. If you don't have a purpose and you're doing it for fun, this is no joke."*
(Julia)

The new and normalised version of the extreme right in Greece has also been indicated by Beatrice, who talked about Hellenic Solution, as the political part already joying the Parliament, which, as Samaras (2021)

pointed out, shared common grounds with the Greek neo-Nazi group, namely GD. The following photo and passage revealed her thoughts and problematisation on the existence of this extreme right party:

Photograph 7: This photo shows a poster of the political party "HELLENIC SOLUTION"

"*In general, one is purely a party, after all, i.e. posters of the HELLENIC SOLUTION party in the offices, that, after all, this can be promoted without any problem, without creating any concerns, that the posters are open and spread out, finally anyway, as an advertisement for a far-right party, and then we have the slogans, which we see quite often, anyway*." (Beatrice)

Rydgren (2018) points out that there is currently a growing concern in Europe, the United States, Russia and many countries around the world about the resurgence of extreme right movements and political actors. A range of ideological positions associated with extreme right political parties and movements have recently experienced significant electoral success (Mudde, 2000; 2007). The rhetoric of these extreme right ideologies is often racist, xenophobic, anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, homophobic, chauvinistic, populist, ethno-nationalist, and anti-globalist. Thus, Beatrice's photo and comment voice what Samaras (2023) pointed out about the underlying factors that allow right-wing extremism to surface and spread within Greek society structures. The reappearance of right-wing extremist parties in Greek Parliament is now a reality.

On the same page are Andrew's photo and statement, which focus on the antifeminist attitudes of the extreme right ideology in Greece. The photo and passage are as follows:
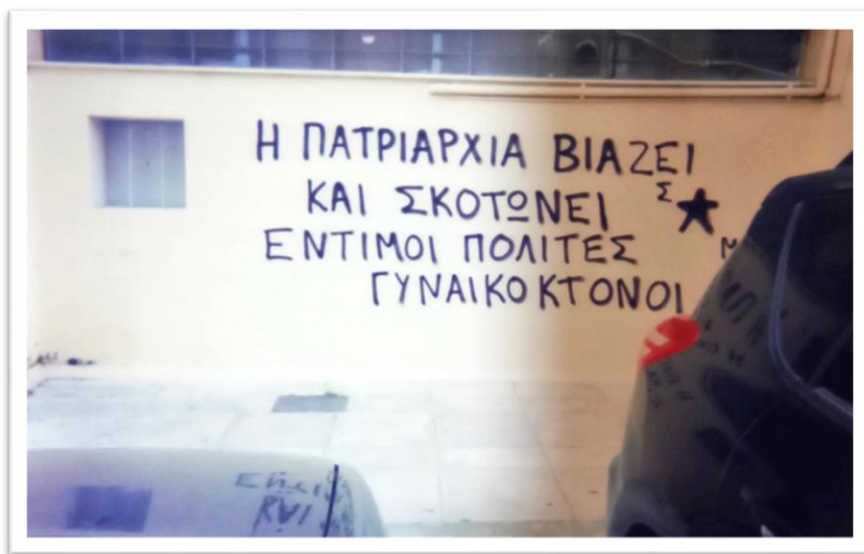
Photograph 8: This photo shows a slogan saying: "Patriarchy rapes and kills. Honourable citizens commit femicides."

"*I believe such perceptions, which today express deep-rooted patriarchal remnants, stem from this specific space. It is enough to remember that when the extreme right in Greece was at its forte, some executives had told it that the role of women was to sit at home, give birth and produce warriors for the country. So, indirectly -but clearly to me- they are connected.*" (Andrew)

According to Rydgren's (2018) recent definition, radical right parties and movements share an emphasis on ethno-nationalism that is rooted in myths about the glory of the past. Although right-wing groups are hostile to democratic governance, they are not necessarily actively opposed to democracy per se (Mudde, 2000; 2007). Strong anti-migrant, nationalist, authoritarian and populist sentiments contribute to the strength of the extreme right in Greece. Andrew's connection of the extreme right with antifeminist attitudes echoes Chryssogelos (2024) argument, the most interesting outcomes of recent elections in Greece are referred to the normalised forms of the extreme right in the Greek Parliamentary scene, which are shaped by anti-LGBT, anti-feminist beliefs and politicised religiosity.

IV.1.v. Discussion on visibility.

Visibility, as the first theme of my research, is a clear representation of what right-wing extremism looks like in Greek state secondary schools. My research provides answers to my first research question by analysing teachers' experiences with ideology, causes and connections of the extreme right and exploring their perception of the new era of the extreme right in Greece, of how Greek teachers perceive the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and what the everyday reality in schools with right-wing extremism is.

This first theme of my study illustrates that the concepts and threats of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within educational realms incorporate complex meanings. Auger (2020) admits that there are methodological challenges in the investigation of right-wing extremism. In my study, the findings of my thematic analysis focused on right-wing extremism, and specifically data from the observation phase, as presented in this Chapter, deciphered the willingness of teachers to address and discuss the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within the classroom, as an alarming threat to students being drawn to this ideology. In almost all schools participating in my study, participants and students were familiar with GD's criminal activity. They also recognised that this schema manifested a right-wing extremist ideology. The reference to the GD paradigm made the task of educators to discuss these controversial and confusing issues with their students easier.

Indeed, the GD case was used as a tangible expression of what the right-wing threat entails. This direct connection of GD with the concept of right-wing extremism reveals that educators act pedagogically even in the way they tried to provide students with the relevant real-life examples for being able to distinguish right-wing ideology and avoid supporting this extremist dogma. Only in one case, when introducing this research to the classroom, did students ask what right-wing extremism meant. The above findings confirmed that within the Greek educational system right-wing extremism is mostly associated with GD ideology and primarily was understood as equal to this neo-Nazi organisation dogma.

My research deciphered that, given that there is no specific guidance to deal with the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism and its blurred concepts, as presented in my literature review in Chapter II (section 2.v.), teachers used the GD example to more readily identify threats of its dogma and incidents that are related to right-wing extremism. More explicitly, the lack of an explicit agenda to provide teachers with the necessary material to deal with the above phenomenon leads to their effort to diagnose elements of this

ideology by comparing, contradicting or identifying elements that may cause a concern based on the GD case.

Over and above, the events of the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, the trial of the GD members and the attempts of some of the already convicted members of this criminal organisation (at the first degree) to reenter the political scene was in the spotlight during the course of my study. Thus, educators built on the grounds of these events to discuss about fascist ideology, anti-immigrant sentiments, white supremacy and nationalism. At this point, I should mention that I conduct my study before the national elections of June 2023, when extreme-rights political parties would enter Greek Parliament. I assume that the situation might be different but this could be the stimulus for future research.

To continue, the study of Sjøen and Mattsson (2020), particularly situated within educational settings in Norway, illustrates educators perceptions on 'radicalisation' and 'violent extremism'. The primary outcome of their research is that there was little consensus among the educators on how to make sense of these concepts. In my study, as far as perceptions and experiences of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within educational institutions are concerned, as explored in my fieldwork, participants indicated that incidents of right-wing extremism could be recognised in expressions towards immigrants, in discrimination attitude towards homosexuals, expressions of rejection of diversity in society, in symbols, for example swastikas, within educational settings and classrooms, Nazi salutes. This conceptualisation of participants with regards to what exactly right-wing extremism means was close to what Mudde (1995) has categorised when studying definitions of right-wing extremism to better illustrate its core ideas.

Ideology of right-wing extremism refers to the belief that most inequalities are natural and so cannot be eradicated, and it does not consider it the state's responsibility to reduce social inequalities (Carter, 2018). In line with this statement, my research revealed that, when GD enjoyed being part of Greek Parliament, students, fanatical supporters of Kasidiaris, openly declared their ideological positioning within the classroom in relation to inequalities, immigrants and the purity of the nation. Again, the above findings ascertain that teachers use the example of GD to recognise and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism.

Generally, right-wing ideology targets specific groups, who are blamed for the different societal problems and usually these targets encompass left-wing, liberal or pro-diversity activists or politicians, non-white

races, migrants and refugees, LGBTI⁺ people, religious or ethnic minorities such as Muslims, Jews or Roma people, feminist women, etc. (de España, 2021). Mudde (2019) points out that the extreme right is by nature, highly multifarious. Participants in my study, by recognising that they do not have the background knowledge from relevant training, information or guidance, attempt to deal with the complex mechanisms of radicalisation based on the pedagogical knowledge and their sense of duty to help students avoid right-wing extremism threat, as analysed in detail later in my thesis. Thus, my research revealed that the challenging task of defining the concepts of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism was based in personal interpretations and sense of duty to help students avoid this alarming threat.

My study also recognised the role of the family in supporting right-wing extremism. More explicitly, my research revealed that in many cases the problem of being engaged in right-wing extremist ideology started from the family, who also adopted an extreme right belief system. As the study of Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) supports, in the Greek structures, teachers admitted that they face challenges related to controversial and polarising issues. Indicatively, the causal links between behavioural problems of the students and their family environment problems such as drug and alcohol abuse, and physical violence. Therefore, difficulties with family structure could dynamitise support to extremist ideology.

More specifically, during the observation phase, participants indicated the social character of the family as the first agent of socialisation and social control. Academia has devoted a lot of research on the influence of parenting on radicalisation (Bakker, 2006; Duriez and Soenens, 2009; Epstein, 2007; Hopf, 1993; Post, 1984; Sageman, 2004). Previous studies point out that there is no unambiguous response to the question of how parents influence their children being radicalised. The parental influence on the radicalisation procedure of their children could be direct or indirect. Indeed, participants in my study pointed out that they do not know what values children have learned from their families. In some cases, participants supported that clash with the wall that is called family, and they felt fear or anxiety to contradict the family, especially when the parental background of their students embraces right-wing ideology. Duriez and Soenens (2009) indicate that an existing intergenerational transmission of ideology could refer to the intergenerational transmission of prejudice and racism.

More precisely, within the extreme-right context, parents would have a direct impact on their children given that they act as role models. Bossis and Lampas (2018) argue that racist attitudes and the influence of parental ideas on the above social issues play a role in radicalisation and polarisation. Indeed, radical views supporters often share the extreme attitude of their parents (Duriez and Soenens, 2009; Gielen, 2008; Rodrigues and Van Donselaar, 2010). More profoundly, Gielen (2008) and Rodrigues and Van Donselaar (2010) have emphasised that extreme right-wing supporters often share the nationalist and xenophobic perspectives of their parents and young people adopt anti-immigrant feelings from their parents (Sikkens et al., 2017). This also emerged from my research, where participants in my study identified the "wall" of the family as a barrier to intervene and take action.

Participants in my study also recognised that the bureaucratic character of education in Greece and the fact that, in many cases, families refuse to cooperate with school teachers to deal with an alarming issue has negative effects on the effort of the educational community to deal with threats of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism and to keep boundaries and not to conflict with the family is a challenging task. These findings were in line with Kaplani and Shangoyan's (2023) research, where they found that in the everyday lives of educators in Greece, and especially in circumstances where students externalised extreme behaviours, the school staff made efforts to be in non-stop communication with the parents. Nonetheless, the parents were not always very cooperative. Therefore, teachers and school psychologist were tasked to support the students at their own discretion. Participants in my study took a step forward on the role of the family in students' willingness to adopt a right-wing extremist ideology and behaviour when deciphering experiences of right-wing extremism in schools. They openly expressed the opinion that the engagement of the family in tackling right-wing extremism is more than essential. It is vital. In the next section of my thesis, I explore the co-responsibility of the family to deal with this threat.

Furthermore, my research revealed that visibility of the extreme right ideology could be evident even among teachers' colleagues. More explicitly, in the course of semi-structured interviews, one teacher pointed out that there are educators who have stereotypical beliefs and act helpfully in promoting the extreme right ideology in the name of patriotism. This statement made also sense to me, when conducting the observation phase in one school. More specifically, students asked me, while introducing my research, what will happen if they realise that a teacher expresses opinions of right-wing ideology in the classroom. Subsequently, it is

evident that the phenomenon of right-wing extremism should not be considered only in relation to students but also in relation to teachers. In Greek reality, the new evaluation system of teachers should also take into account the crucial element of the character of teachers as role models and thus include safety valves to avoid incidents like this, even at the stage of professional employment of people in education and secure that their presence in school communities will not risk the democratic nature of educational routines.

Participants in my study emphasised that, since the trial of GD members, there has been a normalisation of right-wing extremist indicators within educational settings, when students, for fear of being detected as right-wing extremists, show an attachment to this ideology in the form of a more blurred sentiment of patriotism. Thus, they try to avoid being approached by teachers and principals and asked to explain and change their attitude. The hiding and unclear manifestations of normalised right-wing extremism takes the form of questioning the events of Nazism atrocities, the drawing of Greek symbols, characteristics of the Greek history and past events, such as meanders and consequently, in this way students avoid being accused of embracing right-wing extremist ideology.

More apparently, in the course of participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews, educators linked extreme right-wing dogma with archaeolatric and nationalist outbursts and militaristic structures in their supporting groups. Participants also recognised that a normalised right-wing ideology is also expressed by the Hellenic Solution political party, which does not embrace GD ideology however it has many similarities with this neo-Nazi organisation (Samaras, 2021). Building in previous research (Kaplani and Shangoyan, 2023), my qualitative study confirms that recognising and dealing with right-wing extremism within educational environments is not an easy task and emphasises the blurred boundaries of the normalised extreme right in theory and practice and the challenging duty to address the phenomenon.

Awan and Zempi (2020) argue that Brexit and the rise of the extreme right schemata throughout Europe have promoted white supremacist ideologies, identities and movements, which reflect Huntington's (1996) 'Clash of Civilizations' thesis. Brexit built on the grounds for promoting the prominence of these narratives of the Other. This positioned immigrants and refugees as harmful to socio-economic security and national identity (Schwartz et al., 2021). However, even in the UK, the first country to introduce a preventive anti-radicalisation agenda, it has been admitted that recognising the extreme right is an extremely confusing and challenging area of engagement. Complexities derived from a deeper comprehension -or the lack- of

what is considered to be right-wing extremism as opposed to other racially motivated hate or hateful dogmata make recognition of what right-wing extremism is even more difficult. At the same time, there were also very real concerns that teachers could refer due to a lack of conceptualisation of what right-wing extremism entails (Lakhani and James, 2021).

In light of all the above, discussion on the themes arisen within the context of my study revealed that the blurred and confusing nature of conceptualising right-wing extremism both in academia and policies remains and renders teachers' task to deal with the phenomenon a source of anxiety. Thus, either within a securitised agenda, as introduced in educational environments, such as in the UK, or within educational realms, where policies do not specifically target the phenomenon or adopt a loose framework, as in Greece, the challenges for teachers somehow remain the same. This conclusion leads the discussion on the following axes in the thesis, this of responsibility and building of resilience to counter this phenomenon. In an era when, according to Brown and Newth (2024), extreme right parties attempt to distance themselves from the fascist ideology by scoffing any accusation that links them to it and, in parallel they do not deny the ideological foundations of fascism through the expression of similar attitudes and language, educators will have a challenging task to perform in order to identify and deal with this alarming phenomenon. Lines are blurred and solid conclusions on right-wing extremism in schools are not easy either under a securitised agenda or under a loose framework.

In sum, my study addressed the first question of my research by exploring the presence of right-wing extremism in the Greek educational community and further investigating teachers' experiences on how to identify and deal with threats related to this alarming phenomenon and the radicalisation process. My study shed light on causes and connections within the structure of society and right-wing extremist actors. My findings emphasised that teachers should be attuned to the new and more normalised elements of extreme right ideology to be able to assist students in avoiding their dogma. The repetition of discussion on GD and the Junta regime problematised me, as currently, the extreme right has entered a more normalised and mainstream era. Teachers seemed to understand the new extreme right as linked to the old one. However, the new nationalism and meta-fascism, as presented by Halikiopoulou and Vlandas (2022) and Brown and Newth (2024), require a modernisation of the ways educators perceive right-wing extremism in the meta-GD era.

IV.2. Responsibility.

IV.2.i. Introduction.

In this section, the core issue of who should be involved in the fight against right-wing extremism in the Greek school environment emerged. I identified that **responsibility** was the second theme of my data analysis. Under this theme, **the family, the school and the state** are structured as subthemes referred to as the social actors that participants in my mixed-method research recognised were responsible for dealing with this alarming phenomenon. This theme was connected to the multi-faced structure of response towards this threat.

My study shed light on responsibilities often intertwined in complex or contradictory forms. More explicitly, my study acknowledges the role of the family as a catalyst in dealing with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. Furthermore, the school's responsibility is analysed and discussed in terms of professionalism of teachers. This section is related to their conceptualisation of their role in protecting students from right-wing extremist ideologies. Subsequently, the role of the state in tackling this alarming threat is investigated and discussed. More precisely, participants in my study referred to the provision of official documentation and guidance on these sensitive issues.

Therefore, my data analysis and discussion answered my second, third and fourth research questions. My multi-method ethnography, under the lens of responsibility, offers answers on the framework of the duty to protect students from being drawn into right-wing extremism and explores its existence, limits and opportunities.

IV.2.ii. The family.

Participants in my study firstly indicated the role of the family in the prevention of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to this threat. Their justification lies in the socialising role of the family. Helen was clear about the influence of the family in the socialisation process and the first lessons on values, respect and solidarity. She specifically said:

> "*The cultivation of principles and values starts first from home, the family. Then, in school. For example, teachers teach children to share their toys. The best way to*

cultivate it is to show it with actions and examples. The school is the second agent of socialisation. It is after family." (Helen)

During my observations, I indicated that "*The family is a basic social and economic structure. A small society. It is a self-sufficient social group that is not defined by others.*" (Fieldnotes, School 2). Thus, teachers put a lot of weight on the socialising role of family, as family is the first community children are growing into and the spectrum of the influence of the family. Moreover, school textbooks indicated, as teachers mentioned, that family is one official body that exercise social control:

> "*Socialisation what it is? Process of inclusion/integration of a person into society. The school textbook states that the family belongs to the official bodies of social control. For example, parents, if your grades in February are low, will not let you go for a walk for some days....*" (Fieldnotes, School 1a)

However, Andrew emphasised that everything starts from the family and willingness of teachers to help students with challenging behaviours, even related to right-wing extremism. The passage is as follows:

> "*I think that, although the school can do something, the most important thing is the family. That is, I have not stopped all these years from eating my face in front of the wall that the family has put up.*" (Andrew)

However, recent studies (for example, Sporer and Buxton, 2024) suggested that violent extremists usually belong to a social schema, which includes family members or close relatives. Thus, prevention of radicalisation starts with community members being able to recognise and record signs of radicalisation before it takes a violent form. The family remains the most meaningful tool for intervention in preventing radical attitudes and beliefs (Sikkens et al., 2017). The need for co-responsibility of the family is also highlighted by Imran. He further incorporated the intervention initiatives under the framework of a synchronised effort that should involve the family as well:

> "*I believe we must intervene. This intervention should be in the form of no violence… We must intervene; we are not helpless human beings performing a service. Consequently, when extreme behaviours are expressed, we must immediately let them come out and try to fight them; to cure them. I don't think we should let them go. I see it in bullying too. There are children, for whom I called the parents. They had some threatening* [meaning behaviours]*, and the parents protested because I called them. I notify the parent and I tell him/her your child shows this behaviour. It is good for parents to have a co-responsibility.*" (Imran)

His justification followed what has been said in the relevant section about the role of the family in tackling right-wing extremism and this is the reason why he emphasised that families should be aware of any actions or interventions that take place within schools. In addition, family structures and functions plays a

fundamental role in school adjustment, psychological well-being and psychosocial evolution process (Sporer and Buxton, 2024). This argument builds on the work of Bjørgo and Horgan (2009), who suggest that mobilising family members could render the process of detachments from extremist ideologies easier, as there would be someone to fall back on outside the radical environment (Sikkens et al., 2017). In addition, research showed that support from family members helps people quitting deviant behaviours (Farrall, 2002). Therefore, Imran's perspective priorities the understanding of responsibility for dealing with right-wing extremism as a co-responsibility that needs to be shared among social actors involved, namely the family, the school and the state.

At this point, I noticed that the above statements of participants in my study reflected their awareness of the decisive role of the family in identifying and tackling right-wing extremism in schools. Yet, since dealing with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek educational realms seems not to be specifically conceptualised and addressed, as analysed later in this Chapter, participants' views about the cooperation between the family and agents of school communities in tackling this threat are elliptical. Therefore, although they prioritise the family's contribution to the confrontation of right-wing extremities, they do not explicitly draw the framework of family responsibility. However, they are aware of the crucial input of the family in tackling right-wing extremism. The announcement from the Greek government of the introduction of a forthcoming, stricter legislative agenda will fundamentally change the philosophy of criminal treatment for juvenile offenders and their parents. It will emphasise the punitive character of dealing with incidents related to school violence (Newsroom Eleftheros Typos, 2024). Thus, this upcoming legislative initiative could pave the way for further exploration of the role of the family when tackling the phenomenon of right-wing extremism among students.

IV.2.iii. The school.

At first, participants in my study recognised that the school has a responsibility in protecting students from being drawn into extreme right ideologies. Despite the fact that in Greece no official guidance with the engagement of civil actors in the fight against right-wing extremism exists (Skleparis and Augestad

Knudsen, 2020), Richard straightforwardly recognised that the school role in the fight against right-wing extremism is crucial. He specifically stated:

> "*It is necessary, how should I say it, I would say it, I would write the word in capital letters NECESSARY, NECESSARY, REQUIRED. But how? I don't think it's about a course. It concerns all subjects equally, from gymnastics, to philosophy, mathematics, and physics. All courses can be leveraged in inspiration and fact-finding, but especially in awareness and inspiration of students in experientially dealing with what we call inclusion in pedagogy. All courses, from Ancient Greek Civilisation courses to History courses, that is, studying the phenomenon in its historical manifestations, can sensitise children to ways of prevention. Because the methods of prevention are not, how to say it, only a descent from actions or activities or values. Because these exist.*" (Richard)

He indicated that schools involvement in addressing this alarming phenomenon was not questionable. Furthermore, he clarified that educational action against this threat was not only an issue that Social Sciences teachers should take responsibility for. On the contrary, the fight against right-wing extremism concerns all educators no matter what their subject of expertise. Radicalisation related to right-wing extremism is a process that should interest school communities as a whole.

To continue, Imran and Keith right away recognised their educational task to help students avoid being drawn into right-wing extremism. They both emphasised that students at this age are vulnerable due to their identity crisis and questioning about the world, and thus teachers are responsible for preventing children being exposed to this extremist ideology. Furthermore, Imran pointed out that educational interventions should have the form of an outlet and not a forcing or suppressive one, as violence is not a solution. He also argued that recognising responsibility and mapping the treatment plan within schools is a difficult task even at the state level. Their statements placed the involvement of teachers in the fight against right-wing extremism better in the preventive sphere:

> "*Clearly. It is necessary. And it needs not directly into it but to be by providing an outlet for struggling students. No need for violence and such. Clearly. It is necessary. Many contribute to it, okay? It is not that easy to come out and say I emphasise the treatment.*" (Imran)

> "*I think it is necessary. And the reason is that these children who are in adolescence need an orientation* [guidance]." (Keith)

Their perceptions on responsibilities and intervention are in line with what O' Donnell et al. (2021) argued, when saying that the role of education in prevention of radicalisation has been established in the European context through a number of EU-wide agenda. Moreover, in the work of Sieckelinck and Stephens (2023),

education is a core element of preventive agendas and it is evident in the institution of the RAN, which drew frontline workers, including youth workers teachers and, into a network of practitioners addressing the prevention of radicalisation.

Subsequently, Anna built in the previous statements of Imran and Keith by clarifying that the responsibility of teachers is bound with their pedagogical role to help students at this sensitive age form a democratic way of thinking and behaviour. Social Sciences teachers, especially, have the opportunity to assist students in understanding the meaning of having open horizons, especially when children are influenced by various other social actors such as family and need an orientation in this complicated world. The passage is as follows:

> "*It is necessary because teachers are in direct contact with students several hours a day, students are at a very sensitive age. Now, I am talking about secondary school, where students are influenced by various environments apart from family. Especially inside the school* [they are influenced] *by Humanities Studies, History and more. We could help them see things differently, open their horizons, have democratic thinking and change in many ways when students often are reactionary*." (Anna)

Furthermore, in the work of Whiting et al. (2024), it was indicated that education can impart social messages about the social concerns of racism and refugee issues. My findings showed that teachers recognised their vital contribution in this direction. Vicky, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 8), placed the school's responsibility to deal with right-wing extremism in the context of the fight against racism, violence and bullying:

> "*The school anyway, all schools, are against racism, violence, bullying. They have a very specific policy that applies to all schools. It is in these contexts that I am moving as well... There are some general guidelines.* [For racism, for bullying?] *For bullying and some events. That is, what the Ministry does, on the days that are anti-bullying day, anti-racism day and so on, it also sends us documents, that we are obliged to hold some events in these contexts, to promote freedom of thought, nonviolence... Respect for human rights and so on.*" (Vicky)

The role of school, as presented by Vicky, is directly linked to other social concerns as racism and violence. Furthermore, Vicky recognised that school participation in the fight against the threat of right-wing extremism is not alienated from the state's curricula activities that promote Human Rights, anti-racism attitudes and critical thinking and are discussed in the classroom.

Under the same spectrum, Colette through her photos expressed her position and emphasised the vital role of school in promoting Human Rights and solidarity to confront right-wing extremist ideology:

Photograph 9: This photo shows a slogan on a wall saying "NO TO RACISM"

> "*The reason why I took them is to show that through the field of education, specific social messages, and specific social concerns, such as racism, human rights, and refugee issues, can be expressed not only in the classroom, but also outside the classroom, and everything that the specific photos describe.. So, these photos include various slogans… They include slogans, which refer to social issues, such as the refugee issue. Here is an area with a lot of refugees. Our school is a receiver and welcomes refugees as students.*" (Colette)

The above photo and passage indicatively presented her argument on the contribution of school teachers in promoting Human Rights and solidarity to confront right-wing extremist ideology. In the above responses and data, I found that teachers were sensitive helping students stay away from the menace of right-wing extremism and they identified their educational responsibility under the framework of anti-racist elements of pedagogy, solidarity and avoidance of violence.

Michelle pointed out that the role of education and teachers in dealing with right-wing extremism is attuned with the socialising and politising role of education. She particularly mentioned:

> "*I consider it to be an important role, of the utmost importance, because the school is not only a place for the transmission of knowledge but also the socialisation and politicisation of students.*" (Michelle)

More specifically, she emphasised that educators' role in the fight against right-wing extremism should be based on the socialisation of students. This argument is in direct line with the above work of Whiting et al. (2024). It also echoes Kalerante' s (2015) research outcome that within the educational environments, reinforcing democratic principles through operation and mutuality would protect students from right-wing extremism. School curriculum aiming at addressing key social issues, such as violence and racism, would

maximise teachers' ability to recognise and deal with the extreme right. Thus, subject courses would be synchronised to everyday school reality, in which monitoring and guidance towards structuring the school life of both teachers and students will follow the democratic organisation of school and in parallel familiarise the educational community with the principal democratic functioning of society.

Marie further shaped her perspective on the responsibility to help students avoiding right-wing extremism ideology by emphasising on the educational intervention of teachers to avoid racism and fascist dogmata, as emerged after World War II. She linked this role as a positive result of living in a democratic society and thus having the opportunity to reject these destructive beliefs:

> "*I believe it is necessary because we live in a democratic country. In fact, on a global scale, most states are democratic. From the experience of the Second World War with Hitler, anyway, with fascist regimes, in general, we must prevent this type of behaviour, which aims to..., which has this racist attitude towards anything different, regarding race, origin, religion, ideology, the social racism that also prevails in our society*." (Marie)

Helen also emphasised the sensitive age of students. Teachers responsibility was in line with the need of students for guidance. Children are bombarded from several directions, and the Internet and social media many times disorient them or provide them with fake news and information. In line with the above, the explanation of Helen is the study of Gaudette et al. (2020), where they emphasise that it is the Internet that eventually facilitates processes of violent radicalisation by enabling them to delve into extremist content and engage in extremist networks. The passage is as follows:

> "*I believe it is necessary because children form opinions, they have too much contact with the internet and social media, and, many times, their information is not correct. This needs guidance. That is, even from the teacher's point of view, because we all carry our own experiences. But I think it is important for children because they are formed in society, they know a lot of things from the age of 15, which is the 1st grade of secondary school, where we have this course, Political Education. I think it is important. … Because it's the reaction phase, it's the reaction age, they're very reactive, they're looking for themselves, and it's easier to be impulsive*." (Helen)

Joanna, a Head of school and teacher at a school in an urban area (School 4) conceptualised the responsibility of educators to help students identify and reject right-wing extremist ideology more straightforwardly. More explicitly, she considered that the engagement of teachers in the fight against right-wing extremism should not be questioned because the multi-tasked pedagogical role of teachers is assigned to the promotion of acceptance, respect and equality. These tools would render teachers' interventions meaningful and in harmony with their duties. She specifically explained that:

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> "*A teacher is one of the pillars of the teaching, pedagogic and socialising process. Therefore his/her participation is not only desirable but also mandatory and crucial to this process, both in the field of prevention and in treatment and finding solutions, as much as possible. This is also connected to the profile of the modern teacher we want to have, who, along with other roles, must also be a mediator, an advisor and a communicator of anti-racist messages, messages of coexistence, acceptance of people's identity and otherness.*" (Joanna)

To continue, Andrew drew on the different roles and responsibilities if educational goals and security concerns overlap. More specifically, he discussed the possibility and capability to balance these different duties to ensure that both are efficiently performed. He was clear by saying that the balance between these two tasks was required and was in correspondence with the ultimate pedagogical ideal, namely protecting the well-being of students when delivering his work. He further pointed out that teachers, who paid attention to the sensitive balance and care for students, were most appreciated by students as well. Therefore, for Andrew achieving this balance was central to the meaning of caring. His statement is as follows:

> "*Not only can it be easy, but it is also required. I think that the teacher, who is concerned only with teaching the lesson and nothing else, without the ramifications or concerns that the children may have, is the dividing line in us that separates the chaff from the wheat. That is to say that it is a job that must be completed within a certain time, a matter and from then on it is over. And the kids understand that. So they understand who cares and who the professional is.*" (Andrew)

To continue, Michelle considered the balance between her educational role and the task of preventing students from being drawn into right-wing extremism as an easy task since her system of values provided her with the ability to recognise the limits of each role and avoid getting into dilemmas around this issue. Therefore, Michelle seemed to equate having values and views opposite to right-wing extremist ideology as sufficient to avoid such a dilemma. Her statement is as follows:

> "*I do not have such a problem, because my value system is against such positions and views. I am happy to present a book that also has these same views. So I do not get into such dilemmas.*" (Michelle)

Both Andrew and Michelle placed the duty of preventing radicalisation related to right-wing extremism among their students under the lens of safeguarding purposes. As in the work of Busher et al. (2017) and Busher et al. (2019) where the Prevent duty has been placed within existing safeguarding structures, Andrew and Michelle conceptualised the duty to identify and deal with concerns around right-wing extremism within the scope of safeguarding principles.

However, Sophie pointed out the delicate character of keeping these roles and duties balanced. She considered that the duty to identify and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism as within a procedure of politically discussing and addressing this threat, which is not allowed in Greek schools. Sophie admitted that she would not leave room for racist behaviours to take place in the classroom, nevertheless, she would preferred to perform her role as protecting students from being drawn into right-wing extremism canals from an indirect angle and thus by opening dialogue on democracy, cooperation and equal treatments. She mentioned that:

> *"You can't even talk directly about party selection because it's not allowed inside the school. However, you can indirectly make the children understand the value of democracy, that is, the opposite of such a perception and attitude [extreme right attitude]. So, I try, as much as I can, to show equal treatment to students; so that no racist comments are heard or racist behaviours are shown in the classroom. I also try to promote cooperation among students through cooperative activities."* (Sophie)

Therefore, my study states that teachers take the initiative to intervene and engage in dealing with the phenomenon following the pedagogical aspect of their role despite the fact that the state, as analysed in the next section of this Chapter, does not have a manifest approach in helping teachers identify and tackle the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools. Balancing duties proved essential for teachers to deal with right-wing extremism and thus priority was given. However, problematisation around teachers' responsibility to tackle this threatening phenomenon came into the fore. The main concern of teachers was how their relationship of trust could be affected in the context of a hypothetical security measure.

To be more precise, my research revealed that when discussion moved to the possibility of introducing in schools a stricter agenda for teachers to deal with the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism, concerns escalated. Firstly, teachers were trying to comprehend what stricter agenda to deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to the extreme right could entail. At this point, it should be noted that the way a security apparatus could look and an explanation of the Prevent duty were needed for the interviewee to comprehend the concept. The vast majority of teachers were sceptical and expressed mistrust about the possibility of a security apparatus within schools, as they found it risky for teachers, students and the school community. Only two educators expressed a positive attitude towards a stricter framework to handle this phenomenon within schools.

To start with, Julia treated the chance of introducing a stricter safeguarding policy to tackle incidents of right-wing extremism within schools with mistrust. She emphasised again that preventive measures should not have the character of a stricter framework but should be based on preventing measures that enhance democratic beliefs among students and thus provide them with the necessary tools to stand up to the extreme right ideology. More importantly, she recognised that, by implementing a stricter agenda in schools, the state shifts the weight of responsibility to teachers, as the work of Foucault (1982; 2008) introduced:

> "*I don't know how this could be done. I am afraid and I treat it with some mistrust. I say again, it would be nice if the school had democratic procedure. Let's create democratic citizens so that we don't need to intervene afterwards. There is no reason, there should be such a development of the citizens beforehand because later they will be active citizens. Let's make them active and they will also be adult citizens. I also face the unknown with distrust. Will it be any good? I hope it's something good. Will it come just from the Ministry? Will it be something that comes from above and is imposed or will it be something, a stricter framework, which comes after ferments, from a dialogue between the teachers, the students, the parents, and everyone participating? Or will it be in the form "take this too, and do it"? How will it be? It troubles me.*" (Julia)

Keith was also suspicious of at what degree educators have the responsibility to deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. He placed their argument on the improvement of the situation in schools after the conviction of GD. His concern about how this intervention should be mirrored in the work of Waever (1995), who confirmed that that even though education could contribute to managing the challenges of extremism, deep concerns emerged form the question of how educational communities are called upon to address this complex phenomenon. The justification for this problematisation lies in the fact that prevention of extremism in education is approached through a security paradigm, with the main purpose lying in recognising menaces. His statement is as follows:

> "*I think I can intervene to a certain extent. On the final analysis, what I can do is express my views about what is happening around us and what we are dealing with. Especially when the phenomenon was more intense; when Golden Dawn was a legal party. After the conviction, things have certainly improved. They are not to the same extent.*" (Keith)

Keith equated an intervention under a stricter agenda with a report to the police. He admitted though that he could not do that even if he opposed students' ideology. Foucault's (1982; 2008) concept on governmentality by placing public sectors staff, and especially teachers, to report on incidents of right-wing extremism while delivering their work, as in the UK, the 'prototype example' on securitised agendas, seemed to be envisaged with at least skepticism or even refusal in Greek schools. Keith continued by

arguing that the best way to deal with this alarming phenomenon would be under an internal resolution and cooperation schema. His suggestion is connected to the traumatisation of the relationship of trust as presented in the following section:

> "*It depends. Because I don't know what kind of intervention would be. I wouldn't have contacted the police, for example, even if I completely disagreed with the student's behaviour about these issues. I don't think it helps because it would be better for us to try to work things out and talk about it* [with students]." (Keith)

Anna also shared the same opinion when emphasising that a securitised agenda will not provide the school community with solutions but, rather, it would create problems. In addition, Anna, like Keith, supported the view that the school community knows better how to deal with this alarming phenomenon, as personal relationships with students maximise the effectiveness of initiatives towards the identification and coping with this threat. A distant approach from the Ministry of Education via an online platform remains impersonal and thus is away from the school environment and the people who interact with at a daily basis. The passage is as follows:

> "*It would create* [more problems]. *We try to solve other issues that the Ministry tells us. We try to solve them ourselves because we know the community better. We know the students, we are in daily contact with them, the children, their environment, things that with a simple statement on a platform of the Ministry or any other body that could be involved* [problem wouldn't be solved]. *They could not take all this into account. These issues are not disconnected from the environment. No, I don't think it would help.*" (Anna)

Similar sentiments to this were shared by Donna: *"I think it would create a problem because I think the system is a bit immature to accept something like that here in Greece."* (Donna)

Beatrice further explained her problematisation on the establishment of a more securitised framework to identify threats of right-wing extremism within schools. She was not totally negative to the introduction of agendas that could assist the community however she recognised that in this way supporters of right-wing extremism could hide their loyalty to its ideology and remain unmarked within educational environments:

> "*Maybe, I don't know. Many times children feel freer and express themselves more comfortably when they know that there are no consequences, just like all of us. Accordingly, I imagine that, if they knew there would be consequences, they would be more restrained, thus harder to detect. Yes, I think so. A normative form of what we say (prevention of right-wing extremism) would have some effect but it would certainly limit the problem to an event. It's certainly a positive move they deal with issues that exist in*

> *schools and cause serious problems in the psychology and physical integrity of students, after all. ... Exactly how will it be implemented? There are many issues with this. The central idea of dealing with issues related to everyday school life is certainly important. Now in the application...*" (Beatrice)

Beatrice's statement could be connected with Anna's reference to young supporters of extreme right ideology, who after the condemnation of GD stopped drawing swastikas on desks and replaced them with meanders, as analysed previously in this Chapter (section 1.iv.). This proves the chameleon character of right-wing ideology and its supporters' behaviours to remain unnoticed when needed. Thus, they continue embracing extreme right dogma without being accused or reported.

Notwithstanding, some teachers expressed a positive attitude towards the introduction of a schema with a stricter character to deal with right-wing extremism and the dangers it entails within the school community. Richard categorically supported that a stricter agenda would not harm the education community as long as it would be structured with inspiration and a focus on the sensitive nature of the educational environments. Evaluation and assessment of behaviours could provide school teachers with the mechanisms to address this alarming phenomenon. The compulsory character of such an initiative was in line with the work of Foucault (1982; 2008), as mentioned earlier. Richard's opinion on the form of a securitised agenda could be closer to the mandatory Prevent duty as applied in the UK and already discussed in Chapter II. However, Richard mentioned that any compulsory initiative should be the result of an inspired effort to tackle this phenomenon and could be analogous to the proposal of Lakhani and James (2021). The need for an evidenced strategy, specifically tailored and based on existing experience and knowledge, to cope with the concerns that extreme right extremism poses, rather than an excessive response to this threat, was emphasised. The following passages are in support of his opinion:

> "*It wouldn't hurt it. As long as this was done and with inspiration. It would help because, when in Greece, the in-service training of teachers was implemented compulsorily, when these people returned to schools, things had changed. ... I am in favour of a compulsory character. I am in favour of assessment, despite its problems. Differentiation and respect for people who work in schools are needed. There is an effort now to make these things start to be shown, we don't know what will happen, and where it will end up anyway but it remains to be seen.*" (Richard)

Josephine also was positively situated to the possibility of introducing a stricter agenda to deal with right-wing extremism. However, she pointed out that any step to this direction should be organised on the basis of a theoretical framework and experiential seminars and training to familiarise themselves with the

challenging issues of this phenomenon. She further emphasised that Greek educators do not have the experience of other countries educational structures and mechanisms and thus the chance of implementing a stricter agenda should have a person-centred and focused perspective:

> "*There could certainly be something because we see the rise of extremism again. Surely, there should be something; there should be a mechanism. It could certainly create inhibitions for some children. Compulsion will require experiential seminars, not a simple theoretical approach because our fellow teachers in Greece are not familiar with such practices. We graduated from university with completely different directions and practices. So, education under a very focused and person-centred framework is needed.*" (Josephine)

A crucial element in terms of teachers' responsibility is how the relationship of trust between students and teachers will be affected. Andrew considered that the compulsory character of an agenda directed to deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism could hide a trap in terms of not explicitly referring to right-wing extremism. Thus, only by specifically referring to the challenging concepts that are bound to extreme right ideology this agenda could avoid being a barrel for any extremist ideology. Andrew questioned the effectiveness of such measures based on the anxiety that that kind of strategy risks being instrumentalised for political reasons. At the time of my study, there was a debate on what ideology should be excluded from participation in the national elections of June 2023. This is the reason why Andrew paralleled this discussion with the then examination of what extreme right means in political analysis:

> "*I would look at it suspiciously. There's a trap here. I will not follow the logic of the two extremes, where the extreme right and the extreme left end up in the same bucket. So, if it doesn't clarify where this aims for, it is ideologically suspect. I think it leaves open the possibility of future bans from the other side* [extreme left] *as well. That can be instrumentalised for other things as well.*" (Andrew)

Moreover, Julia's statement mirrored the traumatised effect a securitised framework could have on the relationships of teachers with students and the one between teachers and the state. Labelling ideologies, as Julia pointed out, could hurt school communities. She was then problematised on what would be the aftermath of the implementation of mechanisms that build on division and categorisation. Instead she proposed to promote more actively democratic processes by enhancing school and student communities. Thus, Julia was sympathetic to forming teachers' responsibility under the model of democratic procedures administrators. She specifically mentioned:

> "*A preventive mechanism, which will enable me to do things. I hope that is it. We do not need to put a label on it; this is a suppression mechanism of the extreme right. Let's put a label on how to create active and democratic citizens. I can't do the labels and the mechanisms anymore. You don't know how they will evolve. We have previous experience of how they have evolved* [meaning mechanisms]*, positive or negative. What are we going to do with them now? It troubles me.*" (Julia)

To continue, Paul, a Head of school and teacher at a school in an urban area (School 9), referred to the concern of traumatised relationships by the compulsory character of any initiative aiming at tackling the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism. He then recognised that a mandatory agenda on the threat of right-wing extremism would be considered systemic and structural and thus students would oppose it reactionally. He also turned upside down the relationship of trust by suggesting that, rather than harming the connections between teachers and students and teachers and the state, trust teachers in dealing with this severe phenomenon without the mandatory element.

> "*I think that no such notion of compulsion, in my opinion, can enter into it. Let us trust the teacher. The vast majority of teachers know how to shape democratic attitudes and thinking in children so that their mental health is protected and do not end up with extreme behaviours that threaten their physical health as well. I don't think these are done with obligations. I am very afraid of obligations in the sense that, sometimes, lead to opposite results. Anything you do, if you make it mandatory -especially for teenagers- starts to be questioned, becomes systemic and goes away from teenage reaction to it. Therefore, it is better -instead of forcing- to invite them* [teachers] *to follow you.*" (Paul)

In connection with Paul's statement, Philip, a teacher of the Political Education course at a school in an urban area (School 9), analogically put weight on the element of anonymity that the recently introduced platform, designed to address the phenomenon of violence and bullying in schools, includes. He then emphasised that a stricter agenda with an anonymity component could adversely impact on students relationships of trust. More importantly, for Philip, anonymity would deny teachers the possibility to deal with such incidents directly. Thus, teachers would be distanced from students, as they would not have the possibility to communicate with students without scepticism. His statement is as follows:

> "*It could, for example, take away from us some ways we approach students. When you have such an attitude, you realise that some students may like it because they may be the victims of this situation. Some other students, who are the perpetrators, will not like it at all. So I would say this is also the reason why the plan, which is now being submitted to Parliament, this platform, talks about anonymous complaints so that they can be controlled by some specific bodies of the school. This anonymity also creates the condition that the teacher should not be involved to a large extent. This can deprive*

him/her of the possibility to approach the children in another way. [Communicate with children without reservations]. *Exactly."* (Philip)

In line with Philip's argument, Joanna remains hesitant about the mandatory nature of mechanisms designed to address right-wing extremism and compares the possibility of introducing this kind of agenda with the new FRIENDSHIP platform. Her hesitation to unquestionably adopt such measures is based on the chance these initiatives bring disputes among teachers, students, parents, and so on and thus traumatise trust. Thus, she remained attuned to examine what the next day of the application of the new entry within education communities could be, and then, analogically reconsider the scenario of a stricter agenda to combat right-wing extremism.

> "*In this context, there are proposals and measures, for example, the FRIENDSHIP platform, through which complaints can be made about violence and bullying. A point of worry for someone could be what the disclosure of these things will bring. Will it have a good effect, or will it bring conflicts among parties involved, namely teachers, students, students among themselves, parents, and so on? This is a question for which we do not have an answer. We have not seen this type of application in Greece yet; we have not seen a tightening of this framework yet. So, I don't have an answer. I only have to express my concern because we, elder teachers, come from a different type of society, with different terms of coexistence and relationships. So now, we enter something that we don't know, and thus we are worried. We don't know for sure how to say yes or not.*"
> (Joanna)

More emphatically Emma was negative to the introduction of a stricter agenda to deal with right-wing extremism, as she perceived this initiative as a "Big Brother" one and, thus trust within the school community would be traumatised. Foucault's (2007) panopticon as the landscape that could at any time impart in an individual a likelihood of surveillance, better encapsulated Emma' s attitude on a mandatory basis of mechanisms to cope with this alarming phenomenon. She mentioned the following:

> "*To be honest, the way I hear it, I don't see this very positively. I think it would be like a "big brother". The solution is more prevention. Not tightening and mechanisms; as an eye of the State to be over it* [school community]. *I would not be positive about such a thing. It would probably break the relationship of trust* [between teachers and students]. *That is, we can say something to students, and this is not censored, at least in my class, and in the wider school community. It* [a stricter mechanism] *would have a different type of consequences, and the relationship of trust would be violated. As I hear it, I would probably not agree.*" (Emma)

In Europe and worldwide recent developments have led to the application of extremist and terrorist acts prevention of agendas in various areas and domains, including schools and educational environments. A core belief underlying these initiatives is grounded in that security governance should be implemented

within the paradigm of democratic education (Aly et al., 2014). Vicky proposed that, instead of introducing a mandatory character in agendas that could possibly deal with right-wing extremism, it would be more effective to introduce a dialectical one, meaning that any initiative targeting at tis alarming phenomenon should be within the framework of an open dialogue with the educational community. The passage as follows: *"So, what should be done, it should be done very much, in my opinion, it would just be good to avoid compulsion. To be done in a dialectical context... In a dialectic"* (Vicky). Thus, participants in this research do not detach their task to protect their students from being drawn into right-wing extremism from their professional role but rather they consider it to be a fundamental element of the safeguarding duty as applied in their everyday school life.

IV.2.iv. The state.

My study findings, as far as the role and responsibility of the state are concerned, firstly revealed the bureaucratic nature of education in Greece, which in many cases, is unflexible, inconsistent and overcomplicated. Colette deciphered the challenging task to understand Greek educational system's mechanisms, as included in a pile of laws, guidance and documentation:

> *"We saw this, we saw this, that is to let you understand in the context of the assessment, a Head of School is currently accused, and even running to Justice, they have been involved with Justice for bullying cases for the which they did not sue."* (Colette)

She also specifically addressed the problematisation of teachers in dealing with the overcomplicated legal guidance for education because there have been incidents of educators being sued due to the unexplained laws and guidelines that eventually educators cannot efficiently apply in their everyday school life. This is a major theme in Greece if taking into account the sensitive nature of the pedagogical role of teachers. If teachers, for fear of being improperly drawn to courts for long-lasting trials, feel unconfident and unsafe in dealing with their everyday tasks, we could assume that dealing with right-wing extremism without straightforward official guidance and the support of official bodies risks their reluctance to take action, in case of identification of right-wing extremism incidents.

More importantly, Imran referred to the state's (purposeful) unwillingness of the official bodies to name the problem and deal with it. His following statement supported the above:

> *"Not for teachers. As you know, the Ministry does not touch this thing. They* [the Ministry] *consider it to be a political issue, they have never sent a report to the extreme right as such* [meaning beliefs].*"* (Imran)

Imran attributed the state's reluctance to deal with this concerning phenomenon in its political nature. Even after the trial of the GD (at the first degree) action related to right-wing extremism in schools has not been addressed under the framework of safeguarding policies and for the sake of students' well-being. He thus recognised that efforts to cope with this threat will be always crushed on the pitfall of political theorisation of right-wing ideology and only.

The argument of Imran's was also being highlighted by Holly. Indeed, she emphasised the political intention in the reluctance of the state to take into account this alarming phenomenon in schools. Valuing education and Social Sciences courses in school curriculum, in particular, as beneficial for having informed and thinking future citizens, they argued, risk the State's desire of manageable citizens.

This observation was valuable especially under the lens of Foucaultian studies (Foucault, 1982; 2008) as it is relevant to Foucault's argument that the modern power is hidden in plain sight (McKinlay, et al., 2012). Furthermore, she pointed out the recurring tendency of Greek educational systems to adopt other countries educational initiatives and agendas without critically evaluate them and question if copying other countries education systems could act beneficially for the Greek education as well. This attitude entailed the danger of being ineffectively applied within Greek structures and at the end not taking into consideration culture and background of the Greek educational system, students, teachers and parents. Below is the quotation:

> *"Greek education copies other systems, which are also obsolete most of the time, and comes with a twenty-year heterochronism to implement failed systems, you understand what we are talking about, what things are we talking about. I don't know, the provided education is very, very difficult... The school itself has given up on the Education part and has left it, for example, not to the family, because unfortunately the institution of the family broke down and had a severe problem. But now it has left education, the part of education as a nanny who watches TV, various series... And somewhere there is a great purpose* [= political intention] *in this thing because, in general, producing thinking citizens will cause problems in the governance part, in that people will not follow what some want to implement and advance their own models."* (Holly)

On the same page was also Philip's observation about the removal of Social Sciences courses in schools' curriculum with state decision. Thus, teachers were deprived of the school material to discuss challenging themes in the classroom. The technocratic attitude towards education had put Social Sciences courses in the margins. This is -first and foremost- attributed to the state initiatives:

> "*Of course not because the course is now only in the 1st* [grade of] *Lyceum given that the course has been removed from the classes of the 2nd* [grade of] *and 3rd* [grade of] *Lyceum. But also, on the other hand -let's say- all courses that used to talk about Human Rights, such as Sociology and other courses, such as Politics and so on, and so on, have been almost reduced with the decision of the Ministry of Education.*" (Philip)

He also said that the abolishment of Social Sciences courses from Greek education has been subject of criticism from other countries as well and emphasised the significance of these courses in schools worldwide. However, the Greek state did not seem willing to recognise the influential role of Humanities courses in the shaping of future citizens. The passage of Philip's words was in line with Julia's statement and photo that follow:

> "*There are many sites, there are many conversations taking place these days, there are, so to speak, many positive disapprovals from other states, from other associations with what has been done in Greece, which, unfortunately, as much as it has been highlighted, in our country falls on deaf ears.*" (Philip)

Especially as far as the Political Education course was concerned, Julia emphasised that the state's unwillingness to enhance the presence of courses in schools that promote open dialogue and help students build a democratic attitude left teachers with limited resources to engage children with timely social phenomena, such as right-wing extremism and prejudice. Julia thus stated that it was at the discretion of each teacher to find ways to boost the social consciousness of students, as discussed in the following chapters. The photo and quotation are as follows:

Photograph 10: This photo shows the book of the 'POLITICAL EDUCATION' course

> "*Political Education decreased… Yes, with a decreased material book. Few things because it is also two hours* [meaning in the school curriculum].*.... What do I want to say? I want to say that students are thirsty for discussions, they are thirsty for topics ….*

But when you don't give me this possibility, you suffocate me with things and teaching material, what should I do?... So I try to do things for them." (Julia)

In connection with the above, Michelle was emphatic about the need for educational initiatives that promote Humanities courses within the school curriculum. She emphasised that the removal of courses and hours from the Humanities courses within the school curriculum would have detrimental effects on the school community and students. She explained to students that Nazism and fascism do not belong to the closet of history but they are phenomena present and thus the reinforcement of Humanities courses within the school curriculum is urgent. The quotation is as follows:

> "*Fascism appears where education is absent. The reintegration of the Humanities is necessary!* [This is a comment made from the educational subject on the removal of courses and hours from the Humanities courses in the school curriculum]." (Fieldnotes, School 11a)

Furthermore, Philip highlighted the need for school curriculum to enhance critical thinking of students in order to help students confront the alarming threat posed by the re-emergence of right-wing extremism. Humanities courses and in particular the course "MODERN WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY", which was abolished, even though it was an excellent book with a presentation of timely social themes and discussion on these issues, deprived students from a curriculum strategic part that could provide them with the opportunity to deal with the existing crucial concerns, such as extreme right and in addition it could provide teachers with an excellent material to present and openly discuss in the classroom. The passage is as follows:

> "*Thinking critically is very important because, many times, messages of mass media have a political, not to say partisan, tone. Therefore, Political Education plays a crucial role in forming active citizens. It is necessary for all grades at school because we learn to think and coexist with other people and acquire ideology. The course "MODERN WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY" was abolished, although it was a very good course and an excellent book as well. The Sociology course in the 3rd* [grade of] *Lyceum was also abolished.* [The educational subject spoke about the above in an emotionally charged speech and created a reflection on children, who seem to realise that they are missing out on important lessons, which could support them later in their lives. In recent years, this happens due to the change of school curricula]" (Fieldnotes, School 9)

The above perceptions of Michelle and Philip backed up Marie as well when stating that:

> "[Then, the educational subject was referred to the 2nd (grade of) Lyceum textbook "MODERN WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY", which unfortunately is no longer taught.] *This textbook included an excellent extract on racism.*" (Fieldnotes, School 7)

Holly expressed the same opinion as the above mentioned teachers, and with her photos during the follow-up interview, she was analytically referred to the context of the book, which was taught in the second grade of the secondary school (Lyceum), called "CONTEMPORARY WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY". It was the book "MODERN WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY" and it was considered by participants to be the most appropriate to deal with alarming social issues and as the one that directly touched upon the concepts of racism and fascism to provide students with the necessary tools to deal with the threat of right-wing extremism. Photos and passage are as follows:

Photograph 11: This photo shows the old book of the 'POLITICAL EDUCATION' course, entitled 'CONTEMPORARY WORLD CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY'
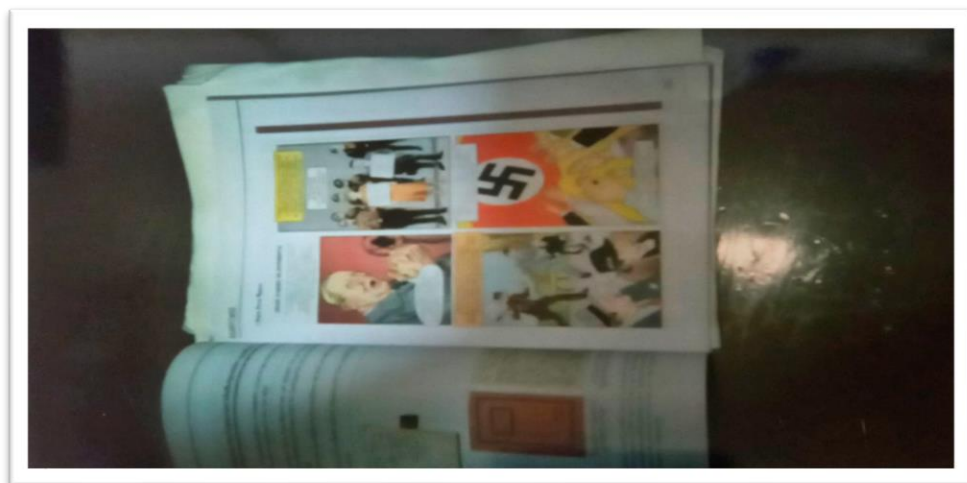
Photograph 12: This photo is also from the old book of the 'POLITICAL EDUCATION' course, entitled 'CONTEMPORARY WORLD CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY'

"The photographic material I chose to take is from a book, which was taught in the 2nd grade of Lyceum, called "CONTEMPORARY WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY". It was the book "MODERN WORLD, CITIZEN AND DEMOCRACY",

an excellent book, which was introduced very recently. However, it didn't even get taught for more than two years. The next [and present] *government put it on the back burner. It was one of the best books I have seen in my educational career because it was structured with material, such as excerpts from various books, narratives of protagonists, victims of the Second World War and mainly of fascism. Then we used to discuss these passages, which we used to read. Then, the children could approach the text and discuss the various phenomena that humanity experienced from fascism, mainly Hitlerism, Auschwitz and all that. We used to work a lot on these issues. Subsequently, we used to discuss rights, racism, and even the most obvious form of racism, which is related to race, i.e. whites and blacks, and then discuss various other types of social racism, which range from obesity to everyone's physique. It was an excellent book.*" (Holly)

Julia supported the view that modernisation of teaching could provide teachers with the tools to apply safeguarding policies in a tangible and beneficial way for the students, and at the same time deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. However, the abolishment of the above course had the opposite result and distanced the building of future citizens based on a Social Sciences school curriculum and policy. The following passage is indicative of her argument:

"[Then, the educational subject referred to the Political Education course]. *Could not the state, through curricula organised by the Ministry of Education, take care of the children, the future citizens, control and be vigilant for these dangers* [of the extreme right]*?* [The educational subject referred to the "Modern World, Citizen and Democracy" course (and textbook), which was taught to students of the 2nd grade of Lyceum, which unfortunately was abolished]. *This course contained more discussion of such social issues and left room for free dialogue on issues such as racism, violence, etc. There are thoughts of changing the school textbook.*" (Fieldnotes, School 2)

However, Donna stated that the Ministry should provide teachers with motivation and straightforward guidance in order to enhance teachers confidence and knowledge around these challenging issues. A guidance that will provide teachers with the necessary tools to address the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools. Her statement is as follows:

"*I try. However, sometimes it is not an easy task. I have to have other knowledge to be able to deal with this. There is no such guidance. I'm not trained in this stuff. I mean, I feel weak in this thing. That is, if a student comes and tells me this and that, apart from telling them "What are you saying, my child, think about it a little more seriously", I can't do anything.*" (Donna)

In the work of Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) the lack of tools, materials, training courses focusing on the prevention and countering of radicalisation and polarisation has been deciphered. In my study, the anxiety about how to cope with this threat and the dangers it entails for students has been also indicated. Teachers recognised their responsibility in protecting students from the threat of right-wing extremism. Donna

continues by saying that if the state decides to address the problem by naming it in documentation that refer to safeguarding policies, especially now with the operation of the online platform for the reporting of incidents of violence and bullying in schools, it could boost teachers' confidence in dealing with and addressing this phenomenon. She specifically mentioned:

> *"It could be very important. If there was some background to it, some motivation, some motivation from the Ministry. I can't just go and start talking to the class about this thing. I wish there was a line."* (Donna)

The above anxieties are directly linked with Richard's conclusions. More explicitly, Richard emphasised that the lack of state support also referred to the lack of tools and scientific material to recognise and deal with this phenomenon. More specifically, he pointed out that before teachers identify and manage to address concerns related to right-wing extremism, there should be prior information and knowledge given to teachers, especially from the state for teachers to be able to familiarise themselves with the blurred lines of this alarming threat. He also listed books that deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism, fascism and Nazism for teachers to have adequate weapons in their quiver. Prior knowledge and training are necessary to maximise the effectiveness of interventions and the teachers' ability to help students and tackle threats related to right-wing dogma. His scientific proposal was based on books that analysed in depth the phenomenon by delving into its historical background, characteristics and different allegations and ideological paths. The following photo and passage of the follow-up interview voiced the above:
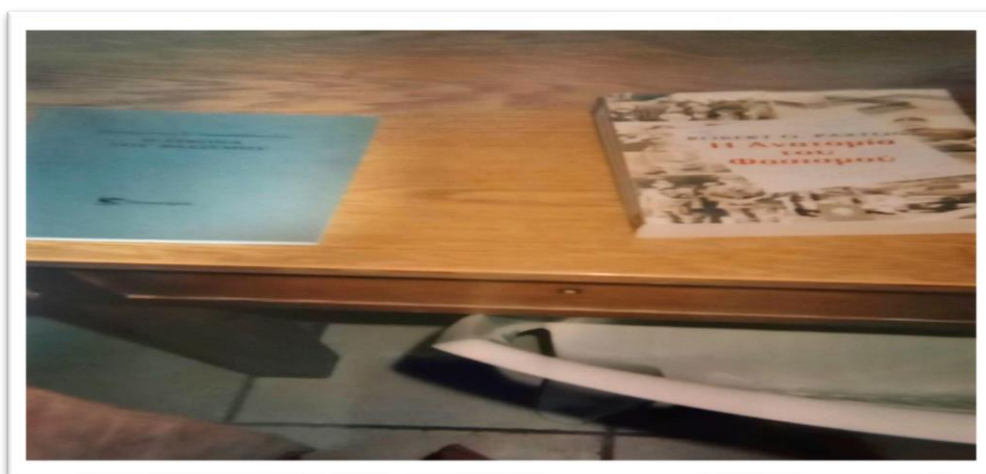
Photograph 13: This photo shows two books, the one entitled "THE ANATOMY OF FASCISM" and the other one "THE IMAGE OF FASCISM"

> "*The criterion for choosing these four texts... First of all, detection. The detection and perhaps revelation of the phenomenon and how one could resist both as a subject-student, but also as a society as a whole. For the teacher to be able, depending on the group he/she is addressing, to think, discover, and imagine tools, he/she should also have the education and he/she should already have the conditions and criteria for studying this phenomenon. Because the phenomenon of fascism is so broad and multi-layered we need tools from a range of disciplines in the field of Social Sciences to deal with it.*" (Richard)

In addition to the school curriculum, Anna and Helen were decisive when saying that there is no official guidance or policy to deal with social problems, anxieties and concerns around the topic of right-wing extremism. Their statements are as follows:

> "*No, there is nothing official. No official document has ever come, and if ever problems arise, we try and solve them from within with internal consultation of the school teachers.*" (Anna)

> "*There is no education on these subjects. There was in the past in the 2nd* [grade of] *Lyceum. Now, the book has been removed and no longer exists. That is general knowledge. But on these issues, no. We don't touch upon these issues in the 1st [grade of] Lyceum.*" (Helen)

Andrew also pointed out that the policies addressing social issues in schools are scientifically insufficient and dealing with social and concerning problems when delivering their work depends on teachers' willingness to intervene:

> "*It is insufficient because it is not taught scientifically and is ultimately left to the discretion of each teacher. If he/she wants to intervene, he/she will intervene. For example, the two hours scheduled every year for the Holocaust. I've been through several schools where it did not happen.… Insufficient.*" (Andrew)

On the other side, Joanna pointed out that, although there is no specific guidance or course directly related to right-wing extremism, social issues, such as violence, bullying, and issues that refer to the other side of these phenomena, such as multiculturalism, interculturalism, and interlinguistics are touched upon within the school curricula and policies and programmes exist to promote the good practice of this agendas. Characteristically, she listed several social issues that were addressed in schools and initiatives to deal with these concepts:

> "*There is no specific guidance on this specific subject. Nevertheless, issues of violence, bullying, issues of multiculturalism, interculturalism, and interlinguistics exist within curricula and aim at forming a multicultural school, an inclusive open- to-society one. Therefore, we have material to combat such phenomena. In addition, programmes and instructions are given for the implementation of programmes inside or outside of*

teaching hours, which include reports, instructions, and good practices to deal with these issues." (Joanna)

In line with Joanna's opinion was also Paul's acceptance that the Social Sciences courses per se at the core of their pedagogy and context provide teachers with the necessary scientific and background knowledge to reflect and address these alarming phenomena. Paul considered that the existing curriculum covers these concerns, which any teacher could work on. In addition, Paul was not sure if naming the problem could be an efficient way to deal with it. More explicitly, he argued that, given that we have an energetic political life in Greece, when naming the problem and in particular a political ideology, essentially this equals to positioning ourselves (politically), which is not allowed inside the school. His statement is as follows:

> "*It exists firstly through the courses. There is the Political Education course to give directions, i.e. it analyses issues through which a child can think and reflect. Obviously, this happens without references to specific political parties. This is not allowed. However, forming a democratic education is evident. An education, which offers students the possibility to judge and reflect on issues, which touch on political beliefs and attitudes.*" (Paul)

Hence, my study surprisingly revealed that the vast majority of educators, like Helen, Andrew, Philip and Holly, recognised that the contribution of the state in providing teachers with the necessary tools and information to identify and deal with the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism in schools is absent. Most teachers admitted that no official guidance, policy or course to support teachers and students dealing with the complicated and challenging issue of right-wing extremism within schools exists. Moreover, they emphasised that the state deprived schools from Humanities courses in the Greek school curriculum and thus disempowered teachers' possibility to discuss these complex concepts with students in the classroom. Some others, like Joanna, admit that there is supporting material and guidance from the Ministry of education to address the above concerns. Nevertheless, this contradiction and discontinuity acts unfavourably for school communities, teachers and students because it causes confusion and contradicting operation that make dealing with right-wing extremism even more ambitious.

IV.2.v. Discussion on responsibility.

In light of all the above, responsibility, as the second theme of my study, addresses my second, third and fourth research questions. My findings synchronised with my above literature review and revealed a crucial

issue, this of co-responsibility in dealing with right-wing extremism in schools, which should be shared among the family, the school and the state. In addition, my second theme answers my second research question by exploring the possibility of a school policy to tackle this threat. It also explains the nature, limits and applicability of such an agenda. Thus, my third research question is answered, as responsibility sketches the contribution of teachers in this effort by considering their professionalism, background knowledge and willingness. Furthermore, responsibility has been investigated under the lens of a more securitised mechanism, as in the UK, and thus teachers express their opinions, hesitation and problematisation. This exploration answers my fourth research question and inquiries about the possibility and impact of a more securitised policy in Greek schools to prevent students from being drawn into right-wing extremist canals.

More analytically, the findings of my research supported what scholarship has illustrated about how parental warmth combined with control could positively influence children to avoid extremism (Maccoby and Martin, 1983). Teachers' experiences about the crucial role of the family in the recognition of the threat of right-wing extremism and solutions to tackle it, did not differentiate themselves from what in academia has been discussed and in particular in the study of Scrivens et al. (2022) where the vast majority of participants indicated the fundamental contribution of the family in preventing youth from violent extremism. The role of the family in a coordinated and multipersonal scheme do tackle the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools was recognised as fundamental. Again, participants in my research specifically mentioned that preventing youth from being drawn into extremism starts at home with parents and more broadly with families. The role of the family could encapsulate teaching their children, at a young age, about the complexities of polarising social concerns, including but not limited to the issue of intolerance, discrimination and racism (Sikkens et al., 2017).

To continue, the institution of schools and its role in the fight against right-wing extremism has been emphasised, as one of the pillars in confronting right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism at a very early stage. The primary question addressed within my study, as surfaced from the data analysis in parallel with the scholarly plethora of research, was whether Greek schools, as social actors and of institutional structures, are responsible for the recognition and intervention with regards to right-wing extremism. Although concepts of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to

right-wing extremism are diverse and are somehow conflicting in nature, the vast majority of participants in Lakhani and James's (2021) research have recognised the potential severity of the threat posed by this alarming phenomenon. Educators participating in the above study recognised that right-wing extremism is an alarming concern and that it is in the spotlight.

My fieldwork demonstrated that these anxieties are shared between Greek teachers as well. Teachers recognised the responsibility of Greek schools and educators to deal with the threat of right-wing extremism and protect students from being drawn into right-wing extremist ideology. More specifically, teachers participating in my research placed their responsibility in terms of the prevention of right-wing extremism as part of their role to protect students who are in a sensitive age and need orientation and support. In parallel, they emphasised that their responsibility should not be limited to Social Sciences teachers but to all specialities as to raise awareness and inspiration to students. It was evident that school, as a social actor in the fight against right-wing extremism, should have a leading role. Teachers perceptions on the key role of schools in tackling right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism were in line with the increasing interest in the role of the educational sector in preventing radicalisation in schools and in ways that were unthinkable a decade ago. Scholars (Aly et al. 2014; Harris-Hogan et al. 2016) argue that indicators confirm that the prevention of radicalisation and violent extremism in the educational environment is principally accomplished at the primary level.

Therefore, participants recognised the necessity for the engagement of educators in the fight against right-wing extremism, as they put weight on supporting students at this crucial phase of their lives, just before adulthood, and on the role of a school not only as a place for the transmission of knowledge but also for the socialisation and politicisation of students. First and foremost, the concept of responsibility was discussed in terms of its schema, degree and willingness of each teacher to step into the problem and engage in tackling right-wing extremism. My research stated that teachers take the initiative to intervene and engage in dealing with the phenomenon following the pedagogical aspect of their role despite the fact that there is no official manifest approach in helping teachers identify and tackle the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools.

To be more explicit, the role of schools in Greek reality was mostly conceptualised as the one that Sjøen and Jore (2019) emphasise, as they recognised the role of the school as an agent of socialisation for future

citizens and the school's responsibility to enhance the ability of students to critically think on complicated social concepts. In educational prevention, this is translated into focusing on the entire population of students with an emphasis on building resilience against all forms of extremist ideology. My research finding deciphered that teachers are willing to support the role of schools in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in cooperation with other social actors, primarily the family and the state. It was clear that participants in my study highlighted the necessity of the school institution, teachers and Heads of schools to provide students with the pedagogical tools in their quiver to recognise danger and reject it as a way of life. Nevertheless, initiatives within school environments to debate and deal with this phenomenon will maximise their impact and positive results if other social actors are directly involved.

Things became more complicated when responsibilities of teachers in the fight against right-wing extremism were explored, especially in the phases of semi-structured interviews and follow-up interviews as far as the conceptualisation of intervention of teachers to deal with the phenomenon of the extreme right is concerned. More indicatively, the vast majority of participants were questioned on the degree of intervention to tackle with right-wing extremism within schools. Problematisation was associated with the concern of extending the safeguarding duty to the level of policing and securitising attitudes and behaviours within schools. The vast majority of participants mapped their responsibility up to an extent. The uneasiness to deal with the phenomenon in a securitised way, and not a purely pedagogical one, problematised teachers in Greece even though they are not familiar with policies that emphasise the security goal to the detriment of the pedagogical work of education, as in the case of the UK for example.

Balancing different roles and duties when delivering their teaching was also discussed in the course of my study. The example of teachers in the UK, who try to balance their tasks associated with their role as educators with those of safeguarding and the legal one of the Prevent duty was the stimulus to explore Greek teachers' perceptions and experiences in successfully balancing different duties. Despite the fact that the vast majority of participants were not familiar with the adoption of stricter agendas, as in the UK, their anxieties are similar to the questions and challenges in implementing Prevent duty within education as part of a securitised policy. Addressing potential vulnerability to extremism requires that teachers dispose some knowledge on the cognitive aspects of radicalisation, or in other words, that they assess what is happening inside students' heads (Ben-Porath, 2023). While this procedure is already a regular part of a teacher's role

in reference to his/her understanding of students' motivations or mood, when it comes to assessing beliefs, views and positions for the purpose of referral to law enforcement or raising concerns and reporting in other ways, teachers are put in a troublesome position (Ben-Porath, 2023). As mentioned before, the structure of the Greek educational systems itself, as based on chaotic and inflexible bureaucracies and laws, maximises the anxiety of educators in Greek schools to identify and address these challenges. Blurred lines in terms of the concepts of vulnerability, radicalisation and intervention are negatively affected by the overcomplicated Greek policies.

It was evident that teachers in Greece place the safeguarding task of their role as the main pillar to address this alarming phenomenon and thus balance could be workable. Thus, their straightforward responses to deal with the right-wing extremist threat in the name of safeguarding the well-being of their students goes clearly together will the other aspects of their professional role and balancing different tasks seems a realistic duty. However, other participants indicated that this is a delicate process as far as helping students to avoid being drawn from extreme right-wing ideology is concerned, since discussion on party selection in schools is not allowed. This was justified in the sense that these issues are prominently political. Nevertheless, they recognise that the balance can be achieved without risking their professionalism by promoting in practice the value of equality, democracy and cooperation.

In continuation with the above, the welfare state associates the idea of 'Big Society' with the role and degree of responsibility of citizens (Bassel et al., 2021). Therefore, the devolution of power from central bodies to local authorities and the encouragement of individuals to participate in solving problems by taking responsibility for addressing concerns within societal fabric constitute issues of primary importance in academia and policies. In the context of global counterextremism initiatives, the multi-sectorial security task has been reformulated as one in which educational systems are given a leading role in preventing young people from radicalisation and violent extremism (Sjøen and Jore, 2019). Especially within security apparatus, as the one in the UK, where public sector staff is legally bound with a duty to deal with the alarming phenomenon of extremism and radicalisation that might lead to terrorism, an emerging body of research explores the complex real-world balance teachers strike, and the moral quandaries they experience, when negotiating the duty (Elwick and Jerome, 2019; Faure-Walker, 2019; Vincent, 2019a).

Problematisation on the aspects of complicity and the concepts of agency and resistance with reference to Prevent duty in classrooms occupies much of the literature (Winter et al., 2022). Kearns et al. (2021) argue that public judgments of extremism (and terrorism) are not corresponding to reality. Normalising social control and surveillance has leaded to a preemptive swift in counterextremism and counterterrorism with a turn towards pre-crime security governance (Ellefsen, 2021). In connection with the above and in the context of preempting policies to tackle the extremist threat, Edwards (2021) emphasises that the umbrella framework for bridging Prevent duty with professional practice is safeguarding, meaning that its priority is to protect students from being drawn to extremist and later terrorist acts. The nature of responsibilities meanings associated with safeguarding, as the identification of victims and abusers, the intervention to protect victims and the empowerment of victims to protect themselves, are used to justify and explain the logic of Prevent duty, as pointed out by Edwards (2021). However, in the name of safeguarding, the assumptions it embodies go unexamined (Edwards, 2021). Heath-Kelly and Strausz (2019) stress that more coercive and political requirements lead the practice of safeguarding to be influenced by the assumptions of the surveillance assemblage. The Prevent duty expands these surveillant assumptions much further and can be considered as a departure from -or instrumentalisation of- safeguarding ideas and routines (Coppock and McGovern, 2014: 252).

Another crucial consideration in the literature with regards to the questioning nature of security apparatus as coupled with the Prevent duty in the UK, the 'architect' initiative in the context of counterradicalisation and counterextremism strategies is connected to the social capital framework in the implementation of the duty and the role played by informal relationships relative to the identification, referral and support of those students considered to be 'at risk of radicalisation' or 'being drawn into terrorism'. Lakhani (2020) study reveals that Prevent is not evenly distributed in terms of training, in-depth awareness, and knowledge. Findings from this research indicate that educators who maintained and engaged in informal relationships, both internally within educational institutions and externally with public-sector authorities, felt more confident in the implementation of the duty. Lakhani (2020) argues that even though the Prevent duty is a statutory requirement with formal processes providing guidance for action, the framework-at least within schools and colleges- seems flexible enough for those tasked with its implementation to enact agency.

The interest in Lakhani's (2020) research on the social capital in the enactment of the Prevent duty is concentrated on the possible contradictions more than likely related to participants in the above study being anxious about both missing opportunities to safeguard students and being stigmatised as well. Thus, analysis on social capital, informal networking, and agency (Elwick and Jerome, 2019; Jerome et al., 2019), social capital, and informal networks are being considered as crucial factors within this broad spectrum of debate. In the real world, problems are often solved by humans using informal social procedures. Apart from potentially influencing levels of erroneous referrals, this could also impact levels of trust and confidence in the implementation of the duty (Lakhani, 2020).

Discussion on the findings of my research deciphered teachers' preference in dealing with the issues connected to right-wing extremism and problems arisen within schools by enforcing internal consultation of the school teachers. Building on the previous work of Lakhani (2020) and Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023), findings of my actual research indicated that in Greece teachers prefer to solve these problems within internal procedures as they know the community better. Thus, school environments in Greece seem to value more positively the nature of being a community in dealing with challenges and possible threats. They encourage the character of a community that promotes internal dialogue, cooperation and empathy. In this way, they consider that addressing any point of concern in the sense of a community that cares for every member of its whole could more impactfully and positively solve these problems.

Furthermore, apart from the above suggestions on the positive effect of social capital, networking and informal relationships, as indicated in the literature review, teachers who are generally reluctant to rely solely on therapeutic approaches are sceptical about the developing educational focus on individual vulnerability. Sjøen and Mattsson (2020) highlight that educators support the view that focusing on individual vulnerability could potentially obstruct primary educational functions. Instead, they put more emphasis on their role ascribed to the educational goal of helping students become independent subjects, fellow human beings and participating citizens. Later, Sjøen and Mattsson (2023) emphasise education is linked to the reinforcement of social cohesion and mobility choices while diminishing social grievances.

In this direction, Davies (2008) points out that the promising role of education as a peacebuilding environment places schools as a valuable pillar in helping students to develop political orientations and behaviours in encouraging the realisation of peace and the application of Human Rights in everyday school

life. In the course of my study, the possibility of a stricter agenda, similar to the one implemented in the UK and the Prevent duty, in order to identify and address the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within Greek schools, was envisaged with scepticism from participants, whilst the vast majority of teachers consider that it could have the opposite results, by triggering reactions from students.

These findings are in line with the Sjøen and Mattsson's (2023) conclusion that the amalgamating security and education create a number of problems and anxieties. School environments, as analysed above, could ground the peacebuilding functions of education by schools being materialised as mechanisms for the prevention of violence and rivalries and governmental bodies can easily take advantage of this character of education via the implementation of their agendas. Thus, school programmes can work as an instrument to familiarise students with violence, nationalistic beliefs and propagandism. Davies (2008) exposes the complicated relationship between security governance and schooling and historical references confirm that many educational structures have been instrumentalised through oppressive political powers. Academics worldwide have summoned the pressure securitisation of education entails, given that currently and at an international level teachers are being called to judge students' perceptions and beliefs through the lens of a security agenda and carry these ideas out in their safeguarding everyday routines (Aly et al., 2014; Busher et al., 2017; Gearon, 2015; Mattsson, 2018, cited in Sjøen and Mattsson, 2023).

More explicitly, the majority of teachers participating in my research keep a distance from the application of more securitising agendas in Greek schools. In addition, they analysed the potentiality of a stricter mechanism as the 'long hand' of the government in applying practices in the form of a 'Big Brother' surveillance scheme. Thus, a stricter policy for tackling the phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek schools was conceptualised by participants in my study through the prism of interconnections between techniques and rationalities of government, as explored in Foucault's work (Foucault, 2007; 2008; Triantafillou, 2022). They expressed their problematisation around what Dean (1997) observes when emphasising that citizens are turned into 'multiply responsibilised' subjects concerning self-policing. Aradau and Van Munster (2007) argue that we are expected to both monitor our own behaviours and detect signs of risk in others. Accordingly, participants in my study realised that introducing a more securitised policy for tackling right-wing extremism in Greek schools would serve the same purposes. Thus, teachers pointed out that the mandatory character of a stricter agenda could cause more anxiety or embarrassment

to teachers to comply with the requirements and at the same time it could harm the relationship of trust between teachers and students. Consequently, the dynamics of 'power relationships' on governmental subjects, as analysed in the literature review, could traumatise trust between educators and young people with negative impact on dealing with right-wing extremism (Foucault, 2007; 2008; Taylor et al., 2021). Furthermore, scholars support the view that counterextremism ambitions should be excluded from the educational sphere by taking into account the ways in which security control in school environments could result in the normalisation of suspicion and fear aiming at students who are considered vulnerable to extremism (O'Donnell, 2017). Empiric studies point out the approach of urging teachers to perform alertness control in their classrooms enhances the possibility of silencing students for fear that they are associated with terrorist ideology (O'Donnell, 2017; 2018). This adds to the risk of a potential recontextualisation of security governance that may cause harmful and exclusionary practices by urging school staff to profile and report students to authorities. Consequently, by securitising education risks normalising fear culture in school environment. On the contrary, trust can efficiently be used to reduce or prevent the surface of such fear (Sjøen, 2024). In that direction, it is worth mentioning that teachers have also indicated that a stricter agenda could change the ways students express their affinity to extreme right ideology and hide the adoption of these dogmata with counter-productive results in the effectiveness of detecting youth drawn into right-wing extremities.

Consequently, in Greek structures, the implementation of an agenda of fear in the name of security not only could trespass the relationship of trust developed between teachers and students but also it could motivate students vulnerable to radicalisation related to right-wing extremism to find more sophisticated ways to be faithful to this ideology without alarming the teaching community. In this case, the task of identifying and dealing with this alarming threat could be more challenging, as teachers do not have the professional background and knowledge to delve into issues that are referred to security concerns up to this level of complexity. As already mentioned above in the section on visibility of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools, teachers have already come across more sophisticated and normalised expressions of the right-wing ideology among students, who like to emphasise their preference for nationalistic views without their teachers being alarmed. Indicatively, teachers have mentioned that the signs of the GD and swastikas have been replaced with meanders and Greek flags. Therefore, the risk of

the continuation of this dogma among students within the schools settings situated at the ends of patriotism and nationalism and the extreme right will render teachers puzzled and the fight against right-wing extremism will be buried in quicksand.

Subsequently, the role of the state in the fight against right-wing extremism within the educational environment has been indicated and explored in the course of my research. As analysed in Chapter II, in many countries and with the UK leading the way, school staff have found themselves directly responsible not only with regards to the academic progress of their students but also with their involvement with radical attitudes and dogmata. Recent extremism and terrorist acts have brought massive policy changes in order to reduce the posed threat to society by extremist ensembles and more precisely through the identification of youth at risk of radicalisation by employing primary prevention agendas, where actions are taken to avoid radicalisation before it occurs and intervene at the earliest possible opportunity (Taylor and Soni, 2017).

My fieldwork findings confirmed that there were cases where educators are afraid to energetically take action and deal with the bureaucratic "monster" of the Greek system because they think that in the end they will find themselves accused of their intervention, or even being sued from parents or official bodies representatives. My research deciphered the unfunctional mechanisms of the educational structures to identify and deal with the phenomenon of extremism in all its forms and ideological foundations, which is lost in an overregulated system ('polynomia') without practical focused responses and guidance on these issues. Controversial topics and main challenges of violent extremism in the country are diverse and complicated. Thus, the unclear, inflexible and confusing form of Greek education policy creates additional stress for teachers on how to handle such situations.

Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) argued that participants in their study found that only by cooperating with educators could anyone manage to address the existing challenges as existing mechanisms do not suffice, and teachers are not properly trained to make use of them. Their research sheds light on the unfunctional distance of the Greek educational structure with the everyday life and challenges of educators and Heads of schools. It seems that it is not a source of confidence and comfort to manage the alarming phenomenon of extremism in school but rather is a source of additional anxiety. Their findings in accordance with their desk study unveiled the absence of materials, tools and training courses focusing on the prevention and

countering of radicalisation and polarisation. Indeed, findings from this qualitative study, which is focused on right-wing extremism support the lack of tangible and straightforward policies for supporting teachers to identify and combat right-wing extremism, which leaves teachers alone to deal with the phenomenon.

My research findings outlined that lack of support for schools even at the infrastructural level. Characteristically, teachers pointed out that, in many schools, libraries are absent and there is no governmental budget to support the needs of schools in relation to activities that could prevent students from being drawn into right-wing extremism, such as theatrical plays. They specifically referred to the responsibility of the state not only to form agendas and issue guidance. Kougias and Efstathopoulos (2020) argued that the Greek educational realm is characterised by stability, which derives not from its effective functioning but from a plethora of complicated dense laws and the typist rules that follows it. This is the reason why teachers in my study insisted on the responsibility of the state to provide educational communities with tools to deal with these alarming phenomena and not only the production of official materials that are surely essential. Nevertheless, exhausting the state's responsibility at the bureaucratic level is not sufficient way to deal with this phenomenon. Providing teachers with the tools that support them more tangibly, directly and effectively to deal with everyday challenges could benefit any effort directed to combat the alarming threat of right-wing extremism.

Teachers participating in my study recognised that the state may intentionally not be willing to deal with this phenomenon and promote the building of thinking citizens and this may be the reason why Social Sciences, a pillar course subject in the school curriculum, has been extracted in the last years. The above contradiction reveals that, at the time when scholars delve into the spectrum of the state's role and responsibility in the structuring of agendas that are introduced to deal with the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism, especially within the education sector, and in cases, as in the UK, in the implementation of securitised policies, in Greece, the research of Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) emphasises the need for more support by the respective Ministry and the state to deal with extremism, as expressed by educators. The role of the state in dealing with these phenomena should be directed in providing the educational community with the tools and mechanisms needed to conceptualise and deal with this alarming threat.

Whilst in the UK, for example, concerns are more associated with the securitising nature of initiatives that mobilise public sector staff, and teachers, in the fight against extremism and terrorism, in Greece, as Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020) clarify, there is no statutory duty assigned to frontline professionals to refer or prevent radicalisation, and civil society structures have not been given any roles in the procedures. In connection with the above, in the course of my study, one of the key issues to be investigated was teachers' perceptions and experiences of professionalism in reference to the existing approach in countering extremism within educational environments.

As already recognised from the recent study of Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) and at the time of their research, educators emphasised the need for a more concrete policy on handling discrimination and violence within schools. The Greek educational community recognises the existence of the extremism concern in the school environments; however, naming the problem and dealing with it in a targeted way seems to be still a taboo in Greek society. As mentioned above, despite the fact that teachers in Greece underline the role of education in preventing extremism, as analysed earlier in this Chapter, the vast majority of participants in my study point out that there is no specific agenda, nor seminars of training addressing right-wing extremism within schools.

The paradox of the above is that, although teachers are willing to support students to avoid the phenomenon of right-wing extremism, official bodies, up to recently, did not provide teachers with the tools and mechanisms needed to tackle the threats posed by right-wing extremism. Consequently, the vast majority of participants in my research could not evaluate a policy that does not exist. Some participants characterised the existing framework and training as linked to the curriculum and the presence of Humanities courses in it as insufficient or moderate. In addition, one participant evaluated the existing policy as negative. The absence of a straightforward policy addressing right-wing extremism within Greek schools revealed the contradictions and differences around official guidance. I was surprised to realise that while the vast majority of educators recognised that there is no official guidance on the issue of right-wing extremism in schools, some participants admit that there is supporting material and guidance. This showcases that the delivery of guidance from the official bodies, such as the Ministry of Education, if any, should be materialised straightforwardly in order for all teachers to engage in its application process.

IV.3. Resilience.

IV.3.i. Introduction.

In this final section of my data analysis and discussion, the concept of resilience, as understood and experienced in Greek schools, is deciphered. I have identified **resilience** as the third theme derived from my research. In my study, resilience -as a concept- refers to the ways the educational community could provide students with the necessary tools to refrain from right-wing ideology. Thus, after the two above-analysed themes, which explored what right-wing extremism in Greek schools means and who is responsible for dealing with this phenomenon, this last theme of my ethnography builds on **active citizenship, democracy in practice and a student-centred pedagogy** to help students being resilient against radicalisation related to the right-wing extremism threat. Thus, this section answers my last research question, as it deals with the recommended ways to protect students from right-wing extremism effectively. More explicitly, participants in my research first and foremost highlight the need for more information and knowledge to fully synthesise the meaning and necessity of being informed citizens who participate in social structures and avoid extremities and the danger of polarisation. In addition, they emphasise the need for the reinforcement of the ideal of democracy and the promotion of the institution of school communities of students within the school curriculum to help them practice the values of citizenship and realise social cohesion. Finally, they emphasise the need for a modern, student-centred pedagogy in Greek schools with an enhanced presence and action of psychologists. They point out that all the above need to be the outcome of a cooperative and simultaneous effort on behalf of all responsible actors involved.

IV.3.ii. Active citizenship.

My research revealed the concept of active citizenship as a sub-theme of resilience. From my findings emerged one of the most crucial ideas for both teachers and students, namely how citizens of today and the future could actively engage in structures, institutions and communities to build an unbiased and democratic society. Helen outlined that active citizenship is related to the transmission of knowledge not only theoretically but also practically and in every aspect of our everyday lives. She provided students with

examples of actions that are related to active citizenship, such as volunteering and respect for the environment.

These findings placed the role of active citizenship within the framework of a protective role for students, others and nature. In the fight against right-wing extremism the concept of active citizenship was not attributed to a governmental role to tackle this alarming phenomenon, as in the UK (O'Toole et al., 2016). On the contrary, active citizenship in the Greek educational community has proven to be linked with values that promote the well-being of students and society. The passage is as follows:

> *"The transmission of knowledge, the cultivation of principles and values, the adoption of attitudes, and the action on issues concerning political reality. How should we be responsible citizens? Knowledge transfer: we will give knowledge. For example, tree planting in elementary schools. Why do they do this? Because they help society and children learn the value of volunteering. That is, in this direct way, the child learns about volunteering. The child learns to cooperate and respect the environment. So, here the transmission of knowledge is done by actions, not just by theory. Another example of the value of solidarity. We need solidarity to be responsible citizens. The cultivation of principles and values starts first with the family. Then, to school."* (Fieldnotes, School 10)

Furthermore, Michelle placed active citizenship in the fight against right-wing extremism and the building of resilience as the concentration of these qualities that would render students capable of tackling this alarming phenomenon. She specifically referred to the social and educational background to reject racist and fascist ideology of the extreme right. She also emphasised the value of the elections procedure as the capstone of democracy. Engagement with the electoral process -even within the course of the school life- would enhance the positive impact of active citizenship in schools:

> *"Reference to the historical events of the time of the rise of Nazism after the stock market crash in America. Parallelism with today. And today, there is a crisis, unemployment, homeless people, and war. Because when there is an economic crisis, people turn to these ideas. Do we have the social, educational and other background to resist? The conditions in which we live should not necessarily fix us. It may be that suffocating conditions make us assume our responsibility towards history."* (Fieldnotes, School 11)

> "*The election process: every citizen's vote has the same value. Either one is a University professor or has not finished university, but only school. The democratic way of life is experienced from childhood. .Supreme obligation towards ourselves. Another characteristic of democracy is peace.*" (Fieldnotes, School 11)

In connection with the above, Colette connected active citizenship with political consciousness and the vital contribution of school in the building of the concept of this active citizenship in the fight against right-wing extremism:

> *"The role of the school is catalytic in shaping political consciousness. It differs from party identity. Political consciousness as an active member of a society. Therefore, we need to think with social, individual and political criteria to have a spherical view."*
> (Fieldnotes, School 13)

Vicky explained to students that in order for them to understand what is happening around the globe, students should familiarise themselves with the historical, social and mental elements of our society and people who live here: *"We have to understand what is happening, the historical, social and mental elements."* (Fieldnotes, School 8)

Furthermore, teachers emphasised the necessity of building resilience by enhancing the concept of active and democratic citizens within schools. But in what sense? Instead of promoting a suppressing mechanism, teachers in my study argued that it would be more beneficial for students and wider society to build on preventive mechanisms with positive context based on the values of democracy, respect and inclusivity. Humanities courses, as analysed in the previous sections, should also being emphasised in the school curriculum as their agenda is closely related to these issues. Participants argued that Human Rights act a catalyst concept in the practical promotion of active citizenship and democracy, as analysed in the next section.

This is the reason why Vicky paid special attention to the significance of values of respect, acceptance and freedom, equality and solidarity, given that this is the only course in state secondary school directly connected to these issues. Even though the school book exhausts the theme of Human Rights in only one chapter, teachers recognise that students, just before adulthood, should be informed and problematise more on Human Rights. Thus, they will be able to healthy socialise and be involved in society. More specifically, Vicky emphasised the need to promote respect for Human Rights no matter what the characteristics of people in terms of race, nationality, gender, religion or social status. She explained to students that Human Rights are the core concept of development. Then, there was discussion on how students wanted to build society. Vicky's educational approach to present and discuss with students the crucial role of Human Rights in everyday life was an effective way to provide students with the essentials tools to reject racist and fascist right-wing ideology opposed to Human Rights. Thus, students would be shield against the racist ideology of right-wing extremism (Carter, 2018; Mudde, 1995). The passage is as follows:

"[The educational subject insists on explaining to children respect for Human Rights]. *Human Rights are the basis for developing things. Equal rights regardless of gender, religion, race, or colour; regardless of whether someone is a politician or a citizen; regardless of sexual preference. Human Rights are acquired and unquestioned. We should not question Human Rights but understand how we conquered Human Rights.* [The educational subject asks the children how they want society. A question for reflection]" (Fieldnotes, School 8)

Holly further pointed out that the active citizenship concept should have a Social Science background and not a purely technocratic one. Holly's observation on the formation of the active citizenship concept should have a humanitarian character. Her statement linked resilience to right-wing extremism on a pedagogical basis and not a securitised one as Waever's (1995) work presents:

"*The children do not know in the first place what value means. They do not know what values are. They are not taught values either from the family or from school. For the child to be honest and not lie. This is no longer taught either at home or anywhere else. Education systems should not be purely technocratic or impart dry knowledge.... All that they already applied twenty years ago, the Americans and the Europeans saw that technocratic education led nowhere, and they have reoriented the content of their education towards a humanitarian character. Because otherwise*, [society] *does not progress. Children don't learn about values. They don't know what being good means, what being bad means, and what being honest means. Nowadays, being honest is considered equal to being stupid. He/she is considered to be a fool. We now read the newspaper upside down.*" (Holly)

Donna built in the opinion expressed by Holly and admitted that the delivery of Human Rights is inadequate due to restrictions on material and timetable. She also emphasised that the valuable Human Rights lesson in the fight against right-wing extremism should acquire a more experimental and experiential character for Human Rights to be impressed into students' internal mechanisms cognitively and behaviourally. Below is the relevant statement:

"*There is a chapter on Human Rights, which is just a chapter. Human Rights cannot be taught in just five teaching hours. Their teaching is essentially experiential. If I can't do it experientially, at that time, the chapter per se doesn't mean anything to them* [the children]; *to start telling them "blah blah" about Human Rights does not mean anything to students. I have to show them Human Rights in practice. This is how I believe Human Rights should be taught; in general, this is how my teaching method is structured.*" (Donna)

In direct reference to Donna's saying was Sophie's perception of how Human Rights were and should be delivered within the classroom. Teaching of Human Rights and citizenship is fulfilled in a theoretical approach and does not involve connecting activities, such as school boards and communities, in order for

students to experience Human Rights empirically and realise the meaning of active citizenship or democracy, as analysed in the following sub-section. She specifically mentioned:

> "*In theory, we do. That is to say, in our book, we have a chapter on Children's Rights and a chapter on the Rights of the disabled. Theoretically, they exist. However, it is what we were saying before, it needs a bit of an experiential approach to these issues. In addition, the book material, the cognitive part needs to be connected with current reality and the ways Human Rights of these social categories are defended, ensured or violated in the specific Greek society we live in or worldwide, meaning that it needs to bring examples from the reality.*" (Sophie)

In addition, Michelle outlined that the school curriculum has excluded most of the courses in Social Sciences courses and thus there is no sufficient time or material to help students understand the meaning of Human Rights. Students should familiarise themselves with Human Rights to build resilience against extreme right-wing ideology that promotes division (Pelinka, 2018; Wodak 2019; 2020). She continued with the constructive experience of being a 'role model' to students. Thus, with her personal stance and open dialogue within the classroom explored Human Rights within the classroom for children to understand their significance and assimilate their core concepts. The following statements showcase the above:

> "*There is no course subject other than Political Education. Moreover, this is only for two hours. It is a blow to the teaching of Humanities. It is not enough at all. In addition, the teaching material prescribed by the Ministry of Education is not even exhausted. Nevertheless, within this limited time frame, I try to present Human Rights to students and sensitise them beyond the school programme about these. I do this with a personal attitude, with discussion, with dialogue, with every opportunity given.*" (Michelle)

However, three teachers found the representation of Human Rights in the school programme adequate to address the concerning threat of right-wing extremism. Anna specifically considered that Human Rights were effectively delivered and the concepts of identity, perception of the individual and otherness were well presented within the school curriculum. Her area of expertise provided her with the opportunity to discuss racism and multiculturalism, and thus help students comprehend the meaning of multiculturalism and reject extreme-right ideology. Her statement is as follows:

> "*Yes, I think so. And in the language class, of course, where there is a unit on Human Rights, we deal with them extensively. Also, in the 2nd* [grade of] *Lyceum, there is school material on racism and multiculturalism. Many things happen there.*" (Anna)

To continue, Vicky showcased that active citizenship has also been a matter of wider communities and societies to recognise and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. More precisely, she

mentioned that municipalities, for example, could maximise the schools efforts to deal with right-wing extremism by organising events, providing schools with the infrastructure to support students with activities, such as seminars, that would boost their knowledge of what extreme right ideology entails or organise sport events that would promote sharing and social engagement of students. The photo below and quotation are referred to this:

Photograph 14: This photo shows creative work on a box of the Telecommunications Organisation of Greece

"*A box from the Telecommunications Organisation of Greece, which is from a Municipality's workshop, a painting workshop. "HOLDING ON TO DREAMS". It shows a man flying over the city with balloons. Here, I think that even municipalities can help if they want to. Everyone should be involved in this process because otherwise, the process* [of protecting children against right-wing extremism] *does not move quickly or in the right way. It needs participation. The school, which is also a socialising agency, needs the assistance of other agencies to function smoothly. This, I think, we need to pay attention to. This is why I took a photo of it, to point out the role of municipalities.*" (Vicky)

Moreover, Emma emphasised the meaning of collective actions in relation to active citizenship. More precisely, she pointed out that being an indifferent member of society will negatively affect social structures, and thus taking actions about social problems should be emphasised. In addition, collective activities could provide students with an opportunity to socialise and thus not to be drawn into right-wing extremism dogma. The photo and passage are as follows:

Photograph 15: This photo shows a May Day gathering

> "*A May Day gathering. Let's say, the working class. It has to do with making children aware of what it means to be a citizen. One, who participates and participates in gatherings in the streets. One who does not only stay at work or in the office.*" (Emma)

Human Rights and values have been identified as the main components of active citizenship and the building of resilience against right-wing extremism. However, it has also been indicated that there is a contradiction concerning the efficient and adequate delivery of Human Rights within school curricula in the direction of reinforcing the idea of active citizenship.

IV.3.iii. Democracy in practice.

Joanna referred to the Hellenic Parliament as the main symbol of democracy. It symbolises freedom. At the same time it demarcates what we call healthy citizenship and democracy in practice. This, as Joanna stated, also means the avoidance of polarisation of both far-right and far-left angles. Joanna also emphasised the democratic procedures within schools in order to address issues relating to extremism.

She then highlighted that school curricula paid particular attention to cultural programmes, dialogue, respect and acceptance to deal with complicated phenomena, such as the radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. Her approach has been found more attuned to what Ben-Porath (2023) argues, as the response

to anxieties around extremism in schools or about students, who might be prone to radicalisation, is based on educational principles and general democratic values. The photo and passage are as follows:
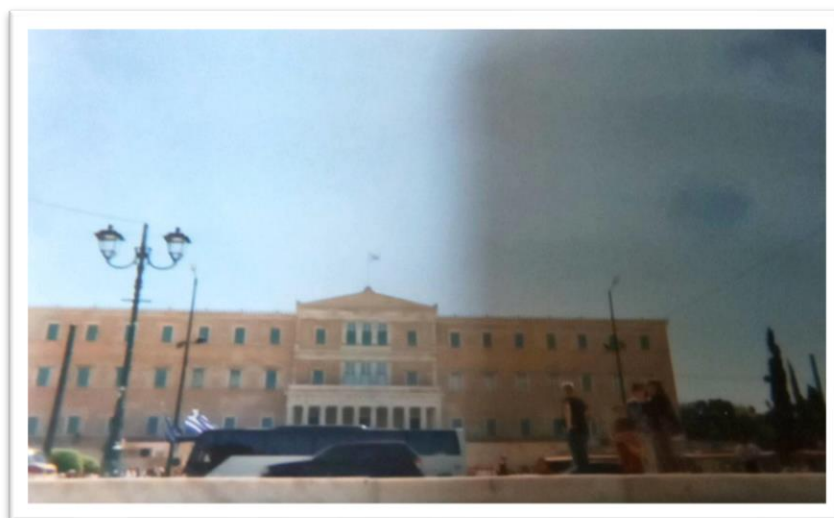
Photograph 16: This photo shows the Hellenic Parliament

"*The last photo of the Hellenic Parliament is symbolic and shows that, according to the Constitution, a space of freedom of discussion of opinions and positions exists and must exist. It shows us and the children what exactly active citizenship means, the limits within which it must exist, that is in the context of freedom. It is also a demarcation of what we call healthy citizenship. School should embrace all children, even children with extreme positions. These positions will be discussed and put forward by the children, always in an atmosphere of decency but without aggravation. This will be done within the framework of school and study programmes. If you read both, the old and the new curricula, active citizenship exists there and also the management of the extremes. What is the challenge here is how you will include children with extreme positions; how you will talk with them and respect their positions, and, at the same time, how you will be able to limit their behaviour so that it does not end up being dangerous for them, for other children and for the school itself.*" (Joanna)

Marie also recognised that democratic procedures would maximise the outcome of any educational effort to practice democracy in school. She argued that in order to help students build resilience against right-wing extremism democratic beliefs and the procedure of actual democracy should be discussed more within the classroom. Her point of view was based on the need to familiarise children with philosophers and social scientists that more readily make students understand the value of democracy.

Her perspective was also in line with the work of Ben-Porath (2023) where it is evident that the most crucial task of schools is to qualify students for their roles as citizens. The photo and passage are as follows:
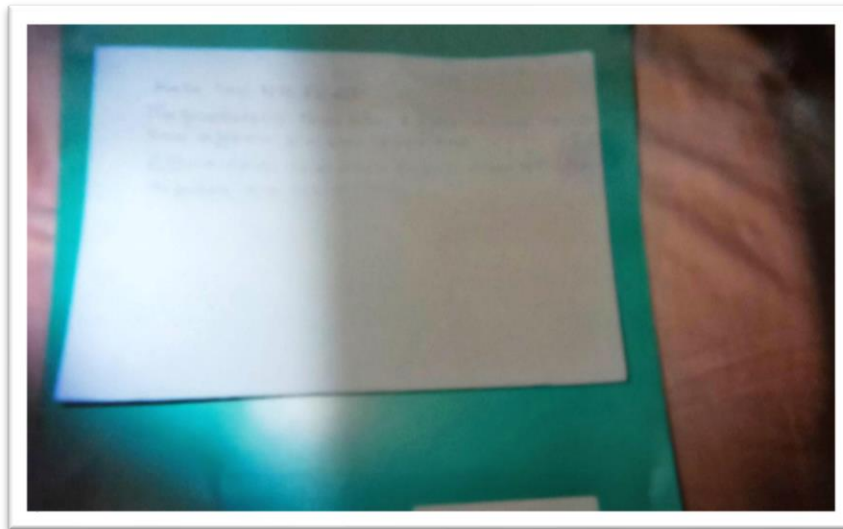
Photograph 17: This photo shows an excerpt from De Gaulle's views on patriotism and nationalism

"*Picture number one is about de Gaulle's views on patriotism and nationalism so that students can be informed about both concepts. To let them know that nationalism has a negative dimension, they love their nation, but they hate other nations, while patriotism means we put above all love for the country and we can sacrifice ourselves for it without hating the others, the different ones. I think it's a good way for students to see what they want most for themselves and their country. I aim to emphasise the characteristics of democracy more. This does not mean that they don't know them. No, they do. However, we must emphasise these in particular, meaning that we must defend the freedoms democracy gives us, Human Rights. To know what Human Rights mean.*" (Marie)

Imran and Keith emphasised that the best way to support students to reject extreme-right ideology is to enhance dialogue in schools. Dialogue could be the solution and the driving force for students and teachers to deal with any political issue of our social life. Their statements are as follows:

"*Obviously. Yes, something like that, i.e. an exchange of views. But you can't just leave it to patriotism, okay? It's also a political issue, all that.*" (Imran)

"*Yes, I believe dialogue is the solution to these problems.*" (Keith)

On the same page is Sophie's perception on consensus, dialogue and sensitivity to deal with complex phenomena that entail challenging concepts. Democracy in action should not have a strict character as it risks, instead of protecting students from right-wing extremism, having totally different results. Therefore, democracy in schools is synonymous with the formation of independent, modern citizens ready to fully participate in society. The quotation is as follows:

"*The solution is a consensus between the students and the teachers on how they could together identify and isolate such phenomena and even convince children who embrace such ideologies to change their views naturally. I don't think absolute tightening is a solution. They should change and be convinced that such opinions are not good for society. They need to become democrats, have a conscience and participate in society. They should have all these possibilities as modern citizens so they are convinced of this way of behaviour without this strict framework. This strict framework -if followed- can bring reaction and opposite results.*" (Sophie)

The above conceptualisations of democracy in practice could be based on the capacity in reflective dialogue, as analysed by Whiting et al. (2024), with a focus in "teaching resilience against black and white views and demonstrating the seductive character of a Utopian worldview, while not discouraging ideals for change" (Sieckelinck et al., 2015: 339). Creating spaces for 'open dialogue' on challenging topics such as 'ethnicity and race', where misinformation and stereotypes often prevail is one recommendation on how teachers could positively deal with the threat of extremism advancement.

Finally, Vicky suggested that sports and social activities should boost cooperation among students, who will thus have the opportunity to experience democratic procedures within realistic circumstances. Below are the photo and quotation:
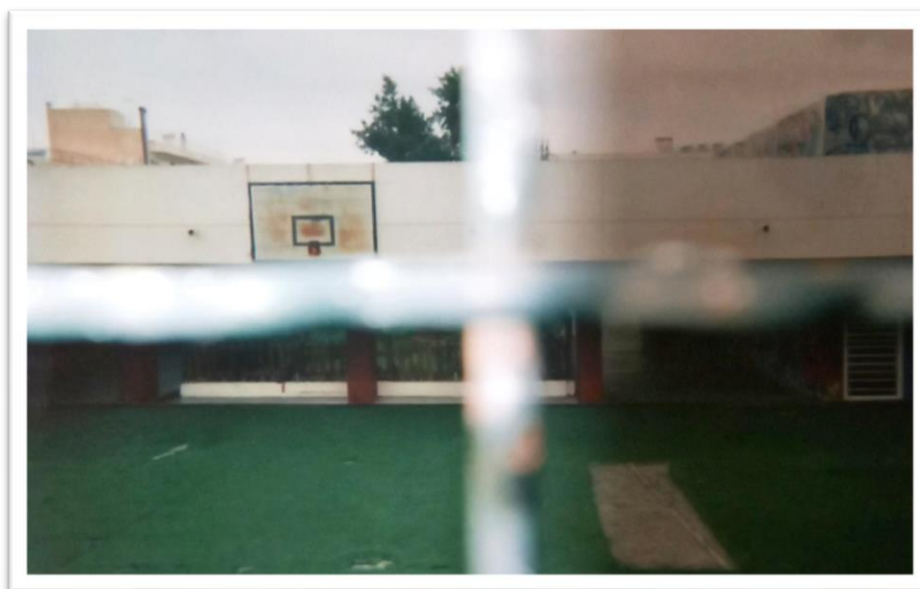
Photograph 18: This photo shows a basketball area

"*This photo pictures my opinion of sports being also a means* [to fight right-wing extremism]. *Coexistence for children. Coexistence we also see here, at school. The children play sports in the* [regional] *team. The children go out and to foreign countries, play with foreign teams, play friendly games, host people here. I mean the sports ideal is a way* [to fight right-wing extremism]. *It is one of many ways to accept whatever is different.*" (Vicky)

Furthermore, Michelle insisted on the values that education should cultivate for students. She prioritised social solidarity among people and emphasised the role of teachers to act as 'role model' to inspire social coexistence. Michelle opened a constructive dialogue with students when students have been asked to share their experiences of unequal treatment within school. The way Michelle structured her teaching provided students with the opportunity not only to learn about Human Rights but also share personal experiences. Thus, students have been shielded from right-wing ideology with the understanding and application of Human Rights. Below is the relevant quotation:

> "*What basic value should education cultivate? Social solidarity education.* [The educational subject asks the children if they have ever felt society's indifference towards social groups]. *Can school facilitate social coexistence? Can the teacher be a behavioural model at school to facilitate smooth social coexistence and inclusion?* [The educational subject asks children if they have experienced non-equal treatment at school because of their gender, race, colour, height or weight. A very interesting discussion between the educational subject and children reporting their experiences.]" (Fieldnotes, School 11)

At this point, my research revealed that, although multiculturalism has been given up in countries that have been harmed from terrorist attacks since 2001, such as the UK (O'Toole, 2022), in Greece, teachers recognise the importance of multiculturalism as a component of democracy. Joanna precisely referred to the new school curricula where techniques and updated material enhanced teachers ability to effectively problematise students with the vital role of Human Rights.

She also pointed out that Greece is no longer a country of immigrants, as happened in the 50s, when people settled all around the globe to work in factories and other business, and currently is a receiving country, given that many refugees live, work and are educated in Greek schools. This is why it is crucial to always apply a pedagogical approach that put Human Rights in the spotlight to effectively address issues related to right-wing extremism. The relevant quotation is as follows:

> "*The new curricula discuss Human Rights. The new school programmes offer techniques and methods, such as suggestions to teachers. Essentially these methods are methods of implementing Human Rights in practice. So, in this way, with the material, with the discussions, free discussions, and free dialogue stimulated from current events, which the teacher takes the opportunity to include in his/her course delivery, discussions can arise on Human Rights. For example, a stimulus from a conflict is when a student does not respect the rights of the other. There are lots of reasons in Greece, at the moment, to discuss Human Rights. An additional reason, as I said, is that we changed from a country of sending immigrants to a country of receiving immigrants. Consequently, there are issues there because things are not always easy. Thus, questions and debates on Human Rights are raised.*" (Joanna)

In continuation with the above is the artistic representation of values. Teachers highlighted the vital role of values of acceptance, inclusivity, diversity, freedom and respect as pillars of efforts to build resilience against right-wing extremism. More specifically, Sophie emphasised the importance of promoting the ideals of acceptance and equality not only for protecting the well-being of students but more urgently to prevent students from being drawn into right-wing extremism. Sophie admitted that the role of education in the assimilation of values is catalytic. Therefore, education would help students build resilience towards the alarming phenomenon of extreme right-wing ideology. Quotation and photo are as follows:

Photograph 19: This photo shows a circle of little people with different colours, races, genders and ages

"*The next photo is about cooperation and equality. They are little people sitting in a circle. The circle shows this equality and the isomeric relationship among them. There are different colours and ages. Anything could be for all people. I tried to point out that people, even in a group society not functioning, can keep their personality and individuality and they can be assimilated into it. I believe that the role of education is catalytic. If we could do more experiential activities that would bring children closer to each other. There should be cooperation, group activities, respect, and empathy. They should learn through an activity what empathy means. This is how I think things could change.*" (Sophie)

Moreover, Vicky by artistically representing ourselves or society as a snail, a home, referred to the values of diversity and coexistence, democracy and cooperation as valuable tools to deal with right-wing extremism, and which we should always have in mind (as home) to protect ourselves from the destructive extreme right ideology. The photos and relevant quotation are as follows:

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Photographs 20: This is a photo from a calendar

Photographs 21: This is a photo from a calendar. 'Justice, communication, culture, education' are some of the words written in this photo.

"*This photo is from the calendar that the "ZAPATISTS", a community issued this calendar for 2023. I liked it. It says some things that I think are relevant. This is why I took these photos. That is, they dream of a world that is made up of many worlds. The snail represents my philosophy as well. The snail carries many states and many houses. With different colours. It wants to show diversity and coexistence. That is the dream. The ideal. The next photo is from the same calendar. It talks about democracy, it talks about education, justice. They consider* [meaning this group of people who published the diary] *that to win this* [ideal]*, there should be justice, democracy, freedom and cooperation. It also touches upon the issue of work, the issue of slavery in work. Free work, communication with people, and independence. I think that these are all the values that we must not forget to deal with these racist phenomena, which we do not like and threaten social coexistence.*" (Vicky)

Furthermore, Julia outlined that empathy for people in need is a significant component of modern democracies. Empathy and inclusiveness for those who -we consider- bad physically, mentally, or those of different race, colour should be enhanced in the school community to prevent students being drawn into right-wing extremism. Empathy could beneficially help students distance from division that right-wing extremism promotes (Wodak, 2019; 2020). The following photos and passage refer to the above:
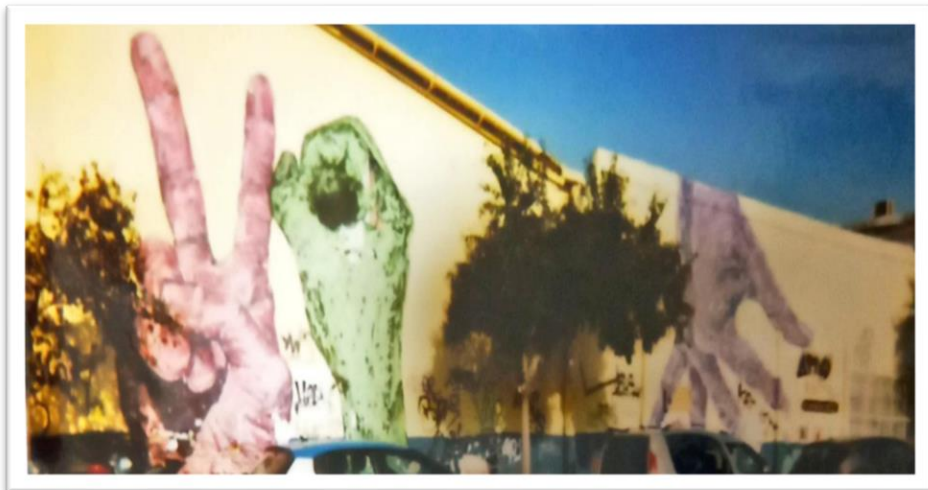
Photograph 22: This photo shows graffiti with the mark of victory in semantics
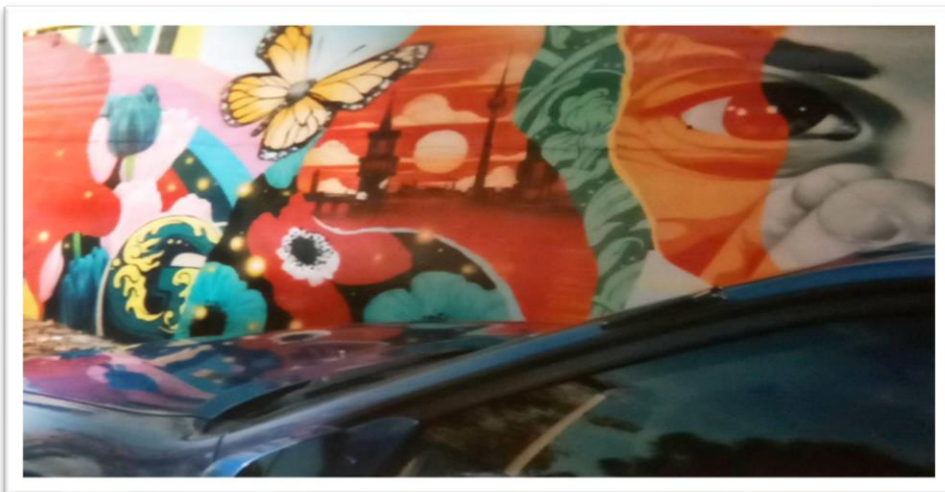
Photograph 23: This photo shows graffiti with a woman and butterflies

"I liked the ability of those people to express themselves through graffiti. In the past, they thought graffiti was done by those who were bums or not respecting the road, etc. Here we see nice graffiti. We see the butterflies, the people. She is not Greek, so is the look I took a photo of. I assume she should have been a refugee. So, we don't hate refugees. Here, semantics are expressed. I liked this graffiti. It is the mark of victory. Again, empathy for people in need. It shows we don't keep in society only people we consider to be in good physical or mental condition. We don't evaluate people to their race, colour..." (Julia)

In accordance with the above perspectives of cosmopolitanism in pedagogy, Michelle embraced the notion that students should adopt an interpretation of the world with respect to the immigrants, disabled and people in need. She tried to stimulate empathy in students' souls in order to stay away from racist and fascist ideologies. The following passage is as below:

> "*A reference to life, respect and protection of the weakest. Love for the whole world. We respect values, culture and people. Respect is something more than acceptance. We respect each other when we allow others to express themselves. Previous lives of the immigrants. When they came to Greece, were they allowed to express themselves? These are issues the Greek education system keeps quiet. Why not take advantage of all these differences? Respect for all, freedom for all. Important for tomorrow's citizens. I am a citizen of the world. This planet is my home. We are citizens of this planet.* [An excerpt from the textbook was read and the educational subject posed a question to the children. The question is if they know people from other countries, religions or places]. *How do you feel about this experience? How do you experience contact with other cultures, races, etc.? The children express their opinions. They say they know the habits, customs and traditions of Muslims, for example.*" (Fieldnotes, School 11a)

Overall, modern democracy consists of dialogue as the key component of any initiative that aims at addressing right-wing ideology. Dialogue, Human Rights and values, as also analysed in the previous section, could ensure that future citizens would have an optimistic attitude and a willingness to change the world through democratic and inclusive processes.

IV.3.iv. A student-centred pedagogy.

The need for a student-centred pedagogy characterised by modern pedagogical perspectives was emphasised by participants in my study in order to help students build resilience against right-wing extremism. The introduction of new institutions in schools, such as psychologists, to provide educational communities with tools and solutions, was considered to be in the right direction for the building of resilience against the above alarming phenomenon. To start with, Helen had a positive attitude towards the introduction of mediation in schools. This institutionalised initiative acts positively for the school community. It provides students with the possibility to manage and solve in-school conflicts via communication, empathy and equal treatment (Fresh Education, 2024). Her statement is as follows: "*There is mediation in school. It is very good practice*." (Helen). Subsequently, she emphasised that teachers to gain a more student-centred approach access to information and knowledge to deal with such sensitive

issues are required. Holding seminars and training could be positive steps in the right direction. The photo and quotation are as follows:

Photograph 24: This photo shows the front of the University

"I liked the concept of education. I think there should be education. Teachers should be trained. They should be rightly informed. Our society and the facts are changing so quickly. I consider the issue of education very important. I think we still have a way to go in this regard." (Helen)

Helen's arguments echoes Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) research outcome, when they pointed out that teachers in Greek schools feel insufficiently trained to deal with challenging and polarising issues in the classroom and the school realms. More precisely, responders in their research suggested empowerment seminars and case management trainings with the use of real-life examples, and material related to the best ways to approach students with behavioural issues. They further suggested the introduction of online counselling services for teachers, the cooperation with other actors and schools, and the exploitation of online apps to provide students with the necessary tools to confront challenges associated with extremities. Anna also referred to the newly founded institution of school advisors, who could assist teachers dealing with incidents of everyday school life, such as bullying. As analysed in my literature review in Chapter II, section 2.iv.c, this institution has recently been put into action (Artinopoulou et al., 2023). Her statement is as follows:

"The Ministry holds various meetings, sends us various films and suggests showing them to children. We do it in case we see something at school, and we all intervene together. There is also the school life advisor, which is a new institution. It was created this year

and aims at monitoring any confrontations or cases of bullying or any other issue for students." (Anna)

At this point, I should mention that, as referred to in Chapter II of my thesis (section II.2.iv.c.), as far as violence and bullying within schools are concerned, an online platform has been recently activated within schools (Newsroom Kathimerini, 2024). However, it is too soon to have a first interpretation of referrals to this new initiative since up to now only the total sum of reports has been released. Possibly this could be the starting point for the introduction of analogous measures to deal with right-wing extremism. It would also be interesting if this platform would categorise and report incidents of violence related to right-wing extremism. The present government has already announced that its efforts to combat violence in schools will take a stricter, more punitive framework with the introduction of a new bill concerning school violence. This expected legal initiative will include very strict provisions for students and parents but also for teachers who are found to be turning a blind eye to real incidents of school violence. How right-wing extremist incidents could be fit in it remains to be seen (ESOS, 2024b).

In accordance with the above statement my study put into the spotlight the fact that, in order to identify and deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within schools, psychologists should be instituted at every school. Thus, the empowerment of the concept of active citizenship and values by adopting a focused and student-centred approach with clear guidelines and dialectic and collective practices, while emphasising consensus, dialogue and empathy within schools structures and processes, could clarify the causes of this alarming phenomenon.

As analysed in my literature review in Chapter II, scholarship (Hatzichristou and Lianos, 2016) has already highlighted educators' positiveness towards school psychologists and their multidimensional role. Indeed, school psychology connects theory and research of education and counseling interventions at schools (Panteri et al., 2021). Psychologists could provide the educational community with multiple services and tasks, such as assessments, crisis management, counseling, prevention, policies evaluation and mental health programmes implementation, with a focus on the developmental stages of students in schools, families, and other actors involved (Lee and Woods, 2017).

Josephine emphasised the vital role of psychologists in schools and the need to focus on a more person-wised pedagogy in schools to build resilience. She recognised that still in many schools there is no

placement for psychologists. She continued by saying that the role of psychologists within an educational mechanism to deal with many challenging issues and right-wing extremism would maximise the effectiveness of building resilience against this alarming phenomenon. Psychologists have the scientific knowledge and expertise to help teachers and Heads of schools recognise paths to radicalisation related to right-wing extremism and provide scientifically developed, targeted solutions. She precisely mentioned:

> *"In Greek reality, we are still chasing to have Greek psychologists in schools. I wish there could be something like that. Surely there should be something, there should be a mechanism. It will certainly create inhibitions for some children. Compulsion would require experiential seminars, not only a simple theoretical approach. Our fellow teachers in Greece are not familiar with such practices, we have graduated from a university with completely different directions and practices, so education is needed to be very much very focused and person-centred."* (Josephine)

Andrew also underlined the Josephine's statement by insisting in the stable presence of psychologists in schools: *"I believe that there must be structures within the school. The permanent psychologist, so to speak."* (Andrew). Paul also highlighted the need of permanent psychologists in schools to supervise and monitor mental health issues or peculiarities of the students. The presence of psychologists in schools will positively influence teachers in their duty to help students building resilience as this crucial issue has not been identified as one of pure education. More explicitly on building resilience against right-wing extremism the role of school psychologists will boost teachers' capacity to identify and deal with concerns associated with this alarming threat. Hatzichristou et al. (2020) emphasise that social justice in school environments, as a key idea in the fight against right-wing extremism in my study, could be better promoted via the crucial contribution of school psychologists. They argue that values such as respect, equality and justice should be core elements of school psychologists' service delivery, especially towards vulnerable and at-risk students. and adapt to the different needs of social actors involved in school communities everyday life. Paul admitted that psychologists could assist students and teachers recognise the grey zones of normalised extreme right-wing ideology:

> *"In any case, there is no psychological support in schools provided by the Ministry. Although -every school year- they say that something like this will happen, it has not happened yet. What we do, the schools, again in the context of actions, is to try to inform the students about mental health issues, issues that are related to violence, and bullying. So, in these ways, we try to introduce the children to these concepts and, as much as we can, to problematise and educate them. All this is done within the framework of actions. There is no systematic coverage of school units by the State, so we have permanent supervision of mental health behaviours or peculiarities of children."* (Paul)

This is in line with recent research on the role of psychologists in schools (Hatzichristou et al., 2020). Enhancing emotional and social competencies and resilience at the individual and community levels, advancing systemic changes and strengths, and advocating and allocating resources to schools and their larger communities to deal with challenging and polarising issues would maximise students' adaptability and avoidance of extremist behaviours. A positive move in enhancing the role of psychologists in Greek schools is its increased placement number for the school year 2024-2025 in comparison to previous school years (Artinopoulou et al., 2023). In addition, a positive step was institutionalising that the first communication of students with psychologists in schools can take place without parental consent (Alfavita Newsroom, 2023).

To continue, apart from the institutional solutions to help Greek schools acquire a modern student-centred form, which will help students deal with the challenging issues and concerns of contemporary societies, such as right-wing extremism, participants in my study conceptualised the student-centred pedagogical approach from a cosmopolitan angle. Thus, they pointed out that, to help students build their identity (the new Greekness) away from right-wing extremism dogmata, teachers and schools should promote a more inclusive and multicultural education, which would smoothly assimilate students of other nationalities in Greek schools and protect students well-being from extremist views with tangible actions. Therefore, participants in my study proposed that activities that engage with art and contact with nature will boost the student-centred pedagogy effectiveness, as they will focus on students' well-being.

More specifically, Julia supported the view that a cosmopolitan identity could be understood and adopted through contact with art, theatre and visits to museums. She pointed out that artistic activities could provide students with the opportunity to adopt a cosmopolitan identity. Theatre, as Julia analysed in the course of my study, is an artistic procedure that provides students with the opportunity to open their horizons, socialise and have empathy but also problematise on timely problems of our times. However, she emphasised that unfortunately many schools do not have access to theatre. Julia also pointed out that students are thirsty for such social activities that strike a chord inside them and present them multiple realities and interpretations of the world. This is the reason why she pointed out that all social actors involved in dealing with tackling right-wing extremism, namely the school, the family and the state should

prioritise the engagement of students with art in order to gain a holistic understanding of what happens around us and become citizens of the world. Photos and quotations are as follows:

Photograph 25: This photo shows a theatrical play

"*I consider theatre to be a great form of art. One of the greatest. So, what does society give as an incentive for students to go to the theatre? I have to organise a visit to a theatre for students, bearing in mind that, since we are in a poor area, many children will not have the opportunity to pay for the ticket. Shouldn't the Ministry have funds or other help* [to cover the cost of these activities]? *The culture of a democratic and healthy person. Theatre is an art form that has an immediacy. What actions of reading groups are happening in schools? Is there a library? We do not have any. Nothing is happening.*" (Julia)
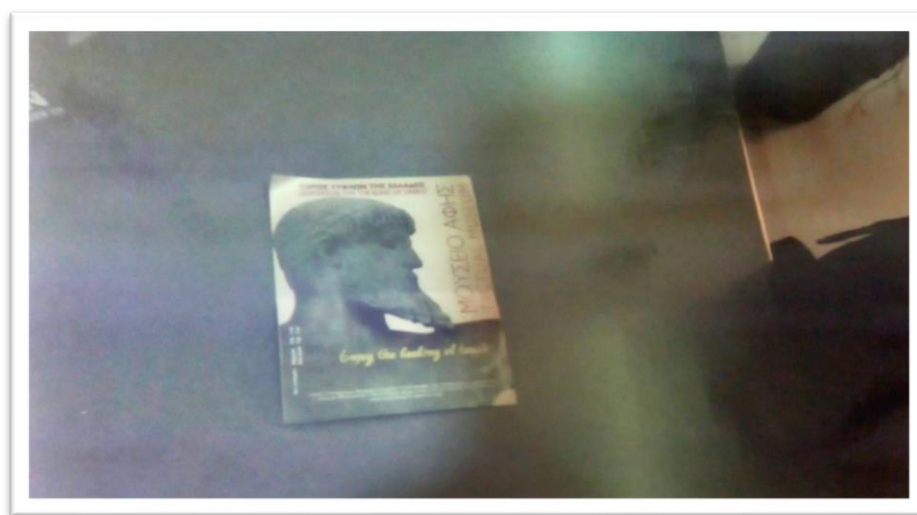
Photograph 26: This photo shows a leaflet from the 'AFIS MUSEUM'

"*We move on to the next one* [from the AFIS MUSEUM]. *It hosts a collection of plaster statues, which are exact replicas. When visiting the museum, they close your eyes and try to make you understand through the touch of the statues. Again, I will return to school and the family. For example, the theatre may be expensive, paying ten, twelve, or fifteen euros for a family. But a family can visit the AFIS MUSEUM, where the*

entrance fee is only 3 euros. It's not just about school. It's also about family responsibility." (Julia)

Beatrice also identified the crucial role of art in the fight against right-wing extremism since several theatrical plays deal with the threat of right-wing extremism and thus could support teachers in their effort to explain and decode the challenging ideas its dogma entails. Photos and quotation are as follows:

Photograph 27: This photo also shows a theatrical play

"There is a representation of the phenomenon of the extreme right in Art for, in every way, condemning it. They are theatrical plays, "The Turing Machine" and "The Visitor". The "Turing's Machine" is about a man who became isolated despite his intelligence and contributions to science. Again, the other one is dealing with a man of science, Freud, who faced Nazism outside his door. This theatrical play refers to how he perceived it. And how he tried to deal with it. Again, this shows the extremes. Of course, it shows how extreme figures, such as soldiers, were at that time. Therefore, this is more about how Art tries, through performances, to oppose this [phenomenon]." (Beatrice)

Participants arguments on the beneficial role of art in helping students build resilience against right-wing extremism is in line with El Difraoui (2023) work. His research highlighted the promotion of critical thinking, political education, self-expression, equality, Human Rights and inclusivity by creating and supporting cultural offering. Michelle also stated the power of art in tackling the alarming threat of right-wing extremism. The photo and relevant quotation are as follows:
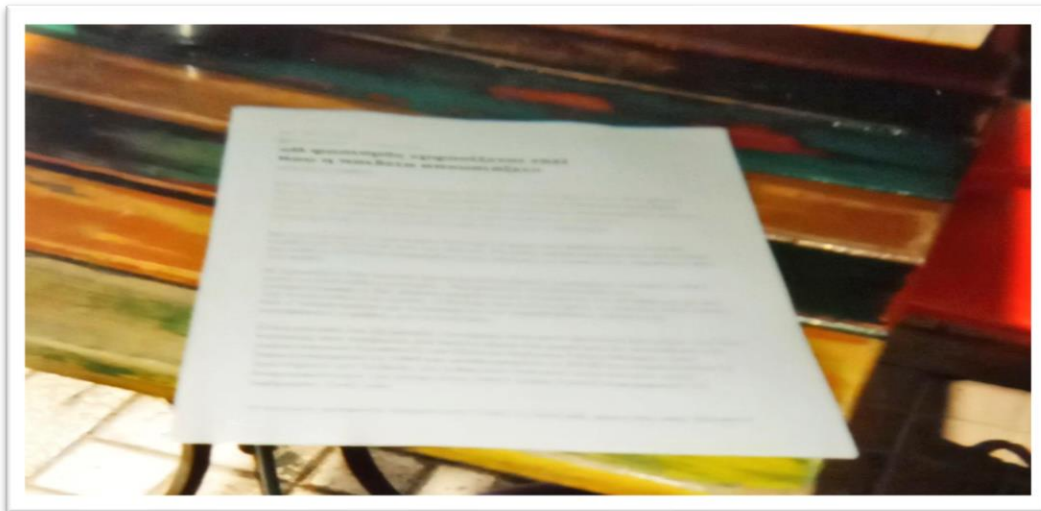
Photograph 28: This photo refers to a theatrical play

"*The second photo is about an article in the Saturday issue of the Editors' newspaper. An interview with an actress/director/writer starting in a play based on a book* [the theatrical play is entitled "A Bright Room Called Day"]. *It refers to the emergence of National Socialism in Germany and human relations. Unquestionably music, poetry, literature, and theatre sensitise. We use these with children as stimuli to advance our teaching delivery and go beyond the school textbook. The truth is formal teaching does not have the same effect on children that other media have. The children like to provide them with extra material. They feel they break away from the established, standard way of teaching.*" (Michelle)

More precisely, theatre's capacity lies in people's opportunity to observe themselves in practice (Boal, 1995: 13). Boal proposes a view of theatre that embraces the philosophical, social and political nature of humanity (Piasecka, 2019). Thus, theatre's quality in educational context (Jackson, 1993), is an opportunity for students to familiarise themselves with issues that impact on their communities and lives. Moreover, Philip put weight in the past in order for students to understand the present and build the future as a response to right-wing extremism. He also demonstrated that contact with nature could provide students with opportunities to gain a holistic understanding of the world and protect their well-being. My research showed that that contact with our routes and the past, and then natural environments could constitute a realistic possibility to deal with the threat of right-wing extremism. However, over-dealing with the past risks not to follow the most updated challenges that right-wing extremism posed especially since it tries to normalise its dark past. Modernisation of pedagogy in the context of a cosmopolitan approach could benefit the contact with the past as it could adopt a more critical eye:

Photograph 29: This photo shows a folklore museum

"*The third photo is from my visit to a folklore museum. We talk about the era of the revolution with Ali Pasha, the Turkish occupation and the Ottoman Empire as well. I took this photo for the old to remember what our ancestors fought for, and for the young to understand that some people fought for them to enjoy freedom, dignity and equality. In addition, they should think about how a country should live nowadays.*" (Philip)

Photograph 30: This photo shows a natural environment

"*These photographs* [they refer to a sum of photos of nature] *have to do with nature. These photographs refer to the humanitarian environment, in general, and the social one. I would say that the natural environment is involved in everything, enabling us to consider that whoever knows their past can interpret their future. This is the meaning of the photo.*" (Philip)

Philip's position is in line with the study of Stephens et al. (2021), who argue that there should be a move to provide students with the necessary emotional tools and resources to enable them to address the questions of their values and where they stand concerning difference, otherness and society's structure. Thus, instead of focusing on protecting children from extremist dogmata, promoting the well-being of students through

contact with nature would help young people realistically comprehend the meanings of inclusivity, respect and acceptance since the natural environment itself is inclusive. Furthermore, Vicky recognised faith a fundamental protective factor to address the threat of right-wing extremism. She referred to the sense of comfort that faith embraces and its unifying dogma in contrast to right-wing extremism ideology. Thus, this element could be included in a student-centred pedagogy that provides students with the necessary emotional help to avoid right-wing extremities. The photo and passage are as follows:

Photograph 31: This photo shows a leaflet for a foreign mission week in a church

"*Here it is in the church. I wanted to take a photo of this poster because it was foreign mission week. The church even goes abroad and receives from abroad. Even there, we can see efforts, unifying efforts. The meaning is unifying efforts. These also help. Efforts should be made without imposition. We see it works better when acting by unifying people.*" (Vicky)

Socioeconomic status could be attributed to structural economic inequalities in society. Therefore policies to address extremism and radicalisation related to this phenomenon should focus on increasing the level of social well-being and education to diminish exclusion of less affluent individuals and families (Zych and Nasaescu, 2022). In this direction the role of faith and religious organisations to help young people avoid extreme beliefs could be beneficial, as pointed out by Vicky.

Finally, Richard talked about the pedagogical value of emotion, and its worth to maximise knowledge on protective factors in the fight against right-wing extremism was emphasised. The power of emotion could positively influence students to better comprehend the meaning of democracy, Human Rights and values, as analysed above, and thus reject racist and fascist ideologies. Emotion could then been a useful tool to better practice a student-centred pedagogy. It could minimise the use of a 'wooden' pedagogical approach

that only focuses on the memorisation by repetition and enhance the emotional resilience of students towards the alarming threat of the extreme right. The following photos and passage voiced it:

Photograph 32: This photo shows the book entitled
"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM"

"*The emotion stays. On the contrary, the information does not. One can forget. How did fascism start? What is the origin of this concept? Let them visit Google and find out. However, when you sensitise them with facts, with incidents, then this emotion remains. However, for the teacher to do this knowledge and awareness are required. An educator himself/herself should be in constant struggle to identify fascistic, totalitarian views, and even behaviours in his/her own life. That is why he/she should choose reflection and transformative learning. In other words, there cannot be an educational officer choosing to address this phenomenon when delivering his/her work, without reflecting and entering the adventure of transformative learning.*" (Richard)

The above key findings constitute the core context of a cosmopolitan pedagogy, as analysed by Zembylas (2020c) and thus form an effective response to right-wing extremism. More explicitly, the work of Zembylas (2021), who reviews Adorno's educational thought on critical self-reflection as the mechanism to make social change possible. Focusing on his views on educating emotions and the tensions between democratic pedagogy and a schooling of the emotions, Adorno's contribution to the exploration of the role of emotion in the educational sphere and his recommendations on how to counter right-wing extremist and fascist ideologies could provide educators with the opportunity to create critical spaces in the classrooms, in which moral and political learning does not end as a form of sentimental manipulation. Subsequently, they will offer students a focused, modern and realistic approach to discuss and challenge right-wing extremist ideology and thus reject it.

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IV.3.v. Discussion on resilience.

In light of the above, resilience, the final theme of my ethnographic study, addresses my last research question. My findings agree with the outcomes of existing literature where protective factors to help young people restrain from right-wing extremities are emphasised. More precisely, Wimelius et al. (2023) argue that, within the area of extremism analysis, as opposed to a sole focus on risk factors and risk, resilience studies bring on the limelight the issue of protective elements. It should be noted that terrorism researchers (for example Bourbeau, 2013) argue that resilience makes itself visible before, during, and after a shock or adversity happens. In that context, community collaboration perception and capacity-building form the discussion on resilience, given that social networks and ties are recognised as essential factors. Nevertheless, the essence and the quality of the above concepts remain poorly appreciated and mapped. Davidson et al. (2016: 26) describe resilience as a "fuzzy concept" that "lacks[s] clear definition, [is] difficult to operationalise, and lack[s] clear evidence".

Resilience is evident most often in the context of formal and informal education as a preventive concept. Particularly in the UK resilience is chiefly apparent in the advice of the Department of Education in relation to the Prevent application, where it is specified that "schools and childcare providers can also build pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British Values" (Department for Education, 2015: 5). Vlaamse Regering (2015) argues that the 'young' are considered to be notably sensitive to ideologies related to extremism, given that they are getting through a period of development and identity search. However, Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020) highlight that being able to deconstruct or oppose extremist narratives does not suffice for being resilient in the face of appeals to violence. It is evident that fundamental factors, individual, psychological and life experience factors (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2008; Kruglanski et al., 2017; Simi et al., 2016), systemic or structural elements (Doosje et al., 2016), and not only ideas and dogma, which push individuals to perpetrate political violence (Coolsaet, 2016; Doosje et al., 2016; Sageman, 2017, cited in Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2020).

Scrivens et al. (2022), with their groundbreaking research on recording the voices of former right-wing extremists, identified that, beyond the household, local communities and schools could prevent vulnerable young people from engaging in violent extremist acts. Within the scope of a securitised agenda, as the one

in the UK, as well as drawing attention to children's potential vulnerability, the Department for Education's guidance to the Prevent Duty suggests "build[ing] children's resilience to radicalisation" (Department for Education, 2015: 5). Therefore, this element of the provided guidance reviews the enhancement of resilience and recommends a schema whereby this can be conceptualised in a positive light, as a form of capacity-building for citizenship (Edwards, 2021). However, as Edwards (2021) points out, although 'resilience as a shield' offers itself as a more positive, capacity-building complement to the vulnerability-focused safeguarding/surveillant dipole, its internal incoherence means that it only restates the same stigmatising, and ultimately anti-political, presumptions.

To continue, it is of primary importance to guarantee that any policy adopted is in accordance with human rights commitments all public sector workers are under (Hill, 2019). There is a fine line in the prevention in the education field when prioritising safeguarding of vulnerable students and not being instrumentalised to introduce policy-setting procedures directed to the securitisation of the education curricula, as pointed out by Sjøen and Mattsson (2023). Therefore, Davies (2016c) argues that focus on the structure of thinking could be more beneficial than targeting the content of beliefs or ideology. According to Davies (2016c), establishing networking for social change, building confidence and resilience, working within the facilitating restrictions of Human Rights and value pluralism incorporated are crucial for generating the creativity which has the ability to undermine the destructive puzzle. At the school level, the catalyst for backing the architecture of trust within society is awareness of rights. This could be materialised in the context of a mixture of sources, student activism, community work in citizenship education or posts of responsibility. Teachers likewise require confidence, specifically in programmes such as the UK Prevent agenda, which surcharges schools with the duty to prevent violent extremism. Davies (2016c) claims that education systems can provide spaces despite the fact that they may not be transformative. My study also emphasised the importance of Human Rights and values in building resilience towards right-wing extremism. Findings of my study record that teachers give special attention to the significance of respect, acceptance and human rights of freedom, equality and solidarity. Even though the school book exhausts the theme of Human Rights in only one chapter, teachers recognise that students, just before adulthood, should be informed and problematise on Human Rights to healthy socialise and engage in communities and society.

They point out that Human Rights are unquestionable. This attitude contradicts extreme-rights dogmata, which rely on white supremacy and a twisted conceptualisation of otherness.

According to participants, the building of active citizenship requires information, involvement on social events, such as discussions in conferences about political issues and social consciousness because in this way people have the opportunity to reflect on social issues, problematise and clarify these concepts. Accordingly, participants emphasise the importance of collective efforts to help students build resilience against right-wing extremism with the active involvement of local communities and municipalities. Thus, teachers point out the responsibility of municipalities to reinforce efforts made by schools and support them more energetically in their role. An effective response to the extreme right actions in a local context requires concerted efforts from a range of stakeholders. The more extreme right actions are connected to specific local issues, the more crucial is an active response from local actors (Peucker et al., 2020). Thus, collective initiatives could boost the effectiveness of the efforts made against right-wing extremism. Collectiveness in the efforts to deal with this alarming phenomenon would enhance the efficiency of agendas adopted.

At this point, it should be pointed out that, as Scrivens et al. (2022) support, it is vital that school and community settings, wherein schools and, by extension, the local communities must be one of inclusivity – individuals, even if they maintain radical beliefs that are counter to the mainstream, should not be judged, otherwise they may be pushed further into violent extremist acts. In light of all the above, the concept of community building in schools to tackle right-wing extremism is emphasised in my study. The concept of being part of the school community that, apart from teaching activities, is stimulated by artistic, athletic, social and political actions and is organised on the basis of reinforcing the ideal of the 'social being' could maximise the positive results of initiatives against right-wing extremism. Community, as a concept, is already exercised by teachers in Greek secondary schools (Lyceums). This research indicates that the idea of a community should be strengthened, practised and directed to the full engagement of all students in activities that will advocate dialogue, sharing of experiences and problematisation, but also joy a healthy attitude towards themselves and others. Thus, the concept of community by nature would highlight the values of respect, equality, freedom and empathy. All the above-proposed activities, such as the integration of more artistic programmes and activities that enhance close connection with natural environments will

provide students with the opportunity to reject stereotypical and right-wing extremism dogmata and exercise democracy in a realistic structure and with cosmopolitan character.

In the same direction, Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020) point out that building resilience is associated with encouraging persons to challenge -the perceived- violence in their own everyday lives. Thus, scholars (for example Brisson et al., 2017; Ungar, 2011) suggest that rather than attempting to create resilient citizens, it could be more realistic to work towards creating the context in which resilience could be established. Ben-Porath (2023) emphasises that the answer to concerns about extremism in schools or about students, who might be prone to radicalisation, has to spring in educational principles and general democratic values. It should advance the schools' mission in democratic ways and, at best, be connected to its epistemic and social purposes. For schools, the most significant ambition, at any time and especially in times of polarisation and rising extremism, is to qualify students for their roles as citizens. Strengthening students' ability to make their voices heard in the democratic structures in an informed and effective way, to listen to others and work in collaboration with them, are at the heart of the schools' mission.

Findings from my study decipher that particular attention has been paid by Greek educators to the role of school as an agent of socialisation for future citizens and the school's responsibility to enhance the ability of students to critically think on complicated social concepts. Participants also point out that students are thirsty for discussions on contemporary social issues and often rely on teachers to deal with everyday challenges and anxieties. The democratic routines, which are shared, civic, and social, need to be ameliorated before youth can use any newly developed critical thinking skills to argue their way into a stronger political ensemble. If democratic routines are developed through a shared procedure of open discussion and truth-seeking, young people can overcome the single-minded pursuit of conspiracy theories and the polarising effects of sorting and mistrust. Sharing the mechanisms of information production, assessment, and distribution -sharing the judgment of what is reliable and what should be shared- can build and boost trust, if done within broad and straightforward criteria of speech and dialogue (Ben-Porath, 2023). At this direction, my actual research in the context of my study reveals that, in order to avoid polarisation and enhance open discussion, it is of primary importance to clarify and highlight at the same time that the new Greekness is not opposite to a cosmopolitan identity. Especially during the observation phase, educators emphasise the need to avoid biased beliefs and instead adopt a cosmopolitian concept of future

citizens. At the later stages of my study, this was also evident, when teachers, who think that Human Rights are effectively delivered and the concepts of identity, perception of the individual and otherness are well presented within the school curriculum, support the view that modern teacher should reflect on the characteristics of democracy and emphasise the weight that needs to be given via actions in the building of a healthy idea of citizenship.

Indeed, Ben-Porath (2023) continues by arguing that a shared groundwork of facts must start at an early stage. As part of this procedure, the youngest members of a political community need to be guided into the practice of evaluating their sources of information and assessing the trustworthiness of allegations. Assessing facts and assessing other people's opinions and understandings, as well as their motives for holding these beliefs, could advance both the epistemic and the social conditions that provide a counterweight to extremism. Additionally, representing an idea of common good is achievable not only in curricular decisions and pedagogical practices but also in disciplinary decisions in order to reflect a commitment to democratic ideals. Analytic and social mechanisms offered to all students, rather than targeting some, are better suited to countering both polarisation and extremism among young people (Ben-Porath, 2023). Thus, greater emphasis on curricular activities, with the development of specific teaching resources, will maximise the effectiveness of initiatives directed to the prevention of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. The most updated research on the issue of radicalisation (Whiting et al., 2024) was built on the identification of younger people as the most vulnerable population. Thus, the educational answer is attuned to curricula activities that promote critical thinking, civic values and Human Rights through learning, socialisation, citizenship and progress.

Through education, specific social messages, and specific social concerns, such as racism, Human Rights, and refugee issues can be expressed and discussed not only in the classroom but also outside the classroom. Furthermore, Kaplani and Shangoyan (2023) highlight that more material should be provided in order for educators to adopt a more holistic approach, feel more confident to address the phenomenon, and handle students with extreme attitudes and behaviours. In parallel, teachers should be supported by assisting personnel and experts, such as psychologists, in order to be able to dedicate more time to their educational responsibilities and duties. In line with the above, participants in the course of my study, made special reference to the lack of psychologists in each school -at least at the time while this study took place- which

ends up evaluating the existing policy as insufficient and the building of resilience within educational environments in Greece even more challenging. The role and need of psychologists in Greek schools on an everyday basis has been emphasised from the vast majority of teachers. Greek educators consider that psychologists' expertise and knowledge could back them up in their educational role, liaise with parents and official bodies concerning these alarming issues and maximise the positive result of initiatives towards the fight against right-wing extremism in an epistemic way. They consider that psychologists, thanks to their professional expertise, could more easily identify any dangers and inform the school community and parents of the threats posed. Thus, the presence of psychologists in every Greek school will scientifically provide with solutions to deal with the phenomenon the school community.

Scholarly has recognised that many determinants play a role in radicalisation procedures. Among others, social adversities, proximity to radical political groups and availability of radical dogma have been listed as significant factors for a person to be drawn into extremism. Furthermore, radicalisation is a highly dynamic procedure that incorporates personality swifts (Bjørgo, 2011) and mirrors an autonomous source of psychological anxiety that must be dealt with (Koehler, 2020). Based on the available data, a causal connection of mental illness and radicalisation cannot be established (Schumann et al., 2022). Notwithstanding, psychic vulnerabilities can assist to conceptualise and explain extremism (Corner et al., 2021; Decety et al., 2018; Gill et al., 2021), if societal and social conditions are factored in (Gill et al., 2021; Harpviken, 2021; McCauley and Moskalenko, 2014; Simi et al., 2016).

Current social research on the popularity of the extreme right focuses less on theories of authoritarianism and instead conceptualises the swift to radical and extreme right-wing dogma within the conceptual structure of status threat. There is a continuous debate whether it is primary cultural or economic change that threatens social status. Despite the disagreements, both socioeconomic and sociocultural justifications assume that a threat to social status drives loyalty to right-wing ideology (Schumann et al., 2022). For example, research on followers of the German right-wing populist group Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) conclude that it is an amalgamation of both sociocultural and socioeconomic threats that lead to the espousing of the right-wing schema (Lengfeld and Dilger, 2018, cited in Schumann et al., 2022).

As mentioned above, Papaoikonomou (2020) also argues that Social and Political Sciences courses should be delivered by educators with relevant academic backgrounds to help students problematise and delve into

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crucial social themes. In accordance with the previous statement, specific attention has been paid by teachers to the support they need in terms of maximising the number of assisting personnel and experts, such as psychologists, in order to be able to dedicate more time to their educational responsibilities and duties (Kaplani and Shangoyan, 2023). My fieldwork demonstrated that the vast majority of participants argue that there is no specific guidance in addressing right-wing extremism. As a consequence of the Greek system being too immature in terms of development to adopt a securitised agenda in the form of the Prevent duty, they highlight a number of protective factors in building resilience towards this alarming phenomenon and radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. The very recent introduction of the 'Safe Youth' application in the context of the anti-bullying strategy, which provides children aged 12-18 the possibility to activate responsible bodies, in case of incidents of school violence, brings in the above discussion a measure of recording, totally unknown in that form in Greek schools until recently. Remains to be seen its function in practice (Soubaka, 2024).

The idea of active citizenship, as presented, taught and discussed within Greek state schools to build resilience against right-wing extremism, should weigh values and attitudes that address critical social problems. This procedure should start at a very early stage. The example of volunteering in the direction of promoting the concept of responsible citizen is emphasised. In addition, the value of inclusivity was highlighted in my study both during the observation phase and the following semi-structured and follow-up interviews. Characteristically, participants in my study prioritise the necessity of acceptance in Greek society. Empathy, for example, for people with disabilities, immigrants and the building of resilience on the grounds of an inclusive attitude from students as provided by the schools was pointed out.

In my study, participants emphasise the need for more resources, infrastructure and activities within schools that will boost the efficiency of their tasks to help students build resilience to extremities and have critical thinking towards these phenomena. More specifically, participants in my study emphasise that in many cases libraries do not exist to provide students with the stimuli and knowledge to conceptualise challenging social concern and build on democratic values. Recent research on the Greek reality and the phenomenon of extremism in schools also emphasised the need for online counselling seminars or sessions to help teachers deal with this phenomenon (Kaplani and Shangoyan, 2023). Thus, participants in my study identify art and contact with nature as key protective factors in building resilience towards extreme right ideology.

More precisely, participants in my study emphasise the metamorphotic power of art in promoting a healthy concept of the individual and active citizen as opposed to the extreme right culture. Theatre, literature and history could provide students with tools to address and reject extreme right dogmata while reflecting complex social issues. Thus, participants point out that special attention should be given to the reinforcement of artistic modules and activities in schools to help students open their horizons and cultivate the values of acceptance and coexistence, as already emphasised by El Difraoui (2023). As far as the therapeutic role of nature in the building of resilience against right-wing extremism, participants in my study, especially during the phase of follow-up interviews and comments on the photos they have taken, support the view that the tranquility of natural environments, harmony and acceptance could maximise the ability of students to shield themselves from being drawn into right-wing extremism. The reference to the anger and negative sentiments connected with living in concrete cities where the fascismisation of everyday life could negatively affect students and render them vulnerable to radicalisation related to right-wing extremism was significantly interesting. The unnatural way of living was thus recognised as a negative factor that triggered extreme ideologies.

Within the body of the literature review, it is recognised that, to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the development of modern nationalism, the direct and indirect influence of religion should be taken into account (Haynes, 2021). Smith's work (2003) builds on the grounds that the relationship between religion and nationalism is highly important. For Smith, 'even' secular nationalism, often thought of as an archetypally irreligious ideology, typically draws on religious understandings of the world. However, in the context of my research, special reference has been made by a number of participants to the protective role of religion in the fight against right-wing ideology and the promotion of inclusivity.

Finally, teachers emphasised that modern pedagogical approaches would help the educational community to better synthesise knowledge to students concerning these alarming phenomena. The pedagogical value of emotion was highlighted by one teacher as a protective factor that could maximise knowledge on values in the fight against right-wing extremism. Thus, the schooling of emotion formulates an integral element of education towards critical self-reflection, autonomy and maturity (Parkinson, 2014; 2017). Being and thinking differently in this world would additionally mean feeling differently. Subsequently, developing

more emotive, intimate agendas and spaces, in which democratic patterns of feeling would be realistically experienced, will maximise the effort to re-educating future citizens (Zembylas, 2019; 2020c; 2021).

To sum up, dealing with the alarming threat of right-wing extremism requires a renew student-centred pedagogy based on creativity to approach students and support them in order to avoid right-wing extremities. The complex nature of this phenomenon, rather than introducing strict frameworks within educational environments, demands initiatives structured within the context of creative work and extra-curriculum activities in order to boost the positive outcome of building resilience against right-wing extremism. It is worth mentioning that the school exists not only to learn students about the world but primarily to provide them with a proposal about life and the necessary knowledge and stimuli to change the world. Therefore, the overall discussion offered new knowledge by emphasising that the context of a beneficial policy for students to reject extremist ideologies, and more specifically right-wing dogmata, should be student-centred and based on cooperation, information, knowledge, and a more energetic presence of Humanities courses within the school curriculum with the expansion of creativity and open dialogue on controversial and challenging social issues.

IV. A conclusion.

Overall, this Chapter provided an analysis and discussion of research findings to discover the main themes of my study. My data analysis gave prominence to three main themes. Firstly, my ethnographic research concluded that the phenomenon of right-wing extremism exists within Greek educational realms, even though not in the intensity of the past when GD was a political party and not a convicted criminal organisation. Visibility of right-wing extremism in Greek state secondary schools was explored in terms of concepts and ideology of extreme-right schemata, causes that lead to the adoption of its dogma and connections, especially within the family structure, and the new forms of right-wing extremism in Greek educational settings after the GD's trial.

Secondly, my study revealed the crucial concept of responsibility to tackle right-wing extremism in Greek state secondary schools. Responsibility was approached through three agents of authority, namely the family, the school and the state. Its meaning was deciphered in terms of a multiagency and cooperating

nature that will maximise efforts to tackle the right-wing extremism threat in schools. My research emphasised the lack and need for mutual understanding, communication and collaboration among the family, the school and the state to plan a synchronised response to radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in Greek schools. In addition, my study showed that guidance for teachers to address and counter this alarming phenomenon is needed. Thus, a change in school curriculum and agendas could provide educational society with the essential tools to confront the above threat.

Thirdly, my research showcased the concept of resilience against right-wing extremism. Instead of adopting strict agendas to identify and tackle the phenomenon of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in Greek schools, my study emphasised the need for reinforcing the idea of 'active citizenship'. This concept should be synthesised under a humanistic and cosmopolitan approach. A relationship of trust without asterisks between the above agents involved in the educational community and students should orchestrate every counter-radicalisation effort more easily, synthesise its meaning and purpose, reduce scepticism and reaction, and ultimately enhance its positive results. In the last Chapter of my thesis, a summary of my study in achieving my research objectives will be presented. Subsequently, I refer to the contribution of my research in academia, policy and practice in tackling right-wing extremism in schools. Lastly, the limitations of my study and my plans for the future are discussed.

Chapter V: Conclusion

V.i. An epitome.

In achieving the aim of my research, previous chapters showed the structure, development and trustworthiness of research framework using the theoretical and empirical findings. The existing literature revealed a plethora of existing research on radicalisation, right-wing extremism and the building of resilience, specifically within school environments, which were used to construct a primary research framework (Chapter II). As discussed above, empirical findings (Chapter IV) from the thematic analysis of participants observation, semi-structured interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews within Greek state secondary schools (Lyceums) were later synchronised with the theoretical findings from the literature review leading to the conclusion that the phenomenon of right-wing extremism is present within Greek educational realms.

Nevertheless, it was emphasised that the need for an explicit agenda and information for teachers to deal with this alarming threat, as primarily presented in Chapter II, should decisively recognise and tackle right-wing extremism and provide teachers with the infrastructure, knowledge, training and tools to counter this phenomenon and support students to avoid right-wing extremism. My research also highlighted that establishing a modern, student-centred pedagogy would reinforce the cosmopolitan character education should have. Therefore, the adoption of a stricter policy could negatively affect schools communities in their efforts to fight against right-wing extremism. This Chapter presents research findings demonstrating evidence of fulfilling my research question, aim and objectives. Furthermore, I present what my study offers to knowledge, policy formation in dealing with right-wing extremism and the practical value of the outcomes of my study within school communities. Finally, this Chapter refers to the limitations of my research and paths for further research explorations.

V.ii. Results attribution to my research objectives.

The aim of my study was to understand teachers' role in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism by focusing on the Greek reality of teachers. Thus, research objectives facilitated the achievement of this aim. Moreover, my primary research framework was further revised and expanded based on the triangulation of the empirical data, collected via participant observation, semi-structured

interviews, participant-generated photos and follow-up interviews. The sub-sections above provided a synthesis of findings, pertaining to the accomplishment of each research objective and its contribution to the achievement of the research aim.

Through the review of the literature in the exploration of preventive agendas against right-wing extremism worldwide and the concept of radicalisation, especially within educational environments, within or without a security apparatus, my first research objective was achieved. My first research objective emphasised the existing legal and social policy frameworks in Greece under a safeguarding agenda, which recognise the contribution of teachers in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. More specifically, in Chapter II, after shedding light into concepts of extremism and radicalisation, I delved into the Greek case and the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within schools. Subsequently, an in-depth exploration of preventive mechanisms worldwide was followed. Thus, my study inquired the frameworks and complexities of anti-extremism and anti-radicalisation agendas and the key role of education in combating the alarming threat of right-wing extremism. Exploring the theory and practice, with a particular focus on the 'model practice' of Prevent duty in the UK, the leading initiative in the fight against extremism and the engagement of public sector staff, provided me with the opportunity to make comparisons and contradictions with the case of Greece, where no security apparatus with a direct involvement of civil actors exists. Hence, I collected robust information and knowledge for my research to be focused on how participants, namely teachers in Greek state secondary schools (Lyceums) interpret the social environment around them, and specifically, the subject of their responsibility related to the prevention of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

To take further steps towards the achievement of my research aim, my second research objective was fulfilled by the development of the actual research schema, by observing, interviewing and discussing with educators on photographs taken from participants in my study, namely teachers in Greek state secondary schools (Lyceums) in order to explore the practical implementation of safeguarding policies in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in the Greek educational environments, where a security apparatus does not exist and in reference to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds and their personal and professional values. Therefore, by taking also into account findings from my literature review, I was able to reveal teachers' experiences of the phenomenon via its visibility while unfolding their perceptions

and sentiments, its causes and connections and the new normalised presence of right-wing extremism in Greek reality in schools. Furthermore, I recognised responsibility in terms of social actors involved in the everyday school life with regards to right-wing extremsism. Thus, I pointed out the multi-faceted character of the phenomenon both in terms of supporters but also in terms of people engaged to deal with it. My data analysis also highlighted the challenges assigned to dealing with right-wing extremism in schools, which are related to the structure of the school curriculum, professionalism, the degree of intervention, the lack of trust and support. Finally, my data put into the forefront solutions to tackle this alarming phenomenon in school communities by emphasising the need to reinforce Humanities courses in schools, practice values and Human Rights more experimentally, by optimising the concept of active citizenship via actions and collaborations and therefore structure safeguarding policies based on pedagogical approaches.

Objective three was also fulfilled through the development of my primary research framework, by investigating if the adoption of a solid security framework, such as the one that the UK has already enforced with the implementation of the Prevent duty on teachers or of a loose one has a positive effect on how educators participate in the building of resilience against right-wing extremism within educational settings. In continuation and relation to my previous objective, my actual research study based on the above primary data and findings in combination with the findings from my literature review, concluded to emphasising that the reinforcement of the idea of 'active citizenship' as identic to the 'social being' concept built on an up-to-date, student-focused and cosmopolitan approach could act more beneficially within the Greek realms rather than promoting a strict securitised framework. Findings of my study, as discussed, revealed that, due to the immaturity of the Greek educational system, the investment on the promotion of a security agenda to counter the phenomenon could have negative impact in the fight against right-wing extremism. Moreover, it was questioned if a securised agenda could offer something more than numerical results in the Greek everyday school life, especially when the role of teachers, as discussed, is directly and principally linked with the creation of safe spaces on building resilience against right-wing extremism and not only with the recording of incidents, beliefs and behaviours. Consequently, within Greek structures, the long-term results of a stricter policy were doubted.

Accordingly, in liaison with my previous (both) objectives and for the purpose of providing suggestions by taking into account a human rights inclusive approach, which could be in accordance with the Greek reality,

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and as analysed in the previous sections, my actual research study based on the above primary data and findings in combination with my findings from the literature review, revealed that policies directed to tackle right-wing extremism should be based on cooperation, information, knowledge, a more energetic presence of Humanities courses within the school curriculum with the expansion of creativity and open dialogue on controversial and challenging social issues. Hence, the fourth objective of my research was accomplished.

V.iii. A threefold contribution of my thesis.

The contribution of my research is expanding in three areas, knowledge, policy and practice. Firstly, my findings add new knowledge to the growing research by academics and scholars on right-wing extremism, especially in school environments. More specifically, through multiple qualitative research methods, my research builds on the existing literature concerning right-wing extremism and bridges the knowledge gap in the literature about this phenomenon in everyday school life in Greece, a country without a specific mechanism to deal with it. Inspired by the work of Mattsson et al. (2025), which explained the role of schools in the reproduction of the extreme right in Sweden school communities and Smith and Griffith's (2022) interest in human practices within different environments, or institutions my ethnographic study sought to discover how Greek school teachers experience, comprehend and discuss their school community, the right-wing extremism, historical and societal spaces for this phenomenon, prejudice, responsibility, democratic values, humanistic and cosmopolitan pedagogy and so on (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Thus, my research builds on the existing literature on Foucaultian studies with a particular interest in social relationships and actions that arise from or through the articulation of power or structural context and procedures and on how to deal with the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and building resilience against this threat within Greek schools (Smith and Griffith, 2022; Stephens and Sieckelinck, 2020). My research adds to the need for more studies investigating projects against extremism and radicalisation (Armborst and Kober, 2017 in Lösel et al., 2018). Lösel et al. (2018) suggest that more experimental evaluations in this area are imperative. My research in Greece, a locality without a security agenda to deal with right-wing extremism in schools, as stated by Skleparis and Augestad Knudsen (2020), could help not only to make adequate decisions on "what works" to deal with the phenomenon of

right-extremism in educational environments but further form valid questions and suggest recommendations on causal theories about radicalisation pathways established by the extreme right ideology. My research also investigates and illuminates the relationship between theory and experience via creative and dynamic methodological amalgamations. Thus, my research follows the epistemological movement to constructivist and transformative paradigms that reflect an increased understanding of culture, context, and plurality as embodied in ever-expanding and demographically evolving social environments to be researched, such as schools (Howard and Ali, 2016; Yon, 2003).

Secondly, my research outcomes provide updated knowledge that could be used in producing new documents from relevant authorities on agendas, policies and guidance to identify and deal with the alarming phenomenon of right-wing extremism in Greek schools. It was evident during my study, and when interpreting and presenting my data, that developing a mechanism for identifying and coping with this alarming phenomenon within school environments is needed. Especially in the Greek reality and the newly introduced legislative provision of a platform for references of incidents of bullying and school violence (Law 5029/2023, Official Government Gazette A 55/10.03.2023), naming the threat of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism could provide school communities, teachers, parents and students with additional material in the form of policy documents to recognise the phenomenon. However, my study also demonstrates that a surveillance mechanism prioritising the goals of security rather than the pedagogical ones to detect and refer incidents of right-wing extremism in schools could hurt the relationship of trust, as it should flourish in school communities. Thus, my study illustrates that a Greek policy to tackle right-wing extremism threat in schools should put more weight on enhancing school activities that realistically promote capacity-building of democratic procedures and cosmopolitan lifestyle (Ben-Porath, 2023) rather than implementing a strict securitising agenda (Sjøen and Mattsson, 2023). Beyond the above, at an international level concerning policies and duties to deal with right-wing extremism in schools, my research recommendations could be compared or be contradicted with recommendations on existing policies in localities with stricter agendas in the fight against right-wing extremism, such as in the UK, to question and thus holistically structure policy documentation that favourites the well-being of students and school staff and works effectively in tackling this threat by minimising the already criticised 'Big Brother' effect (Aly et al., 2014; Busher et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2021).

Finally, as far as the contribution of my research to the educational community is concerned, the findings of my ethnography could support teachers and relevant educational bodies to comprehend the complexities of the problem of right-wing extremism in Greek schools because first and foremost the phenomenon should be recognised and then mobilise relevant authorities to take action. Therefore, my research suggests an approach to teacher education in practice that prepares them, and those in relevant official bodies that provide them with knowledge and training material (such as the Institute of Educational Policy) for the political realities of our days (Appelbaum, 2023). Especially now that the extreme right is back in the spotlight and the political scene, in a more normalised form, threatening democracy and social cohesion, my study raises key issues about professionalism and dealing with right-wing extremism in Greek schools. Thus, my research asks questions about positioning other social actors, beyond school staff, namely families and the state, to deal with this threat in everyday practice. My study offers school communities a conceptual understanding of concerns related to vulnerability related to right-wing extremism and sketches the positive steps to be taken in practice to address this phenomenon in the classroom by emphasising the need for empathy and student-centred pedagogy in practice (Zembylas, 2020c; 2021). Deciphering teachers' experiences in Greek secondary schools (Lyceums) is also the starting point to boost school cooperation and sharing in practice and, thus maximise the positive outcomes of my research on school communities on building resilience against right-wing extremism within schools and supporting students and young people to avoid being drawn into this extreme ideology.

V.iv. Limitations and future steps.

Across Europe, and the world, the rhetoric of the extreme right surfaces with increasing and alarming regularity in both public and virtual spaces (Jekel et al., 2017). Mattsson et al. (2025) emphasise that Nazism does not appear in a vacuum but is rather fostered by the existence of racism and intolerance in the local community. The starting point of my research was school and the school environment. I observed the everyday life of teachers as unfolded and, by spending time in the classrooms, and interviewing teachers and Heads of schools, I deciphered their experiences of right-wing extremism in state secondary schools (Lyceums). The findings of my study, as presented in previous chapters, documented that right-wing

extremism exists and needs to be recognised within school environments. To formulate a holistic understanding of the school, the activities carried out there and those people who operate within its walls (Mattsson et al., 2025), research need to ask questions to explore students' conceptualisations and experiences of right-wing extremism in Greek school structures. Future research needs to focus on the everyday lives of students and place these everyday existences and experiences in Greek schools concerning the institutional and structural context, which the school and local community comprise, to gain more insight into extreme right presence in school environments. Therefore, future studies need to investigate the ways students, especially at the age close to adulthood, exercise the right to vote, perceive and even experience right-wing extremism (Koronaiou et al, 2015). In addition, right-wing extremism is only one dimension of extremism. The phenomenon, especially in Greece, is linked to both ends of a continuum, one of the extreme right and the other of the extreme left (Boukala, 2021). My study could pave the way for exploring and comparing in-depth teachers' experiences dealing with left-wing extremism. Participants in my study also indicated the threat derived from left-wing extremism. This requires further exploration of the mechanisms and ideology of far-left extremism and its existence in school environments. Further investigation on left-wing extremism could be the starting point for an in-depth analysis of similarities and differences between the two ends of extremism in Greece to build comprehensively on the concept of resilience towards extremism, especially concerning the youth. Rori et al. (2022) emphasise that both sides of political violence, the extreme right and the extreme left share common grounds as they oppose liberal democracy, express hostility toward parliamentarism and exhibit intolerance toward their ideological and political adversaries. Therefore, it is of primary importance that qualitative research delves into a holistic comprehension of extremism within school communities as it could shed more light on the mechanisms of radicalisation related to extremism of both ends, the extreme right and the extreme left, and capture the extent and the depth of the threat to provide school communities and authorities in Greece with the information and knowledge to deal with the phenomenon and build safe school environments with a focus on resilience towards the threat of extremism.

Especially in Greece, my research findings and recommendations, emerged through the experiences of teachers of right-wing extremism in Greek state secondary schools (Lyceums), and future research interests in extremism via the exploration of students' and teachers' experiences of both ends of extremism (either

from the far-right or the far-left) could take the form of a toolkit to better and holistically recognise and tackle this phenomenon in school environments. In cooperation with the Ministry of Education, the Institute of Educational Policy and the Committee for the Development of a National Strategy for Prevention and Dealing with Violence and Delinquency (Newsroom Kathimerini, 2023), a toolkit could be designed and delivered through a whole-school approach to provide educational communities with guidance on the risks, concerns and actions needed to prevent students being drawn into extremist paths. A toolkit pervaded with images, explanatory tables, important information in bullet points, case studies and examples of what extremism in schools entails and how school community staff could help students avoid being drawn into extremist ideologies could constitute a tangible form of the risks students might experience if targeted by or exposed to harmful influences from violent extremists. Therefore, it could provide members of educational communities with a road map to address concerns linked to safeguarding students against extremism of any form effectively and confidently.

V.v. Concluding thoughts.

To summarise all the above, my study revealed the phenomenon of right-wing extremism within Greek state secondary schools. This phenomenon exists not only among students but also -and possibly- among educators within school communities. The very recent suspension of a teacher by the Minister of Education for handing out leaflets to students with insulting comments against homosexuals and, according to the news, openly supporting Ilias Kasidiaris in the classrooms proves that the extreme right is a threat to the entire educational life (The Toc Team, 2024). My research shed light on the co-responsibility of the family, the school and the state to address this alarming phenomenon under a coordinated and cooperative effort. In addition, the need to recognise the threat, open a dialogue among all school agents, parents, students and official bodies, and establish supporting actions could pave the way for tackling radicalisation related to right-wing extremism in schools.

Therefore, my research confirmed that teachers need more scientific support to deal with these phenomena because their role and responsibility should not only be limited to their sense of duty and passion for their work, which -without any doubt- were evident, but also be supported with scientific material, expertise,

constant and everyday presence of psychologists in schools and updating of their tasks associated with the well-being of their students with meetings, conferences, modern guidelines. Thus, the teaching community will be backed up with all the necessary tools to deal with this phenomenon with confidence and will involve students and parents in this crucial endeavour to protect children from being radicalised or engaged in extremist activities. The new normalised form of right-wing extremism around the globe, evident in recent electoral procedures in the EU, France, and the recent events in the UK, should keep us alarmed and not wait for the Rhinoceros' step to hear (Ionesco, 1976) to protect the youth. The extreme right seems to be gaining ground on a global scale, and this is the reason why updated ways of building resilience are required. The research community should continue supporting the educational community by deciphering the actions of the extreme right and exploring beneficial ways to tackle this threat.

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Participant Information Sheet (version 3, 07.06.2021)

Research title: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in public schools in the UK and Greece."

Please take time to read this information and ask questions if anything in unclear.

Contact details can be found at the end of this document

If you have been adversely affected by extremism, please consider your participation and do not participate in the research

What is the purpose of this study?

This study aims to explore how schools address issues of right-wing extremism within their teaching and focuses on a comparative analysis between the UK and Greece.

Who is organising this research?

The research of this study is undertaken by Angeliki Ilia (researcher) who is a doctoral student in the Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Department of Criminology at Birmingham City University, UK. The Birmingham City University Research Ethics Committee has reviewed and approved this research (*Reference Number*).

Why have I been chosen?

The purpose of the project aims to provide us with information about the ways safeguarding policies help young people to build resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. We aim to recruit forty (40) participants, namely teachers at secondary schools, in the United Kingdom and Greece.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research is voluntary and you may ask the researcher questions before agreeing to participate. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form. However, at any time up until 90 days after the interview/observation, you are free to withdraw from the study (without prejudice).

If you choose to withdraw, we will not ask you to give any reason. If you decide to withdraw, you will need to complete and sign the "*Request to Withdraw from a Research Study*" Form, which will be given to you by the researcher and send to the researcher via email up until 90 days after the interview/observation. The researcher will not try to persuade you to revoke your withdrawal. The researcher will avoid approaching you to maintain anonymity. Eradicating withdrawn data will include the destruction of the tangible evidence of your participation in the research study. You will no longer be contacted about this research study unless you need to be notified of a safety concern. After this date, the data will be analysed and written up.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part in this study, firstly the researcher will conduct the observation phase, then interview you twice -approximately a month apart- and she will ask you to take photographs related to the themes of interest in between. More precisely, the researcher will observe you -by being present in the background- during online sessions related to human rights and citizenship, but she will not actively participate or interact with you during the course delivered, acting as a shadower. A simple recording of the goings-on during classroom activities on a field diary (paper notebook) will be adopted. The researcher will not use video recordings of the online sessions. The researcher's intention is to observe two (2) 1-hour sessions on two (2) selected days per week over a period of four (4) weeks. Both initial and follow-up interviews will take place online using the MS Teams platform. Both initial and follow-up interviews will be recorded by using the "recording button" that this online platform provides. Both interviews will be transcribed verbatim. Both interviews will be conducted by Angeliki Ilia. The first interview will last approximately forty-five (45) minutes and the follow-up interview will last approximately ninety (90) minutes. We may ask you to participate in a further follow-up interview, though participation in this is optional. At the initial interview, the researcher will provide you with a disposable camera. You will receive both verbal and written instructions detailing how the camera works. By arrangement, the disposable cameras and the relevant instructions and documents would be given at the school where you teach. We suggest that participant-generated photographs should be taken in public and try photographing objects only. Taking photographs within the framework of the present study should not put you (or any third party) at risk. If you take photographs of other people, you will be asked to obtain the signed consent of each person photographed.

What are the possible benefits of participating?

The results of this study will increase our knowledge of the contribution of teachers in dealing with radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within the school environment in the United Kingdom and Greece respectively.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

While we hope that your experience will be pleasant, the feeling of stress for participating in the present study may make you uncomfortable. At any time during the observation or interviews, you can choose to withdraw. Please read above the "*Do I have to take par*t?" section.

Please find below Support Services in case you feel upset/distressed:

Support Services outside Birmingham City University:

Regarding participants in the UK:

1. Confidential Support Line (https://www.supportline.org.uk/); Helpline: 01708 765200; Email: info@supportline.org.uk. **Mind Organisation** (https://www.mind.org.uk); 15-19 Broadway, Stratford, London E15 4BQ; Reception: 020 8519 2122; Supporter relations: 020 8215 2243; Email: supporterrelations@mind.org.uk; Fax: 020 8522 1725. **2. Samaritans** (https://www.samaritans.org/). Helpline: 116 123; Samaritans Central Office: Central Office Tel: +44 (0)20 8394 8300; Central Office email: admin@samaritans.org; Central Office postal address: Samaritans, The Upper Mill, Kingston Road, Ewell, Surrey KT17 2AF. **3. NHS Birmingham and Solihull Mental Health** (https://www.bsmhft.nhs.uk/our-services/birmingham-healthy-minds/); Tel: 0121 301 2525 (Urgent mental health support, 24/7 – 0121 262 3555); **4. My health London** (https://myhealth.london.nhs.uk/health-and-wellbeing/mental-health/mental-health-trusts/).

Regarding participants in Greece:

1. National Center for Social Solidarity (http://www.ekka.org.gr/); Helpline: 197 (24/7). **2. University Research Institute of Mental Health (EPIPSY)** Helpline: 1034; **3. National and Kapodistrian University "Aeginiteio Hospital"** Tel: 2107222333.

Additionally, you could find helpful information in the following links:

https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/publications/how-manage-and-reduce-stress;

https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/self-help/guides-tools-and-activities/tips-to-reduce-stress/

https://www.iatronet.gr/diatrofi/threptikes-oysies/article/57816/pws-tha-antimetwpisw-to-agxos-megistopoiwntas-parallila-tin-apodosi-toy-egkefaloy.html.

http://www.skf.psych.uoa.gr/synh8ismena-problimata/cyxokoinwnika-problimata/to-stres-kai-h-antimetopisi-toy/pos-antimetwpizetai-to-stres.html.

https://ibrt.gr/edu/index.php?q=node/117.

Support Services within Birmingham City University:

Mental health and wellbeing support: Phone: (+44) 0121 331 5188; **Online:** Big White Wall provides 24/7 online support, accessible anytime, anywhere.

How will the interviews and photographs be used?

On the consent form, we will ask you to confirm that you are happy to assign your copyright for the interviews and photographs to us, which means that you consent to the researcher using and quoting from your interview and using your photographs.

What happens to the observation field notes, interviews and participant-generated photographs collected during the study?

All data from observation, interviews, and photographs will be transcribed verbatim and managed by the researcher for the duration of the project. Only the researcher and the Director of Studies will have access to the observation data, interviews, photographs, and personal information. All data will be stored in a secure place, complying with the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998 and the respective one in Greece (Bill of Law no. 4624/2019). All the collected information about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be identified in any reports or publications and your name and other identifiable information will be anonymised. The transcription process will take place exclusively on a university laptop that is connected to OneDrive and not on a shared network computer. Data will be securely held for a period of ten (10) years after the completion of the present research project in order for me to comply with the guidance provided by Birmingham City University (Birmingham City Trust Academies Trust, n.d.). For Data Protection Policy, at Birmingham City University (BCU) you can contact the Data Protection Officer on informationmanagement@bcu.ac.uk or +44 (0)121 331-5288 or Data Protection Officer, Information Management Team, Birmingham City University, University House, 15 Bartholomew Row, Birmingham, B5 5JU. You can complain directly to the Information Commissioner at

Information Commissioner's Office, Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire, SK9 5AF, further information available at www.ico.org.uk.

What happens at the end of the project?

If you agree to participate in this project, the research will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online at Birmingham City University, to facilitate its use in further research. You may request a summary of the research findings by contacting the researcher. If you would like to receive a copy of the photographs you have taken, you could contact the researcher at the conclusion of data collection.

What about the use of data for future research?

If you agree to participate in this project, the research may be used by other researchers and regulatory authorities for future research.

Who is funding the research?

This research is nor funding.

Will I receive anything for participating in the study?

You will not receive payment for your participation in the study.

What should I do if I have any concerns or complaints?

If you have any concerns about the project, please speak to the researcher, who should acknowledge your concerns within ten (10) working days and give you an indication of how your concern will be addressed. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact BLSSEthics@bcu.ac.uk or BCU_Ethics@bcu.ac.uk.

Contacts for further information:

Angeliki Ilia, Birmingham City University, Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Department of Criminology, PhD student, Student BCU ID: 19151479, Email: Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk; Tel.: (+44) ……., (+30) ……. or Dr. Keith Spiller, Director of Studies, Senior Lecturer in Criminology / Course Director for MA in Security Studies at Birmingham City University, Email: Keith.Spiller@bcu.ac.uk; Tel.: (+44) ……..

Access Request Letter (version 3, 07.06.2021)

Date …

Mr. X

Head of School

Address …….

"Permission to Conduct Research Study"

"What do we know about how safeguarding policies make a difference in the fight against

radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?"

Dear Mr. X,

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study at your school.

I am a PhD student at Birmingham City University (BCU) whose work is looking to explore how schools address issues of right wing extremism within their teaching and focuses on a comparative analysis between the UK and Greece. The purpose of the project aims to provide us with information about the ways safeguarding policies help young people to build resilience against radicalisation. This research has been approved by the BCU Ethics Committee (Ref number).

I have two aspects to my study. The first involves classroom observations and the second interviews with teachers. For the observation part of my study, students are not the direct subject of this study but rather my intention lies in establishing how classes related to citizenship and human rights work in the classroom, develop resilience and benefit students. I would like to observe in natural circumstances how these classes are delivered within in the UK and Greece respectively. If you are happy to grant access, it would be my intention to minimize disruption to your teaching as much as is possible. I would be present in the background during related online sessions acting as a shadower rather than playing an active role. I understand that any involvement would require the consent of guardians and the assent of students and I have prepared relevant documents should you grant me access.

For the interview aspect of my study I am hoping that you will allow me to recruit two interested teachers, to speak about their attitudes on this issue, experiences with these classes as well as to take part in a self-reflection exercise. If approval is granted, teacher participants will be interviewed twice approximately a month apart.

I can provide more detail about all aspects of the study and have prepared more detailed information sheets, consent forms, etc. for potential participants as well as a short 2-3 minute video which explains the study succinctly. Your approval to conduct this study would be greatly appreciated and if you are interested or have any questions you would like to ask before agreeing to participate, please contact me at the following email address : Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk.

Sincerely,

Angeliki Ilia (Birmingham City University, Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Department of Criminology, PhD student, Student BCU ID: 19151479)

Consent Form (version 3, 07.06.2021)

<u>Name of Researcher</u>: Angeliki Ilia

Research title: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in public schools in the UK and Greece."

(Reference Number of the Birmingham City University Research Ethics Committee approval decision: X).

Please read the present form and complete it carefully.

If you have been adversely affected by extremism, please consider your participation and do not participate in the research

If you are willing to participate in the present research study, circle the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end of the present form. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask the researcher.

• The present research has been competently explained to me in verbal and/or written form by the researcher.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that the research will involve observation, in-depth interview, participant-generated photos, and follow-up interview.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any time up until 90 days after the interview/observation without having to give an explanation.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend the procedure of exercising my right to withdraw from this research.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that all information about me will be treated with strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from the present study.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that any audiotaped/recorded and written material of me will be used for the purposes of the present research and will be destroyed on completion of the present study.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that the Angeliki Ilia (present researcher) will be discussing the progress of the present research with her Director of Studies ………………………………………………………….. at Birmingham City University.

YES / NO

I freely give my consent to participate in the present research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Signature: ………………………………………………………………………….

Date: …………………………………………………………………………..

Consent Form for taking photographs (version 2, 19.04.2021)

This form is supplement to the Consent Form (version 1, 22.02.2021 and version 2, 19.04.2021)

<u>Name of Researcher</u>: Angeliki Ilia

<u>Research title</u>: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in

public schools in the UK and Greece."

(Reference Number of the Birmingham City University Research Ethics Committee approval decision: X).

Please read the present form and complete it carefully.

If you have been adversely affected by extremism, please consider your participation and do not participate in the research

If you are willing to take photographs in the context of the present research study, circle the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end of the present form. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask the researcher.

Photographs should be taken in public. Please try photographing objects only

• The present research and the context of taking photographs have been competently explained to me in verbal and/or written form by the researcher.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that in the context of the research I should take photographs.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that my privacy will be respected and the researcher will destroy photographs that participants will take and later decide they do want to omit from the present research project. I fully

understand that I have the right to specify which photographs they wish us to utilise for analysis (as opposed to publication and presentation) purposes only.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that I have the right to consent to my images being used for academic research and publication purposes.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that I have the right to consent to my images being reproduced and I fully comprehend the copyright rights with regards to the images generated by me. I fully comprehend that ownership of photographic data produced for the present research study is determined by copyright law. Thus, I fully comprehend that I, as the photographer, give explicit written permission use each photograph in educational and non-profit making publications and presentations arising from the study.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that If I take photographs of other people, I will be asked to obtain the signed consent of each person photographed.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that photographs containing potentially identifying content will not be included when reporting results of the study. Photographs containing people will be published only with the consent of every person in the photograph and only when it is considered that the photo is integral to the research finding.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that data from the cameras would be kept confidential through data storage procedures within the university.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that if I wish, I will receive a copy of the photographs I have taken at the conclusion of data collection.

YES / NO

• I fully comprehend that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any time up until 90 days after the interview/observation without having to give an explanation.

• I fully comprehend the procedure of exercising my right to withdraw from this research.

• I fully comprehend that all information about me will be treated with strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from the present study.

• I fully comprehend that any audiotaped material of me will be used for the purposes of the present research and will be destroyed on completion of the present study.

• I fully comprehend that the Angeliki Ilia (present researcher) will be discussing the progress of the present research with her Director of Studies ……………………………………………………………….. at Birmingham City University.

I freely give my consent to participate in the present research study and to take photographs in the context of the present research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Signature: ………………………………………………………………………………….

Date: …………………………………………………………………………………..

PHTOGRAPHEE'S CONSENT FORM

Photographee's Consent Form (version 1, 19.04.2021)

This form is supplement to the Consent Form (version 1, 22.02.2021 and version 2, 19.04.2021)

<u>Name of Researcher</u>: Angeliki Ilia

<u>Research title</u>: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in public schools in the UK and Greece."

(Reference Number of the Birmingham City University Research Ethics Committee approval decision: X).

Please read the present form and complete it carefully. Circle appropriately.

Photographs taken of you would be used to add interest and exemplify the research findings. For example, they may be used as illustrations in website summaries, research reports, summary leaflets, newspapers articles and/or conference presentations.

To be completed by the photographee:

I agree to have my photograph taken   **YES / NO**

I understand that my name will not be linked to the photograph(s)   **YES / NO**

I understand that I will not be given credit for my appearance in photograph(s)   **YES / NO**

I give the photographer/participant permission to:

use my photograph(s) on website(s) **YES / NO**

use my photograph(s) in printed material (e.g. reports, leaflets, newspaper articles, news releases)

YES / NO

use my photograph(s) in presentations (e.g. at conferences or seminars)

YES / NO

Signature of photographee: _____ Date: _____

Name of photographee (block letters): _____

Signature of photographer/participant: _____Date: _____

(Name, contact number of participant)

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (version 2, 07.06.2021)

Before interview:

Set up a notebook, digital recorder device and make sure that the digital recorder device is functioning (given the current situation the semi-structured interview sessions will take place via MS Teams. Consequently, the sessions will be recorded by using the "recording button" that this online system provides).

The interview starts with:

Introduction of interviewer.

Consent form and confidentially agreement, which includes project description.

The consent form signed from each participant would be returned to me via email attachment prior to the interview. Participants should use an electronic signature or photographic evidence of handwritten signature on the consent form in order to indicate consent.

Reminder: that this is an exploration and there are no right or wrong answers.

Thanking the participant in advance.

The Introductory Protocol could take the form as follows:

To facilitate our note-taking, we would like to record our conversations today.

Please sign the consent form (given the current situation, participants should use am electronic signature or photographic evidence of handwritten signature of the consent form to indicate consent. This would be returned via an email attachment prior to the interview). Essentially, this document states that: (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable, and (3) we do not intend to inflict any harm.

For your information, only I, as the researcher on the project, and the Director of Studies will have access to the recording material. Electronic data will be erased from all files in line with guidance from BCU IT department and in line with the University's authorisation. Physical research data containing PID, such as

consent forms, would be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet or locker. Physical data will be destroyed via BCU's confidential waste facilities and in line with the University's authorisation.

We have planned this interview to last no longer than 45 minutes. During this time, we have several questions that we would like to cover. If time begins to run short, it may be necessary to interrupt you in order to push ahead and complete this line of questioning.

Additionally, by arrangement, the disposable cameras and the relevant instructions detailing how the camera works and documents would be given at the school where you teach. We will be asking you to take photographs of what you consider related to the themes of interest. You will have a suggested time-frame of four (4) weeks to take your photographs. We suggest that participant-generated photographs should be taken in public. Please try and photograph objects only.

Taking photographs within the framework of the present study should not put you (or any third party) at risk. You should not put yourselves or any third party (physically, mentally, or psychologically) at risk in order to photograph for the purpose of the present study. If you take photographs of other people, you will be asked to obtain the signed consent of each person photographed. You can even take metaphoric photos versus realistic photos to depict your experiences related to the present research project.

Your photos will be used as a stimulus for discussion in a follow-up qualitative interview session. The follow-up interview session will take place after the above time-frame of four (4) weeks. This session will be recorded as well. During this session, you will be asked to explain the significance of the images and the reasons you choose to depict your experiences and perceptions via the photos that you will take. We have planned this interview to last no longer than 90 minutes.

You have been selected to speak with us today because you have been identified as someone who has a great deal to share about safeguarding policies, knowledge about radicalisation related to right-wing extremism and teaching. Our research project as a whole focuses on investigating the practical implementation of safeguarding policies in the fight against radicalisation related to far right-wing extremism in the UK and Greece, with a particular interest in understanding how teachers are engaged in safeguarding policies, how they assess their training experiences, professional values and teaching process and whether we can begin to share what we know about making a difference in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

In sum, our study aims to explore the contribution of teachers in dealing with radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within the school environment in the UK and Greece respectively. Our study does not aim to evaluate your techniques or experiences, rather, we are trying to learn more about safeguarding policies in practice, and hopefully learn about practices that help to build resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

Thank you for agreeing to participate. At this point, I would like to mention that, while we hope that your experience will be pleasant, the feeling of stress for participating in the present study may make you uncomfortable. You can refuse to answer questions or can withdraw from the study at any time, including during the interview itself.

Start recording the semi-structured session.

I. Background questions.

Briefly describe your role (office, committee, classroom, etc.).

Which is the field of your teaching delivered?

What lesson do you teach students?

II. Safeguarding policies & training experiences.

8. Would you like to tell me about the ways the official guide (if any) addresses the issues of radicalisation especially with regards to right-wing extremism? Is there any training session about this?

9. How would you practically evaluate the safeguarding policy and training experience (if any) concerning right-wing extremism?

III. The role and the responsibilities of teachers concerning the implementation of the Prevent duty for teachers in the United Kingdom and the implementation regarding safeguarding policy from teachers in Greece.

10. Do you think that the engagement of teachers in the fight against radicalisation especially with regards to right-wing extremism is essential and why?

IV. Knowledge about radicalisation related to right-wing extremism.

11. Practically, how could you identify any threats of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism among your students?

V. Professionalism.

Now, let's talk about professionalism in reference to safeguarding policies. In this sense, professionalism concerns conduct, behaviour and attitude within the school, which is the work environment that this research aims to be concentrated on.

12. How your professional behaviour is balanced with the dealing of radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within the classroom? Could you please be more explicit about your experiences?

VI. Human rights.

13. Do you think that teaching human rights and citizenship is adequately delivered under the current framework of safeguarding policy?

14. Do you think that compulsory involvement of teachers within the framework of a stricter safeguarding agenda could harm the relationship between teachers and students? If yes, how would you describe this?

Just to close, I want to make sure that I haven't missed any places that you value or that are particularly important to you.

VI. Instructions about the use of the disposable camera.

To take a photo, turn the scroll wheel until it won't turn any further. Then, turn the flash on if you need some extra light by sliding the button on the front of the camera up. Put the camera up to your eye and click the button on top of the camera to shoot your photo. After the suggested time-frame of four (4) weeks, I would like you to send me the disposable camera (at my expense) via the post in order for me to display the photo film. Then, we can arrange the follow-up interview.

VII. Schedule of the follow-up interview.

After the suggested time-frame of four (4) weeks to take your photographs, we will have a follow-up qualitative interview session. Your photographs will be used as a stimulus for this conversation. This session will be recorded as well. During this session, you will be asked to explain the significance of the images and the reasons you choose to depict your experiences and perceptions via the photos that you will take. We have planned this interview to last no longer than 90 minutes.

We hope that you have found it interesting and have not been upset by any of the topics discussed. However, if you have found any part of this experience to be distressing and you wish to speak to me, as the researcher, please contact:

Angeliki Ilia, Birmingham City University, Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Department of Criminology, PhD student, Student BCU ID: 19151479, Email: Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk; Tel.: (+44) ……., (+30) …….

There are also a number of organisations listed below that you can contact in case you feel upset/distressed: Support Services outside Birmingham City University:

Regarding participants in the UK:

- **Confidential Support Line** (https://www.supportline.org.uk/).

    Helpline: 01708 765200; Email: info@supportline.org.uk.

- **Mind Organisation** (https://www.mind.org.uk).

    15-19 Broadway, Stratford, London E15 4BQ

    Reception: 020 8519 2122

    Supporter relations: 020 8215 2243

    Email: supporterrelations@mind.org.uk

    Fax: 020 8522 1725

- **Samaritans** (https://www.samaritans.org/).

Helpline: 116 123

    Samaritans Central Office: Central Office Tel: +44 (0)20 8394 8300.

    Central Office email: admin@samaritans.org.

Central Office postal address: Samaritans, The Upper Mill, Kingston Road, Ewell, Surrey KT17 2AF.

- **NHS Birmingham and Solihull Mental Health** (https://www.bsmhft.nhs.uk/our-services/birmingham-healthy-minds/).

  Tel: 0121 301 2525 (Urgent mental health support, 24/7 – 0121 262 3555).

- **My health London** (https://myhealth.london.nhs.uk/health-and-wellbeing/mental-health/mental-health-trusts/).

  Regarding participants in Greece:

- **National Center for Social Solidarity** (http://www.ekka.org.gr/).

  Helpline: 197 (24/7).

- **University Research Institute of Mental Health (EPIPSY)**

  Helpline: 1034

- **National and Kapodistrian University "Aeginiteio Hospital"**

  Tel: 2107222333.

Support Services within Birmingham City University:

Mental health and wellbeing support

Phone: (+44) 0121 331 5188; **Online**: Big White Wall provides 24/7 online support, accessible anytime, anywhere.

VIII. Closing.

Thank you for your time. That's all the questions I have for you at that phase. Do you have any questions for me?

……………………………

Again, thank you very much. See you soon.

"What do we know about how safeguarding policies make a difference in the fight against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism?"

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am a PhD student at Birmingham City University (BCU) whose work is looking to explore how schools address issues of right-wing extremism within their teaching and focuses on a comparative analysis between the UK and Greece. More precisely, my study aims to provide us with information about the ways safeguarding policies help young people to build resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism. This research has been approved by the BCU Ethics Committee (Reference number).

The concept of radicalisation is at the forefront of discourse relating to safety and security in modern society. According to Van den Bos (2018), radicalisation is related to the mechanisms that produce or are caused by extreme beliefs.

I am writing you to request permission to conduct the observation phase of my research study at your child's school. Students are not the direct subject of this study. This study does not plan to evaluate or test the behaviour or the experiences of your child, rather, I try to learn more about safeguarding policies in practice. My intention lies in establishing how classes related to citizenship and human rights work in the classroom, develop resilience and benefit students. I would like to observe in natural circumstances how these classes are delivered in the UK and Greece respectively.

If you allow me to observe classes related to the themes of interest of my study, I would be present in the background during online sessions related to human rights and citizenship, acting as a shadower rather than playing an active role. I will **not** participate or interact with teachers and students to any extent. I intend to observe two (2) 1-hour sessions on two (2) selected days per week over a period of four (4) weeks. At this point, I would like to mention that I will **not** use video recordings of the online sessions. I will record the observation data in a field diary (paper notebook). My field notes will **not** concern students during the online sessions.

Your child will **<u>not</u>** be identified in any reports or publications and his/her name and other information will be anonymised. Children's data will not be identified individually. All the information that I will collect during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. All data will be stored in a secure place. All records will be available only to me, the researcher, and the Director of Studies. The results of the study will be written as a thesis.

The risks in this study are minimal (i.e., no greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life). There are no foreseeable discomforts or dangers to either you or your child in this study. You or your child will **<u>not</u>** be charged at any cost. Neither you nor your child will receive payment for his/her participation in the study. There are no direct benefits to your child. The results of this study, however, will increase our knowledge of the contribution of teachers in dealing with radicalisation related to right-wing extremism within the school environment in the United Kingdom and Greece respectively.

Your child's participation is voluntary. If you feel your child has in any way been coerced into participation, please inform the researcher or the Director of Studies. If you do not wish your child to be observed in the context of the study, you can freely opt out. If you agree your child to participate in this project, the research may be used by other researchers and regulatory authorities for future research.

If at any point during the study you or your child wishes to terminate the session, I will do so.

Any questions regarding the research should be directed to: Angeliki Ilia, Birmingham City University, Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Department of Criminology, PhD student, Student BCU ID: 19151479, Email: Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk; Dr. Keith Spiller, Director of Studies, Senior Lecturer in Criminology / Course Director for MA in Security Studies at Birmingham City University, Email: Keith.Spiller@bcu.ac.uk.

<u>References</u>

Van Den Bos, K. (2018) *Why People Radicalize: How Unfairness Judgments are Used to Fuel Radical Beliefs, Extremist Behaviors, and Terrorism*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press.

Research title: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in public schools in the UK and Greece."

This research has been approved by the BCU Ethics Committee (Reference number)

I understand that Angeliki Ilia will be conducting the above study at my child's school.

I **do NOT wish** my child to be included in this study.

Signature: ………………………………………………………………………………… (Parent/Guardian)

Date: …………………………………………………………………………………..

Please return this form to Angeliki Ilia (Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk) within 15 days of receiving this letter if you do not wish your child to take part in the study.

Letter to withdraw (version 2, 19.04.2021)

Request to Withdraw from a Research Study

(Please fill out all sections of the letter)

Name of Researcher: Angeliki Ilia

<u>**Research title**</u>**: "Building resilience against radicalisation related to right-wing extremism from an educational standpoint. A comparative analysis of teachers' perceptions in public schools in the UK and Greece."**

(Reference Number of the Birmingham City University Research Ethics Committee approval decision: X).

I, _____ want to end my participation in this study.

       Name of Participant

Ending my participation within the timetable of ninety (90) days of my participation (interview/observation) means:

I will no longer be contacted about this research study unless I need to be notified of a safety concern.

Information about me, including my health information, will no longer be collected.

I understand that any data collected as part of my participation in the study will be removed.

_____   _____

         Signature of Participant   Date

Γ.2. Έντυπο 7ο: Έντυπο ενυπόγραφης συγκατάθεσης για έρευνες που <u>δεν</u> συμμετέχουν μαθητές/-ήτριες

Εάν έχετε θιγεί αρνητικά από τον εξτρεμισμό, παρακαλώ αναλογιστείτε τη συμμετοχή σας και μη συμμετέχετε στην έρευνα

1. ΣΚΟΠΙΜΟΤΗΤΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ:

Αυτή η μελέτη επιδιώκει να διερευνήσει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τα σχολεία αντιμετωπίζουν ζητήματα ακροδεξιού εξτρεμισμού εντός του πλαισίου του σχολικού μαθήματος και στοχεύει σε μια συγκριτική ανάλυση μεταξύ του Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου και της Ελλάδας. Ο σκοπός του έργου έχει ως στόχο να μας παράσχει πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους τρόπους με τους οποίους οι πολιτικές διασφάλισης της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών βοηθούν τους νέους να αναπτύξουν ανθεκτικότητα ενάντια στη ριζοσπαστικοποίηση που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό. Στόχος μας είναι να προσλάβουμε σαράντα (40) συμμετέχοντες, συγκεκριμένα εκπαιδευτικούς δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα.

2. ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ:

Εάν συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτήν τη μελέτη, πρώτα η ερευνήτρια θα πραγματοποιήσει τη φάση παρατήρησης, στη συνέχεια θα σας πάρει συνέντευξη δύο φορές -με χρονική απόσταση περίπου ενός μήνα- και θα σας ζητήσει να τραβήξετε φωτογραφίες που σχετίζονται με τα θέματα ενδιαφέροντος στο ενδιάμεσο διάστημα. Η ερευνήτρια θα σας παρατηρήσει -όντας παρούσα στο παρασκήνιο- κατά τη διάρκεια συνεδριών που σχετίζονται με τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και την Πολιτική Παιδεία και πραγματοποιούνται είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά, ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19), αλλά δεν θα συμμετάσχει ενεργά ούτε θα αλληλεπιδρά μαζί σας κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος, ενεργώντας ως σκιά σε όποια από τις δύο μορφές λάβει χώρα η παράδοση του μαθήματος (δηλαδή δια ζώσης ή διαδικτυακά). Θα υιοθετηθεί μια απλή καταγραφή των εξελίξεων σε ένα σημειωματάριο (χάρτινο τετράδιο). Η ερευνήτρια δεν θα βιντεοσκοπήσει τις δια ζώσης ή διαδικτυακές συνεδρίες. Η πρόθεση της

ερευνήτριας είναι να παρατηρήσει δύο (2) ωριαίες συνεδρίες ώρας σε δύο (2) επιλεγμένες ημέρες την εβδομάδα για χρονικό διάστημα τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων. Τόσο οι αρχικές όσο και οι συμπληρωματικές (επακόλουθες) συνεντεύξεις θα πραγματοποιηθούν είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά χρησιμοποιώντας την πλατφόρμα MS Teams, ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19). Τόσο οι αρχικές όσο και οι συμπληρωματικές επακόλουθες συνεντεύξεις θα καταγραφούν είτε εγκαθιστώντας μια συσκευή ψηφιακής εγγραφής (στην περίπτωση δια ζώσης διεξαγωγής συνεντεύξεων) είτε χρησιμοποιώντας το «κουμπί εγγραφής» που παρέχει η ως άνω διαδικτυακή πλατφόρμα (MS Teams) (στην περίπτωση διαδικτυακής διεξαγωγής συνεντεύξεων). Και οι δύο συνεντεύξεις θα απομαγνητοφωνηθούν κατά λέξη. Και οι δύο συνεντεύξεις θα πραγματοποιηθούν από την Αγγελική Ηλία. Η πρώτη συνέντευξη θα διαρκέσει περίπου σαράντα πέντε (45) λεπτά και η επόμενη συνέντευξη θα διαρκέσει περίπου ενενήντα (90) λεπτά. Στην αρχική συνέντευξη, η ερευνήτρια θα σας δώσει μια φωτογραφική κάμερα μιας χρήσης. Θα προτείνουμε ότι οι φωτογραφίες που λαμβάνονται από τους συμμετέχοντες πρέπει να λαμβάνονται δημόσια και να προσπαθούν να φωτογραφίζουν μόνο αντικείμενα. Η λήψη φωτογραφιών στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας μελέτης δεν πρέπει να θέτει εσάς (ή οποιοδήποτε τρίτο άτομο) σε κίνδυνο. Εάν τραβήξετε φωτογραφίες άλλων ατόμων, θα σας ζητηθεί να λάβετε την υπογεγραμμένη συναίνεση από κάθε άτομο που φωτογραφήθηκε.

3.   ΑΝΑΜΕΝΟΜΕΝΑ ΟΦΕΛΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ:

Τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της μελέτης θα ενισχύσουν τις γνώσεις μας για τη συμβολή των εκπαιδευτικών στην αντιμετώπιση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό εντός του σχολικού περιβάλλοντος στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα αντίστοιχα.

4.   ΠΙΘΑΝΟΙ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΙ / ΔΥΣΚΟΛΙΕΣ:

Ενώ ελπίζουμε ότι η εμπειρία σας θα είναι ευχάριστη, το συναίσθημα του άγχους για τη συμμετοχή στην παρούσα μελέτη μπορεί να σας κάνει να νιώθετε άβολα. Ανά πάσα στιγμή κατά την παρατήρηση ή τις συνεντεύξεις, μπορείτε να επιλέξετε να αποσυρθείτε. Παρακαλώ διαβάστε παρακάτω την ενότητα «ΑΡΝΗΣΗ/ΑΠΟΣΥΡΣΗ». Βρείτε τις παρακάτω Υπηρεσίες Υποστήριξης σε περίπτωση που αισθανθείτε αναστατωμένοι/αγχωμένοι:

Εθνικό Κέντρο Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης (http://www.ekka.org.gr/). Τηλεφωνική Γραμμή: 197 (24/7).

Ερευνητικό Πανεπιστημιακό Ινστιτούτο Ψυχικής Υγείας (ΕΠΙΨΥ) Τηλεφωνική Γραμμή: 1034. **Εθνικό**

και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών «ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΕΙΟ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΟ» Τηλέφωνο: 2107222333.

Επιπλέον, θα μπορούσατε να βρείτε χρήσιμες πληροφορίες στους ακόλουθους συνδέσμους:

https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/publications/how-manage-and-reduce-stress;

 https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/self-help/guides-tools-and-activities/tips-to-reduce-stress/

https://www.iatronet.gr/diatrofi/threptikes-oysies/article/57816/pws-tha-antimetwpisw-to-agxos-megistopoiwntas-parallila-tin-apodosi-toy-egkefaloy.html.

http://www.skf.psych.uoa.gr/synh8ismena-problimata/cyxokoinwnika-problimata/to-stres-kai-h-antimetopisi-toy/pos-antimetwpizetai-to-stres.html.

https://ibrt.gr/edu/index.php?q=node/117.

Υπηρεσίες Υποστήριξης στο Birmingham City University:

Υποστήριξη Ψυχικής Υγείας και Ευεξίας: Τηλέφωνο: (+44) 0121 331 5188; **Διαδικτυακά**: «Μεγάλος Λευκός Τοίχος» παρέχει 24/7 διαδικτυακή υποστήριξη, προσβάσιμη ανά πάση στιγμή, οπουδήποτε.

5. ΑΝΩΝΥΜΙΑ / ΠΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ:

Όλα τα δεδομένα από την παρατήρηση, τις συνεντεύξεις και τις φωτογραφίες θα αντιγραφούν/απομαγνητοφωνηθούν κατά λέξη και θα διαχειρίζονται από την ερευνήτρια κατά τη διάρκεια του ερευνητικού έργου. Μόνο η ερευνήτρια και ο Διευθυντής Σπουδών θα έχουν πρόσβαση στα δεδομένα παρατήρησης, συνεντεύξεις, φωτογραφίες και προσωπικές πληροφορίες. Όλα τα δεδομένα θα αποθηκευτούν σε ασφαλές μέρος, σύμφωνα με τις απαιτήσεις του Νόμου περί Προστασίας Δεδομένων του 1998 και του αντίστοιχου στην Ελλάδα (Ν. 4624/2019). Όλες οι πληροφορίες που συλλέγονται για εσάς κατά τη διάρκεια της έρευνας θα παραμείνουν αυστηρά εμπιστευτικές. Δεν θα αναγνωριστείτε/ταυτοποιηθείτε σε οποιεσδήποτε αναφορές ή δημοσιεύσεις και το όνομά σας και άλλες αναγνωρίσιμες πληροφορίες θα ανωνυμοποιηθούν. Η διαδικασία μεταγραφής/απομαγνητοφώνησης θα πραγματοποιηθεί αποκλειστικά σε φορητό υπολογιστή του Πανεπιστημίου που είναι συνδεδεμένος στο OneDrive και όχι σε υπολογιστή με κοινόχρηστο δίκτυο. Τα δεδομένα θα διατηρούνται με ασφάλεια για μια περίοδο δέκα (10) ετών μετά την ολοκλήρωση του παρόντος ερευνητικού έργου, προκειμένου να συμμορφωθώ με τις οδηγίες που παρέχει το Birmingham City University (Birmingham City Trust Academies Trust, n.d.). Για την Πολιτική Προστασίας Δεδομένων, στο Birmingham City University (BCU)

μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Υπεύθυνο Προστασίας Δεδομένων στη διεύθυνση informationmanagement@bcu.ac.uk ή στο τηλέφωνο +44 (0)121 331-5288 ή Data Protection Officer, Information Management Team, Birmingham City University, University House, 15 Bartholomew Row, Birmingham, B5 5JU. Μπορείτε να παραπονεθείτε απευθείας στον Information Commissioner στο Information Commissioner's Office, Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire, SK9 5AF, περισσότερες πληροφορίες είναι διαθέσιμες στο www.ico.org.uk.

6. ΑΡΝΗΣΗ / ΑΠΟΣΥΡΣΗ:

Η συμμετοχή σε αυτήν την έρευνα είναι εθελοντική και μπορείτε να υποβάλετε ερωτήσεις στην ερευνήτρια πριν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε. Εάν συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε, θα σας ζητηθεί να υπογράψετε ένα έντυπο συναίνεσης. Ωστόσο, ανά πάσα στιγμή έως και 90 ημέρες μετά τη συνέντευξη/παρατήρηση, είστε ελεύθεροι να αποσυρθείτε από τη μελέτη (χωρίς προκαταλήψεις). Εάν επιλέξετε να αποσυρθείτε, δεν θα σας ζητήσουμε να δώσετε κανένα λόγο. Εάν αποφασίσετε να αποσυρθείτε, θα πρέπει να συμπληρώσετε και να υπογράψετε το έντυπο «Αίτημα Απόσυρσης από Ερευνητική Μελέτη», το οποίο θα σας δοθεί από την ερευνήτρια και θα αποσταλεί στην ερευνήτρια μέσω μηνύματος ηλεκτρονικής αλληλογραφίας (email) έως και 90 ημέρες μετά τη συνέντευξη/παρατήρηση. Η ερευνήτρια δεν θα προσπαθήσει να σας πείσει να ανακαλέσετε την απόσυρσή σας. Η ερευνήτρια θα αποφύγει να σας πλησιάσει για να διατηρήσει την ανωνυμία σας. Η εξάλειψη των δεδομένων που έχουν αποσυρθεί θα περιλαμβάνει την καταστροφή των απτών/φυσικών στοιχείων της συμμετοχής σας στην ερευνητική μελέτη. Δεν θα έρθουμε πλέον σε επαφή μαζί σας σχετικά με αυτήν την ερευνητική μελέτη, εκτός εάν χρειαστεί να ειδοποιηθείτε για θέματα ασφάλειας. Μετά την ημερομηνία αυτή, τα δεδομένα θα αναλυθούν και θα γραφτούν.

ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΗ / ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ

7. ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΗ ΔΗΛΩΣΗ / ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ:

ΔΗΛΩΝΩ ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΑ ΟΤΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΧΟΜΑΙ ΝΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΩ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ.

ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΑ/ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΥΣΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ/ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ

Έντυπο συναίνεσης του/ης Φωτογραφιζόμενου/ης

Αυτό το έντυπο είναι συμπλήρωμα του Εντύπου Συναίνεσης

<u>Όνομα Ερευνητή</u>: Αγγελική Ηλία

<u>**Τίτλος διατριβής**</u>**: "Δόμηση ανθεκτικότητας κατά της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό από τη σκοπιά της εκπαίδευσης. Συγκριτική ανάλυση των αντιλήψεων των καθηγητών δημοσίων σχολείων στο ΗΒ και την Ελλάδα."**

(Αριθμοί Αναφοράς των εγκριτικών αποφάσεων της Επιτροπής Δεοντολογίας του Birmingham City University για την έρευνα: Ilia /#7826 /sub3 /R(A) /2021 /Jun /BLSS FAEC & Ilia /#7826 /sub1 /Am /2021 /Nov /BLSS FAEC).

Παρακαλώ διαβάστε το παρόν έντυπο και συμπληρώστε το προσεκτικά. Κυκλώστε κατάλληλα.

Οι φωτογραφίες που θα τραβηχτούν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για να προσθέσουν ενδιαφέρον και να παραδειγματίσουν τα ευρήματα της έρευνας. Για παράδειγμα, μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ως εικονογραφήσεις σε περιλήψεις ιστοτόπων, ερευνητικές εκθέσεις, συνοπτικά φυλλάδια, άρθρα εφημερίδων και/ή παρουσιάσεις συνεδρίων.

Να συμπληρωθεί από τον/η φωτογραφιζόμενο/η:

Συμφωνώ στη λήψη φωτογραφίας μου   **ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ**

Κατανοώ ότι το όνομά μου δεν θα συνδεθεί με τη (ή τις) φωτογραφία(ιες)   **ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ**

Κατανοώ ότι δεν θα μου δοθούν εύσημα για την εμφάνισή μου στη (ή στις) φωτογραφία(ιες)   **ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ**

Δίνω στο/ην φωτογράφο/συμμετέχοντα την άδεια να:

χρησιμοποιήσει τη/ις φωτογραφία/ες μου σε ιστοσελίδα(ες)   **ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ**

χρησιμοποιήσει τη/ις φωτογραφία/ες μου σε έντυπο υλικό (π.χ. αναφορές, φυλλάδια, άρθρα εφημερίδων, δελτία ειδήσεων)

                                                                           ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ

χρησιμοποιήσει τη/ις φωτογραφία/ες μου σε παρουσιάσεις (π.χ. σε συνέδρια ή σεμινάρια)

                                                                           ΝΑΙ / ΟΧΙ

Υπογραφή του/ης Φωτογραφιζόμενου/ης: _____

Ημερομηνία: _____

Όνομα του/ης Φωτογραφιζόμενου/ης (κεφαλαία γράμματα): _____

Υπογραφή του/ης γονέα/κηδεμόνα του Φωτογραφιζόμενου (αν τυχόν ανήλικο άτομο εμφανίζεται σε φωτογραφία): _____

Ημερομηνία: _____

Όνομα του/ης γονέα/κηδεμόνα του Φωτογραφιζόμενου (αν τυχόν ανήλικο άτομο εμφανίζεται σε φωτογραφία) (κεφαλαία γράμματα): _____

Υπογραφή του/ης φωτογράφου/συμμετέχοντα: _____

Ημερομηνία: _____

(Όνομα, τηλέφωνο επικοινωνίας συμμετέχοντα)

ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΛΟ ΗΜΙΔΟΜΗΜΕΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΗΣ (εκδοχή 2, 07.06.2021)

Πριν από τη συνέντευξη:

Ανοίγουμε ένα σημειωματάριο, εγκαθιστούμε μια συσκευή ψηφιακής εγγραφής και βεβαιωνόμαστε ότι η συσκευή ψηφιακής εγγραφής λειτουργεί (δεδομένης της τρέχουσας κατάστασης και ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19) οι ημιδομημένες συνεδρίες συνέντευξης θα πραγματοποιηθούν είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά μέσω MS Teams. Σε αυτή τη δεύτερη περίπτωση (εάν δηλαδή πραγματοποιηθούν διαδικτυακά), οι συνεδρίες θα ηχογραφηθούν χρησιμοποιώντας το «κουμπί εγγραφής» που παρέχει αυτό το διαδικτυακό σύστημα).

Η συνέντευξη ξεκινά με:

Εισαγωγή από την συνεντεύκτρια.

Έντυπο συναίνεσης και συμφωνία εμπιστευτικώς, η οποία περιλαμβάνει περιγραφή του έργου/της μελέτης. Το έντυπο συναίνεσης που υπογράφεται από κάθε συμμετέχοντα θα μου επιστρέφεται μέσω συνημμένου email πριν από τη συνέντευξη. Οι συμμετέχοντες θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούν ηλεκτρονική υπογραφή ή φωτογραφική απόδειξη χειρόγραφης υπογραφής στο έντυπο συναίνεσης για να δηλώσουν τη συναίνεσή τους.

Υπενθύμιση: ότι πρόκειται για εξερεύνηση και δεν υπάρχουν σωστές ή λάθος απαντήσεις. Ευχαριστώ εκ των προτέρων τον συμμετέχοντα.

Το Εισαγωγικό Πρωτόκολλο θα μπορούσε να λάβει τη μορφή ως εξής:

Για να διευκολύνουμε τη λήψη σημειώσεων, θα θέλαμε να ηχογραφήσουμε τις συνομιλίες μας σήμερα. Παρακαλώ υπογράψτε τη φόρμα συναίνεσης (δεδομένης της τρέχουσας κατάστασης, οι συμμετέχοντες θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούν ηλεκτρονική υπογραφή ή φωτογραφική απόδειξη χειρόγραφης υπογραφής της φόρμας συναίνεσης για να δηλώσουν τη συναίνεση. Αυτό θα επιστραφεί μέσω συνημμένου email πριν από τη συνέντευξη). Ουσιαστικά, αυτό το έγγραφο αναφέρει ότι: (1) όλες οι πληροφορίες θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές, (2) η συμμετοχή σας είναι εθελοντική και μπορείτε να σταματήσετε ανά πάσα στιγμή εάν αισθάνεστε άβολα και (3) δεν σκοπεύουμε να προκαλέσουμε καμία ζημιά.

Προς ενημέρωσή σας, μόνο εγώ, ως ερευνήτρια του έργου, και ο Διευθυντής Σπουδών θα έχουμε πρόσβαση στο υλικό εγγραφής. Τα ηλεκτρονικά δεδομένα θα διαγραφούν από όλα τα αρχεία σύμφωνα με τις οδηγίες του τμήματος πληροφορικής του BCU και σύμφωνα με την εξουσιοδότηση του Πανεπιστημίου. Τα φυσικά δεδομένα που περιέχουν PID (Κωδικούς Ταυτότητας Συμμετεχόντων), όπως έντυπα συγκατάθεσης, θα αποθηκεύονται με ασφάλεια σε κλειδωμένο ντουλάπι αρχειοθέτησης ή ντουλαπάκι. Τα φυσικά δεδομένα θα καταστραφούν μέσω των εγκαταστάσεων για τα εμπιστευτικά απόβλητα του BCU και σύμφωνα με την άδεια του Πανεπιστημίου.

Έχουμε προγραμματίσει αυτή η συνέντευξη να μην διαρκέσει περισσότερο από 45 λεπτά. Κατά τη διάρκεια αυτής της περιόδου, έχουμε ορισμένες ερωτήσεις που θα θέλαμε να καλύψουμε. Εάν ο χρόνος αρχίζει να λιγοστεύει, μπορεί να χρειαστεί να σας διακόψουμε για να προχωρήσετε και να ολοκληρώσετε αυτήν τη σειρά ερωτήσεων.

Επιπλέον, κατόπιν συνεννόησης, θα δίνονται οι κάμερες μίας χρήσης και οι σχετικές οδηγίες που περιγράφουν λεπτομερώς τον τρόπο λειτουργίας και τα έγγραφα στο σχολείο όπου διδάσκετε. Θα σας ζητήσουμε να τραβήξετε φωτογραφίες όσων θεωρείτε ότι σχετίζονται με τα θέματα ενδιαφέροντος. Θα έχετε ένα προτεινόμενο χρονικό διάστημα τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων για να τραβήξετε τις φωτογραφίες σας. Θα προτείνουμε ότι οι φωτογραφίες που λαμβάνονται από τους συμμετέχοντες θα πρέπει να λαμβάνονται δημόσια. Παρακαλώ προσπαθήστε και φωτογραφίστε μόνο αντικείμενα.

Η λήψη φωτογραφιών στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας μελέτης δεν πρέπει να θέτει εσάς (ή οποιοδήποτε τρίτο άτομο) σε κίνδυνο. Δεν πρέπει να θέσετε τον εαυτό σας ή οποιοδήποτε τρίτο άτομο (σωματικά, ψυχικά ή ψυχολογικά) σε κίνδυνο για να φωτογραφίσετε για τους σκοπούς της παρούσας μελέτης. Εάν τραβήξετε φωτογραφίες άλλων ατόμων, θα σας ζητηθεί να λάβετε την υπογεγραμμένη συναίνεση από κάθε άτομο που φωτογραφήθηκε. Μπορείτε ακόμη να τραβήξετε μεταφορικές φωτογραφίες έναντι ρεαλιστικών φωτογραφιών για να απεικονίσετε τις εμπειρίες σας που σχετίζονται με το παρόν ερευνητικό έργο.

Οι φωτογραφίες σας θα χρησιμοποιηθούν ως ερέθισμα για συζήτηση σε επακόλουθη συμπληρωματική συνεδρία ποιοτικής συνέντευξης. Η συμπληρωματική επακόλουθη συνέντευξη θα πραγματοποιηθεί μετά το παραπάνω χρονικό διάστημα τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων. Αυτή η συνεδρία θα ηχογραφηθεί επίσης. Κατά τη διάρκεια αυτής της συνεδρίας, θα σας ζητηθεί να εξηγήσετε τη σημασία των εικόνων και τους λόγους

που επιλέγετε για να απεικονίσετε τις εμπειρίες και τις αντιλήψεις σας μέσω των φωτογραφιών που θα τραβήξετε. Έχουμε προγραμματίσει αυτή η συνέντευξη να διαρκέσει όχι περισσότερο από 90 λεπτά.

Έχετε επιλεγεί για να μιλήσετε μαζί μας σήμερα επειδή έχετε αναγνωριστεί ως κάποιος που έχει πολλά να μοιραστεί σχετικά με τις πολιτικές διαφύλαξης για την προστασία και την ασφάλεια των μαθητών, τις γνώσεις σχετικά με τη ριζοσπαστικοποίηση που σχετίζονται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό και τη διδασκαλία. Το ερευνητικό μας έργο στο σύνολό του επικεντρώνεται στη διερεύνηση της πρακτικής εφαρμογής των πολιτικών διασφάλισης για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών στην καταπολέμηση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα, με ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον να κατανοήσει πώς οι εκπαιδευτικοί ασχολούνται με τα μέτρα διαφύλαξης για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών, πώς αξιολογούν τις εκπαιδευτικές τους εμπειρίες, τις επαγγελματικές αξίες και τη διαδικασία διδασκαλίας, και αν μπορούμε να αρχίσουμε να μοιραζόμαστε όσα γνωρίζουμε για το πώς κάνουμε τη διαφορά στην καταπολέμηση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό.

Συνολικά, η μελέτη μας στοχεύει να διερευνήσει τη συμβολή των εκπαιδευτικών στην αντιμετώπιση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό μέσα στο σχολικό περιβάλλον στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα αντίστοιχα. Η μελέτη μας δεν στοχεύει στην αξιολόγηση των τεχνικών ή των εμπειριών σας, αλλά προσπαθούμε να μάθουμε περισσότερα σχετικά με τη διασφάλιση των πολιτικών για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών στην πράξη και ελπίζουμε να μάθουμε για πρακτικές που βοηθούν στην οικοδόμηση ανθεκτικότητας ενάντια στη ριζοσπαστικοποίηση που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό.

Σας ευχαριστούμε που συμφωνήσατε να συμμετάσχετε. Σε αυτό το σημείο, θα ήθελα να αναφέρω ότι, ενώ ελπίζουμε ότι η εμπειρία σας θα είναι ευχάριστη, το συναίσθημα του άγχους για τη συμμετοχή στην παρούσα μελέτη μπορεί να σας κάνει να νιώθετε άβολα. Μπορείτε να αρνηθείτε να απαντήσετε σε ερωτήσεις ή να αποσυρθείτε από τη μελέτη ανά πάσα στιγμή, ακόμη και κατά τη διάρκεια της ίδιας της συνέντευξης.

Ξεκινήστε να ηχογραφείτε την ημιδομημένη συνεδρία.

I. Ερωτήσεις υπόβαθρου.

Περιγράψτε εν συντομία τον ρόλο σας (γραφείο, επιτροπή, τάξη κ.λπ.).

Ποιος είναι ο τομέας της διδασκαλίας που παραδίδετε;

Τι μάθημα διδάσκετε στους μαθητές;

II. Πολιτικές διαφύλαξης της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών και εμπειρίες κατάρτισης.

1. Θα θέλατε να μου πείτε για τους τρόπους με τους οποίους ο επίσημος οδηγός (εάν υπάρχει) αντιμετωπίζει τα θέματα της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης, ιδίως όσον αφορά τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό; Υπάρχει κάποια κατάρτιση (εκπαίδευση) σχετικά με αυτό;

2. Πώς θα αξιολογούσατε πρακτικά την πολιτική διασφάλισης για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών και την εμπειρία κατάρτισης (εάν υπάρχει) σχετικά με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό;

III. Ο ρόλος και οι ευθύνες των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με την εφαρμογή του καθήκοντος Πρόληψης για τους εκπαιδευτικούς στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την εφαρμογή της πολιτικής διαφύλαξης της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών από τους εκπαιδευτικούς στην Ελλάδα.

3. Πιστεύετε ότι η συμμετοχή των εκπαιδευτικών στην καταπολέμηση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης -ιδιαίτερα όσον αφορά τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό- είναι απαραίτητη και γιατί;

IV. Γνώση σχετικά με τη ριζοσπαστικοποίηση που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό.

4. Πρακτικά, πώς θα μπορούσατε να εντοπίσετε τυχόν απειλές ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζονται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό μεταξύ των μαθητών σας;

V. Επαγγελματισμός.

Τώρα, ας μιλήσουμε για επαγγελματισμό σε σχέση με τις πολιτικές διασφάλισης για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών. Υπό αυτή την έννοια, ο επαγγελματισμός αφορά τη δεοντολογία, τη συμπεριφορά και τη στάση μέσα στο σχολείο, το οποίο είναι το εργασιακό περιβάλλον στο οποίο στοχεύει να επικεντρωθεί αυτή η έρευνα.

5. Πώς ισορροπεί η επαγγελματική σας συμπεριφορά με την αντιμετώπιση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό μέσα στην τάξη; Θα μπορούσατε να γίνετε πιο σαφείς σχετικά με τις εμπειρίες σας;

VI. Ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα.

6. Πιστεύετε ότι η διδασκαλία των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων και της Πολιτικής Παιδείας παρέχεται επαρκώς υπό το τρέχον πλαίσιο πολιτικής διασφάλισης της προστασίας της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών;

7. Πιστεύετε ότι η υποχρεωτική συμμετοχή των εκπαιδευτικών στο πλαίσιο μιας αυστηρότερης ατζέντας διασφάλισης της προστασίας της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών θα μπορούσε να βλάψει τη σχέση μεταξύ εκπαιδευτικών και μαθητών; Αν ναι, πώς θα το περιγράφατε αυτό;

Για να κλείσω, θέλω να βεβαιωθώ ότι δεν έχω χάσει μέρη (της συνέντευξης) που εκτιμάτε ή είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά για εσάς.

VI. Οδηγίες σχετικά με τη χρήση της φωτογραφικής μηχανής μιας χρήσης.

Για να τραβήξετε μια φωτογραφία, γυρίστε τον τροχό κύλισης μέχρι να μην γυρίσει άλλο. Στη συνέχεια, ενεργοποιήστε το φλας εάν χρειάζεστε επιπλέον φως, σύροντας το κουμπί στο μπροστινό μέρος της κάμερας προς τα πάνω. Βάλτε την κάμερα μέχρι το μάτι σας και κάντε κλικ στο κουμπί στο επάνω μέρος της κάμερας για να τραβήξετε τη φωτογραφία σας. Μετά το προτεινόμενο χρονικό διάστημα των τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων, θα ήθελα να μου στείλετε τη φωτογραφική μηχανή μιας χρήσης (με δικά μου έξοδα) μέσω του ταχυδρομείου για να εμφανίσω τη φωτογραφική ταινία. Στη συνέχεια, μπορούμε να κανονίσουμε τη συμπληρωματική επακόλουθη συνέντευξη.

VII. Πρόγραμμα της συμπληρωματικής (επακόλουθης) συνέντευξης.

Μετά το προτεινόμενο χρονικό διάστημα των τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων για τη λήψη των φωτογραφιών σας, θα έχουμε μια συμπληρωματική επακόλουθη συνεδρία ποιοτικής συνέντευξης. Οι φωτογραφίες σας θα χρησιμοποιηθούν ως ερέθισμα για αυτήν τη συνομιλία. Αυτή η συνεδρία θα ηχογραφηθεί επίσης. Κατά

τη διάρκεια αυτής της συνεδρίας, θα σας ζητηθεί να εξηγήσετε τη σημασία των εικόνων και τους λόγους που επιλέγετε για να απεικονίσετε τις εμπειρίες και τις αντιλήψεις σας μέσω των φωτογραφιών που θα τραβήξετε. Έχουμε προγραμματίσει αυτή η συνέντευξη να διαρκέσει όχι περισσότερο από 90 λεπτά.

Ελπίζουμε να σας φάνηκε ενδιαφέρουσα (η συνέντευξη/εμπειρία) και να μην αναστατωθήκατε από κανένα από τα θέματα που συζητήθηκαν. Ωστόσο, εάν διαπιστώσατε ότι κάποιο μέρος αυτής της εμπειρίας είναι ενοχλητικό και θέλετε να μου μιλήσετε, ως ερευνήτρια, επικοινωνήστε μαζί μου:

Αγγελική Ηλία, Birmingham City University, Σχολή Κοινωνικών Επιστημών στον Τομέα Οικονομικών, Νομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών στο Birmingham City University, Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, Τμήμα Εγκληματολογίας, Διδακτορική Φοιτήτρια, Αριθμός Φοιτητικού Μητρώου: 19151479, Email: Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk, Τηλ.: (+44) ……., (+30) …….

Υπάρχουν επίσης ορισμένοι οργανισμοί που αναφέρονται παρακάτω με τους οποίους μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε σε περίπτωση που αισθανθείτε αναστάτωση/στενοχώρια:

Υπηρεσίες υποστήριξης έξω από το Birmingham City University:

<u>Αναφορικά με τους συμμετέχοντες στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο:</u>

- **Confidential Support Line** (https://www.supportline.org.uk/).

  Helpline: 01708 765200; Email: info@supportline.org.uk.

- **Mind Organisation** (https://www.mind.org.uk).

  15-19 Broadway, Stratford, London E15 4BQ

  Reception: 020 8519 2122

  Supporter relations: 020 8215 2243

  Email: supporterrelations@mind.org.uk

  Fax: 020 8522 1725

- **Samaritans** (https://www.samaritans.org/).

Helpline: 116 123

  Samaritans Central Office: Central Office Tel: +44 (0)20 8394 8300.

  Central Office email: admin@samaritans.org.

  Central Office postal address: Samaritans, The Upper Mill, Kingston Road, Ewell, Surrey KT17 2AF.

- **NHS Birmingham and Solihull Mental Health** (https://www.bsmhft.nhs.uk/our-services/birmingham-healthy-minds/).

Tel: 0121 301 2525 (Urgent mental health support, 24/7 – 0121 262 3555).

- **My health London** (https://myhealth.london.nhs.uk/health-and-wellbeing/mental-health/mental-health-trusts/).

Αναφορικά με τους συμμετέχοντες στην Ελλάδα:

- **Εθνικό Κέντρο Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης** (http://www.ekka.org.gr/).

Τηλεφωνική Γραμμή: 197 (24/7).

- **Ερευνητικό Πανεπιστημιακό Ινστιτούτο Ψυχικής Υγείας (ΕΠΙΨΥ)**

Τηλεφωνική Γραμμή: 1034

- **Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών «ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΕΙΟ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΟ»**

- Τηλέφωνο: 2107222333.

Υπηρεσίες Υποστήριξης στο Birmingham City University:

Υποστήριξη Ψυχικής Υγείας και Ευεξίας

Τηλέφωνο: (+44) 0121 331 5188; **Διαδικτυακά**: «Μεγάλος Λευκός Τοίχος» παρέχει 24/7 διαδικτυακή υποστήριξη, προσβάσιμη ανά πάση στιγμή, οπουδήποτε.

VIII. Κλείσιμο.

Σας ευχαριστώ για το χρόνο σας. Αυτές είναι όλες οι ερωτήσεις που έχω για εσάς σε αυτή τη φάση. Έχετε κάποια ερώτηση για μένα;

……………………………

Και πάλι σας ευχαριστώ πολύ. Θα σας δω σύντομα.

Έντυπο Εξαίρεσης

"Τι γνωρίζουμε για το πώς οι πολιτικές διασφάλισης για την προστασία της υγείας και της ασφάλειας των μαθητών κάνουν τη διαφορά στον αγώνα κατά της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό;"

Αγαπητέ Γονέα/Κηδεμόνα,

Είμαι διδακτορική φοιτήτρια στο Birmingham City University (BCU) της οποίας η εργασία έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει πως τα σχολεία αντιμετωπίζουν θέματα ακροδεξιού εξτρεμισμού στη διδασκαλία τους και επικεντρώνεται σε μια συγκριτική ανάλυση μεταξύ του Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου και της Ελλάδας. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η μελέτη μου στοχεύει να μας δώσει πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους τρόπους με τους οποίους οι πολιτικές προστασίας για την υγεία και την ασφάλεια των μαθητών βοηθούν τους νέους να αναπτύξουν ανθεκτικότητα ενάντια στη ριζοσπαστικοποίηση που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό. Η έρευνα αυτή έχει εγκριθεί από την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας του Birmingham City University (Αριθμοί Αναφοράς: Ilia /#7826 /sub3 /R(A) /2021 /Jun /BLSS FAEC & Ilia /#7826 /sub1 /Am /2021 /Nov /BLSS FAEC).

Η ιδέα της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης βρίσκεται στο επίκεντρο μιας συζήτησης αναφορικά με την προστασία και ασφάλεια στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία. Σύμφωνα με τον Van den Bos (2018), η ριζοσπαστικοποίηση σχετίζεται με τους μηχανισμούς που παράγουν ή προκαλούνται από ακραίες πεποιθήσεις.

Σας γράφω για να ζητήσω άδεια για τη διεξαγωγή της φάσης παρατήρησης της ερευνητικής μου μελέτης στο σχολείο του παιδιού σας. Οι μαθητές δεν είναι το άμεσο αντικείμενο αυτής της μελέτης. Αυτή η μελέτη δεν σκοπεύει να αξιολογήσει ή να δοκιμάσει τη συμπεριφορά ή τις εμπειρίες του παιδιού σας, παρά προσπαθώ να μάθω περισσότερα σχετικά με τις πολιτικές προστασίας για την υγεία και την ασφάλεια των μαθητών στην πράξη. Η πρόθεσή μου έγκειται στον καθορισμό του τρόπου με τον οποίο λειτουργούν τα μαθήματα που σχετίζονται με την Πολιτική Παιδεία και τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα στην τάξη, αναπτύσσουν ανθεκτικότητα και ωφελούν τους μαθητές. Θα ήθελα να παρατηρήσω σε πραγματικό χρόνο πώς παραδίδονται αυτά τα μαθήματα στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα αντίστοιχα.

Αν μου επιτρέπετε να παρακολουθώ μαθήματα σχετικά με τα θέματα ενδιαφέροντος της μελέτης μου, θα είμαι παρούσα στο παρασκήνιο κατά τη διάρκεια των συνεδριών που αφορούν στα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα

και την Πολιτική Παιδεία και πραγματοποιούνται είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά, ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19), όντας παρούσα σαν σκιά, παρά παίζοντας κάποιον ενεργό ρόλο και σε όποια από τις δύο μορφές λάβει χώρα η παράδοση του μαθήματος (δηλαδή δια ζώσης ή διαδικτυακά). **Δεν** θα συμμετάσχω ούτε θα αλληλεπιδρώ με τους δασκάλους και τους μαθητές σε κανένα βαθμό. Σκοπεύω να παρακολουθήσω δύο (2) συνεδρίες 1 ώρας σε δύο (2) επιλεγμένες ημέρες την εβδομάδα σε διάστημα τεσσάρων (4) εβδομάδων. Στο σημείο αυτό θα ήθελα να αναφέρω ότι οι συνεδρίες (είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά), στο πλαίσιο αυτής της μελέτης, **δεν** θα καταγραφούν σε βίντεο. Θα καταγράψω τα δεδομένα παρατήρησης σε ημερολόγιο μελέτης (χάρτινο τετράδιο). Οι σημειώσεις μου **δεν** αφορούν τους μαθητές κατά τη διάρκεια των συνεδριών (είτε δια ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά).

Το παιδί σας **δεν** θα αναγνωριστεί/ταυτοποιηθεί σε οποιεσδήποτε αναφορές ή δημοσιεύσεις και το όνομά του και άλλες πληροφορίες θα ανωνυμοποιηθούν. Τα δεδομένα των παιδιών δεν θα αναγνωριστούν/ταυτοποιηθούν μεμονωμένα. Όλες οι πληροφορίες που θα συλλέξω κατά τη διάρκεια της έρευνας θα παραμείνουν αυστηρά εμπιστευτικές. Όλα τα δεδομένα θα αποθηκευτούν σε ασφαλές μέρος. Όλα τα αρχεία θα είναι διαθέσιμα μόνο για μένα, τον ερευνήτρια, και τον Διευθυντή Σπουδών. Τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης θα γραφτούν ως διατριβή.

Οι κίνδυνοι σε αυτή τη μελέτη είναι ελάχιστοι (δηλαδή, όχι μεγαλύτεροι από αυτούς που συναντώνται συνήθως στην καθημερινή ζωή). Δεν αναμένονται ταλαιπωρία ή κίνδυνοι για εσάς ή το παιδί σας σε αυτή τη μελέτη. **Δεν** θα επιβαρυνθείτε χρηματικά ούτε εσείς ούτε το παιδί σας. Ούτε εσείς ούτε το παιδί σας θα λάβετε κάποια αμοιβή για τη συμμετοχή του παιδιού σας στην έρευνα. Η συμμετοχή του παιδιού σας σε αυτή τη μελέτη δεν έχει άμεσα οφέλη για το παιδί σας. Τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της μελέτης, ωστόσο, θα ενισχύσουν τις γνώσεις μας για τη συμβολή των εκπαιδευτικών στην αντιμετώπιση της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό μέσα στο σχολικό περιβάλλον στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και την Ελλάδα αντίστοιχα.

 Η συμμετοχή του παιδιού σας είναι εθελοντική. Εάν πιστεύετε ότι το παιδί σας έχει εξαναγκαστεί με οποιονδήποτε τρόπο να συμμετάσχει, ενημερώστε την ερευνήτρια ή τον Διευθυντή Σπουδών. Εάν δεν επιθυμείτε το παιδί σας να παρακολουθείται στο πλαίσιο της μελέτης, μπορείτε ελεύθερα να εξαιρεθείτε. Εάν συμφωνείτε το παιδί σας να συμμετάσχει σε αυτό το έργο, η έρευνα μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί από άλλους ερευνητές και ρυθμιστικές αρχές για μελλοντική έρευνα.

Εάν σε οποιοδήποτε σημείο κατά τη διάρκεια της μελέτης εσείς ή το παιδί σας επιθυμείτε να τερματίσετε τη συνεδρία, θα το κάνω.

Οποιεσδήποτε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα πρέπει να απευθύνονται: Αγγελική Ηλία, Birmingham City University, Σχολή Κοινωνικών Επιστημών στον Τομέα Οικονομικών, Νομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών στο Birmingham City University, Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, Τμήμα Εγκληματολογίας, Διδακτορική Φοιτήτρια, Αριθμός Φοιτητικού Μητρώου: 19151479, Email: Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk, Dr. Keith Spiller, Director of Studies, Senior Lecturer in Criminology / Course Director for MA in Security Studies at Birmingham City University, Email: Keith.Spiller@bcu.ac.uk.

Βιβλιογραφία

Van Den Bos, K. (2018) *Why People Radicalize: How Unfairness Judgments are Used to Fuel Radical Beliefs, Extremist Behaviors, and Terrorism*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press.

Τίτλος διατριβής: "Δόμηση ανθεκτικότητας κατά της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό από τη σκοπιά της εκπαίδευσης. Συγκριτική ανάλυση των αντιλήψεων των καθηγητών δημοσίων σχολείων στο ΗΒ και την Ελλάδα."

Η έρευνα αυτή έχει εγκριθεί από την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας του Birmingham City University

(Αριθμοί Αναφοράς: Ilia /#7826 /sub3 /R(A) /2021 /Jun /BLSS FAEC & Ilia /#7826 /sub1 /Am /2021 /Nov /BLSS FAEC).

Καταλαβαίνω ότι η Αγγελική Ηλία θα διεξάγει την παραπάνω μελέτη στο σχολείο του παιδιού μου.

ΔΕΝ επιθυμώ το παιδί μου να συμπεριληφθεί σε αυτή τη μελέτη.

Υπογραφή: ……………………………………………………………………. (Γονέας/Κηδεμόνας)

Ημερομηνία: ……………………………………………………………………..

Παρακαλώ επιστρέψτε το έντυπο στην Αγγελική Ηλία (Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk) εντός 15 ημερών από την ημέρα που θα παραλάβετε αυτό το έντυπο εάν δεν επιθυμείτε το παιδί σας να συμμετάσχει στην έρευνα.

Επιστολή απόσυρσης

<center>

Αίτημα Απόσυρσης από Ερευνητική Μελέτη

(Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε όλα τα πεδία της επιστολής)

</center>

Όνομα του Ερευνητή: Αγγελική Ηλία

<u>**Τίτλος έρευνας**</u>**: "Δόμηση ανθεκτικότητας κατά της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό από τη σκοπιά της εκπαίδευσης. Συγκριτική ανάλυση των αντιλήψεων των καθηγητών δημοσίων σχολείων στο ΗΒ και την Ελλάδα."**

(Αριθμοί Αναφοράς των εγκριτικών αποφάσεων της Επιτροπής Δεοντολογίας του Birmingham City University για την Έρευνα: Ilia /#7826 /sub3 /R(A) /2021 /Jun /BLSS FAEC & Ilia /#7826 /sub1 /Am /2021 /Nov /BLSS FAEC).

Εγώ, _____ επιθυμώ να τερματίσω τη συμμετοχή μου στην παρούσα μελέτη.

<center>

Όνομα Συμμετέχοντος/ουσας

</center>

Τερματίζοντας τη συμμετοχή μου εντός του χρονοδιαγράμματος ενενήντα (90) ημερών από τη συμμετοχή μου (συνέντευξη/παρατήρηση) σημαίνει:

Δεν θα έχω πλέον επαφή για αυτή την ερευνητική μελέτη εκτός εάν είναι απαραίτητο να ειδοποιηθώ για λόγους ασφαλείας.

Πληροφορίες που αφορούν στο άτομο μου, συμπεριλαμβανομένων πληροφοριών για την υγεία μου, δεν θα συλλέγονται πια.

Κατανοώ ότι τυχόν δεδομένα που έχουν συλλεγεί, ως μέρος της συμμετοχής μου στην παρούσα μελέτη, θα αφαιρεθούν.

_____   _____

Υπογραφή του/ης Συμμετέχοντος/ουσας   Ημερομηνία

ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΗ ΔΗΛΩΣΗ

(άρθρο 8 Ν.1599/1986)

Η ακρίβεια των στοιχείων που υποβάλλονται με αυτή τη δήλωση μπορεί να ελεγχθεί με βάση το αρχείο άλλων υπηρεσιών (άρθρο 8 παρ. 4 Ν. 1599/1986)

ΠΡΟΣ(1):	ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΚΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΒΑΘΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΒΑΘΜΙΑΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ		
Ο – Η Όνομα:	ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ	Επώνυμο:	ΗΛΙΑ
Όνομα και Επώνυμο Πατέρα:			
Όνομα και Επώνυμο Μητέρας:			
Ημερομηνία γέννησης(2):			
Τόπος Γέννησης:			
Αριθμός Δελτίου Ταυτότητας:		Τηλ:	
Τόπος Κατοικίας:	Οδός:	Αριθ:	ΤΚ:
Αρ. Τηλεομοιοτύπου (Fax):		Δ/νση Ηλεκτρ. Ταχυδρομείου (Email):	Angeliki.Ilia@mail.bcu.ac.uk

Με ατομική μου ευθύνη και γνωρίζοντας τις κυρώσεις (3), που προβλέπονται από τις διατάξεις της παρ. 6 του άρθρου 22 του Ν. 1599/1986, δηλώνω ότι:

α. Η πρόθεσή μου **δεν** είναι να συλλέξω προσωπικά δεδομένα (προσωπικές πληροφορίες ή πληροφορίες ταυτοποίησης) από μαθητές, δεδομένου ότι οι μαθητές δεν είναι το αντικείμενο της έρευνάς μου.

β. Κατά τη διάρκεια της φάσης της παρατήρησης, που θα λάβει χώρα είτε διά ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά, ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19), η ερευνήτρια θα είμαι παρούσα σα σκιά στο παρασκήνιο κατά τη διάρκεια της διδασκαλίας του μαθήματος της Πολιτικής Παιδείας, αλλά **δεν** θα συμμετέχω **ούτε** θα αλληλοεπιδρώ με τα μέλη της ομάδας (δασκάλους και μαθητές) σε κανένα βαθμό. **Δεν θα ηχογραφήσω ούτε θα βιντεοσκοπήσω τα παραπάνω μαθήματα**.

Κατά τη διάρκεια της φάσης της παρατήρησης, που θα λάβει χώρα είτε διά ζώσης είτε διαδικτυακά, ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19), πρόθεση μου

ως ερευνήτριας είναι να παρατηρήσω μόνο πως γίνεται η παράδοση του μαθήματος της Πολιτικής Παιδείας και να κρατήσω σημειώσεις σε ημερολόγιο μελέτης (χάρτινο τετράδιο).

Διευκρινιστικά, σε περίπτωση που η φάση της παρατήρησης λάβει χώρα διαδικτυακά, όταν η παράδοση των μαθημάτων γίνεται διαδικτυακά (ανάλογα με την εξέλιξη της πανδημίας του κορονοϊού (COVID-19), η ερευνήτρια θα προστεθώ στην παρακολούθηση της διαδικτυακής τάξης από τον αρμόδιο προς τούτο Διευθυντή του σχολείου και πάλι όντας παρούσα σα σκιά στο παρασκήνιο κατά τη διάρκεια της διαδικτυακής διδασκαλίας του μαθήματος της Πολιτικής Παιδείας, αλλά **δεν** θα συμμετέχω **ούτε** θα αλληλοεπιδρώ με τα μέλη της ομάδας (δασκάλους και μαθητές) σε κανένα βαθμό. **Δεν θα ηχογραφήσω ούτε θα βιντεοσκοπήσω τα παραπάνω μαθήματα**.

Σε κάθε ως άνω περίπτωση, ο μόνος ρόλος μου θα είναι να ακούω, να παρατηρώ και να κρατώ σημειώσεις, καταγράφοντας τα δεδομένα παρατήρησης σε ημερολόγιο μελέτης (χάρτινο τετράδιο) αποκλειστικά για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας με τίτλο «*Δόμηση ανθεκτικότητας κατά της ριζοσπαστικοποίησης που σχετίζεται με τον ακροδεξιό εξτρεμισμό από τη σκοπιά της εκπαίδευσης. Συγκριτική ανάλυση των αντιλήψεων των καθηγητών δημοσίων σχολείων στο ΗΒ και την Ελλάδα*».

γ. Τα αρχεία της φάσης παρατήρησης (σημειώσεις σε χάρτινο τετράδιο) **δε** θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για κανένα άλλο σκοπό παρά μόνο για τις ανάγκες συλλογής και ανάλυσης των ερευνητικών δεδομένων.

δ. Σε καμία περίπτωση **δε** θα επιχειρηθεί δημόσια προβολή των αρχείων της φάσης παρατήρησης (σημειώσεων σε χάρτινο τετράδιο) στο σύνολό τους ή έστω τμήματος αυτών, στο πλαίσιο οποιασδήποτε ερευνητικής ή ακαδημαϊκής δραστηριότητας της ερευνήτριας.

ε. Τα αρχεία της φάσης παρατήρησης (σημειώσεις σε χάρτινο τετράδιο) με τις συνεδρίες των παραπάνω μαθημάτων θα καταστραφούν αμέσως μετά τη χρήση τους για τις ανάγκες συλλογής και ανάλυσης των δεδομένων της έρευνας.

στ. Την απόλυτη και αποκλειστική ευθύνη για τη φύλαξη, διαχείριση και καταστροφή των εν λόγω αρχείων φέρει η ερευνήτρια.

ζ. Για την έμμεση συμμετοχή κάθε μαθητή/τριας στη φάση της παρατήρηση, καθόσον οι μαθητές/τριες δεν είναι το αντικείμενο της έρευνας μου, για την οποία πρόκειται να κρατήσω σημειώσεις σε χάρτινο τετράδιο, έχει εξασφαλιστεί από την ερευνήτρια έχει δοθεί η δυνατότητα εξαίρεσης στον γονέα/κηδεμόνα του/ης μαθητή/τριας, κατόπιν ενημέρωσης, εάν δεν επιθυμεί το παιδί του να συμπεριληφθεί σε αυτή την έρευνα.

Η Δηλούσα

Αγγελική Ηλία

(1) Αναγράφεται από τον ενδιαφερόμενο πολίτη ή Αρχή ή Υπηρεσία του δημόσιου τομέα, που απευθύνεται η αίτηση.

(2) Αναγράφεται ολογράφως.

(3) «Όποιος εν γνώσει του δηλώνει ψευδή γεγονότα ή αρνείται ή αποκρύπτει τα αληθινά με έγγραφη υπεύθυνη δήλωση του άρθρου 8 τιμωρείται με φυλάκιση τουλάχιστον τριών μηνών. Εάν ο υπαίτιος αυτών των πράξεων σκόπευε να προσπορίσει στον εαυτόν του ή σε άλλον περιουσιακό όφελος βλάπτοντας τρίτον ή σκόπευε να βλάψει άλλον, τιμωρείται με κάθειρξη μέχρι 10 ετών.

(4) Σε περίπτωση ανεπάρκειας χώρου η δήλωση συνεχίζεται στην πίσω όψη της και υπογράφεται από τον δηλούντα ή την δηλούσα.