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Conclusion

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1. A sense of urgency: “Une vague grecque sur les rives du Léman”

“A Greek wave on the shores of Lake Geneva”. This was the eye-catching headline of a recent article that appeared in the Lausanne daily 24 heures (15 March 2018), followed by the subheading reassuring the Swiss reader that while “over the last ten years, the Greek community of the Canton [of Vaud] has almost tripled; for the most part, the newly arrived are highly qualified individuals who do not see any professional future in their country”. The journalist builds their argument by juxtaposing the life stories of three social actors: an established community member born and raised in Lausanne who has become the spokeswoman for the Immigrant Reception Centre of the Canton of Vaud (EVAM), a medical doctor working in the paediatrics unit of a regional hospital, and an 11-year old primary school student whose father had studied engineering at the École Polytechnique Fédérale of Lausanne. The last two of these social actors arrived with their families to the shores of Lake Geneva in 2011 and 2015 respectively. The article frames the “new” Greek migration in the context of the historic links between Switzerland and Greece dating back to the spirit of philhellenism in support of the Greek War of Independence (1821) that captured, at the time, the imagination of prominent statesmen, poets and bankers. The “new” Greek migration is contrasted to older migration waves, which took place post-World War II and later in the 1970s - these waves were predominantly comprised of skilled workers and their families. The material consequences of the financial crisis (high taxes, poor remuneration, loss or lack of employment and dwindling prospects for professional advancement) alongside the degradation of the quality of life in Greece for middle class professionals are represented as key tropes propelling the “new” Greek family migration. At the same time, the narratives (albeit brief) of the newly arrived featured in the article point to a more nuanced picture of the migration experience and the complexities of the migration journey of the social actors involved: diverse family histories, multiple mobilities (past, present and imagined future ones) and the development of transnational identities. Responding to the “new” Greek wave, the article documents the establishment of a new Greek school which delivers Greek language and culture classes to children and adults regardless of linguistic, cultural, religious or ethnic backgrounds. A distinguishing feature of the newly founded Greek school is the emphasis it places on “learning Greek language and culture while multiplying the

dialogue and the ties with the receiving society in the context of harmonious integration” (*24 heures*, 15 March 2018).

The newspaper article in *24 heures* is representative of numerous articles that have appeared in the public domain since 2009. It resonates with some of the insights offered in this very timely edited collection. Along with the chapter authors and the book’s editors, the newspaper article foregrounds the significance of exploring the “new” Greek migration through the analytical lens of the family and its central role in understanding and interpreting processes and practices of migration decision-making in the age of increased transnational population flows. As Pratsinakis (2019) (in this volume) postulates, unlike earlier migration flows within Europe, there has been a significant increase in the emigration of couples and families from Greece post-2009, which calls for the need to examine this under-researched area of study (see also also, Baros et al. 2019 in this volume; for similar findings in the Canadian context, see Aravossitas and Sugiman 2019 in this volume). Additionally, the newspaper article alerts us to the importance of investigating the opportunities and challenges “new” Greek family migration poses for Greek language education abroad. Indeed, as migration flows from Greece and from around the globe intensify, Greek schools, their leaders and teachers are called upon to adapt and change in response to the increased heterogeneity and complexity of children and their families’ multilingual repertoires, educational experiences, expectations and aspirations. The present volume uniquely unites a co-focus on “new” family migration with Greek language education.

In what follows I draw on insights across studies presented in this book to foreground its main contributions to the emerging field of “new” Greek family migration and its relationship with Greek language education abroad. First, I summarise key conceptual and methodological aspects of the book that allow us to make sense of family migration journeys. The studies presented are situated within and contribute to a broader epistemological turn in the social sciences to social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives. They urge us to rethink representations of Greek language, identity and community in favour of dynamic and syncretic ones without nevertheless disregarding that, “for many social actors, static and bounded notions of language, identity and community continue to be salient dimensions of affiliation” (Lytra 2014, p. 555), a line of argument taken up by many chapter authors. New diversities have important implications for how Greek language education abroad might be re-imagined in a globalised world, to which I then turn. I conclude with outlining some ways forward.

2. Interdisciplinary conversations: Making sense of “new” Greek family migration trajectories

The studies presented in this book unite emergent and established scholars working in the fields of migration, nationalism, language and literacy studies, pedagogy, intercultural and heritage/Greek language education abroad. The chapter authors suggest that there is much to be learned by exploring the diverse migration motivations, profiles and trajectories of different social actors situated in local and global contexts and the development of multiple forms of belonging (or “not belonging” as the chapter by Kontoyanni et al. 2019 in this volume attests to) in a range of diasporic settings, namely: the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Luxembourg, Albania and Canada.

In their analyses, chapter contributors emphasise the complexities, tensions and contradictions of the migration journeys of social actors often moving within societies that are characterised by what Vertovec (2007) has called “superdiversity”. Aiming to theorise present-day diversity in Britain’s immigrant and ethnic minority population, “superdiversity” is underscored by “a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade” (Vertovec 2007, p. 1024). This “diversification of diversity” (Vertovec 2007, p. 1025) has contributed to challenging understandings of migration as a linear pathway and of the boundedness of the migrant category linked to largely settled immigrant communities. Moreover, it has forced us to abandon bounded and static understandings of communities and cast our analytical gaze beyond the “nation” and the “state” while remaining equally attentive to how these categories continue to exert power and influence on social actors’ experiences, practices and ideologies. As Blommaert and Backus (2011) aptly put it: “migrants now move, essentially, from any imaginable place to any other, carrying with them widely different backgrounds and moving with different motives and using different means of mobility” (p. 4). Studies illustrate the prevalence of diverse and complex migration trajectories and transnational mobilities and networks among families, thereby contributing to the development of the broader, emergent field of family-related migration (see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2019 in this volume for a cogent discussion of this new field). To examine “new” Greek family migration processes, contributing authors propose a wealth of alternative conceptual and methodological lenses:

- attending to the links between local, situated practices and the broader historical, social and ideological conditions that shape family migration processes
- a critical engagement with the interplay of local and global social inequalities and social actors’ differing access to social, cultural and linguistic resources structuring their migration experiences

- taking into account time and space in the study of family migration processes and the analytical purchase of the concepts of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship to capture new forms of migration and family networks
- interrogating the enduring salience of nationalism and ethno-cultural stereotypes
- an understanding of family migration as “a family project” and family members as active, knowledgeable and agentive meaning-makers
- methodological innovation and the diversification of research approaches drawing on quantitative and qualitative epistemologies to capture processes of (re-)socialisation and transition into the new society
- a methodological focus on biographical and narrative approaches that foreground the lived experiences of mobile subjects and examine how their migration choices, opportunities and challenging and coping strategies are articulated in their life histories
- how life narratives are bound up with the construction of identities, social spaces and social boundaries
- the need to adopt an analytical focus on social actors’ subjective and emotional responses vis-à-vis their migration motivations, processes of adjustment in the new society and future plans
- examining migration trajectories through an intergenerational/transgenerational lens both within the same family and across families as well as across different generations of migrants representing different migration waves in different historical moments
- the affordances of an international comparative perspective to investigate family migration processes
- the value of long-term commitment to working with the social actors in the field and an attendant commitment to making their voices heard
- bringing to the fore the social actors’ perspectives, understandings and interpretations while being explicit about how the chapter contributors’ theoretical positionings inform their work.

3. Re-viewing languages, identities and diaspora communities

The studies in this edited collection are anchored within a broader epistemological turn in the social sciences that has taken place in the last three to four decades from essentialist and unitary to social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives. The changed nature of migration, along with the spread of new communication technologies, has led to new social realities and has called for new ways of exploring languages, identities and communities. By critiquing the language-nation-state nexus, they have propelled us to re-view these notions from hermetically bound and fixed social categories tied to a particular inheritance (e.g. of ethnicity, nationality, religion) to more fluid and dynamic interpretations. As Karrebaek and Charalambous (2017) argue, “a ‘state-centric’ approach (Moore 2015; Silverstein 2015) is no longer adequate and instead researchers must embrace a condition of constantly changing social realities, expect the unexpected, learn to understand the unfamiliar, and accept a lesser degree of uniformity and agreement across the board” (p. 1).

Within sociolinguistics and language education research, this turn has been marked by a conceptual shift from an understanding of languages as discrete and bounded entities to languages as social and ideological constructs, and from a focus on code to a focus on language users, their multilingual repertoires and biographical trajectories located in local, translocal and transnational contexts (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Heller 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). There is a growing consensus of the analytical value of a view of language as resource, part and parcel of social actors’ full range of communicative repertoires, online and offline (Blommaert and Backus 2011). This conceptual shift has alerted us to the unequal distribution of knowledge and access to linguistic and other communicative resources within and across multilingual settings; to issues of power and control, competing language ideologies and language hierarchies, the privileging of particular linguistic resources and their speakers, as well as of particular roles and identity ascriptions over others (Heller 2007; see also Martin-Jones and Heller 2001; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Karrebaek and Charalambous 2017 among others for research in multilingual educational settings). They have brought home Blommaert and Rampton’s (2011) assertion that “rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of language, language groups and communication” (p. 3).

In a similar vein, the traditional modernist view of the relationship between language and identity has viewed language as a marker of ethnic identity fixed by birth. Historically, the significance of language as a primordial marker of group identity has been closely linked to the ascendance of nationalism, the idea of “a nation” understood as natural and tied to “a particular territory” and “a people” who speak “a language” (Pujolar 2007). The understanding of language as indexing a particular peoplehood has been reproduced and reinforced by nation states and their representatives through educational policy and practice. A case in point is the well-documented ethnocentrism of Greek education. In their pioneering collection of

articles on the topic, Frangkoudaki and Dragona (1997) provided a trenchant critique of the grand narrative of Greek linguistic and cultural continuity from antiquity to the present day. Focusing on dominant representations of Greek culture produced and disseminated through primary school textbooks of Greek language, history and geography, they illustrated how Greek culture was perceived as superior to other cultures because, as the argument went, it had remained unchanged and undiluted by other cultural influences. “Greekness” was thus constructed through a glorification of the past, whereas linguistic and cultural transformation and change were equated to decline and negatively evaluated. While subsequent curricular reforms have removed many ethnocentric elements from Greek school textbooks, Greek educational policy and practice continues to be driven by essentially ethnocentric and assimilationist discourses that position the linguistic and cultural pluralism characterising Greek schools and classrooms in deficit terms (Lytra 2007; Gogonas 2010; Gkaintartzi et al. 2014; Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; see also Kontoyanni et al., Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume). Unsurprisingly, as several contributing authors illustrate, these dominant discourses have filtered through Greek language education abroad, a topic I will return to in the following section of this chapter.

Anti-essentialist approaches to language and identity have emphasised instead how seemingly natural macro-level demographic categories, such as ethnicity and social class, cannot be taken for granted. Rather they need to be seen as relational and negotiable. In this view, language and identity are recognised as historically, socially and contextually constructed and performed in and through discourse (Palvenko and Blackledge 2004). These theoretical perspectives highlight the multiplicity and fluidity as well as the creativity and hybridity of language and identity practices (Harris and Rampton 2003). They demonstrate how “doing” identity work involves social actors aligning with or dis-aligning themselves from social categories of belonging, accentuating particular identity categories, downplaying the salience, ignoring or silencing others in different discursive environments (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Nevertheless, as I have argued in Lytra (2014), it is important to remember that malleable and fluid views of languages, identities and diaspora communities “may be at odds with widely-held beliefs among participants who often see “their” language, identity and community as bounded objects that have remained unchanged over time and across space. While it might seem plausible to dismiss participants’ views as “folk etymologies”, they function as powerful “member categories” with real-life consequences for their users. They exert hegemonic power and are often used as a means for social stratification and boundary demarcation leading to some voices getting heard while others remain silent” (Lytra 2014: 553).

As several chapter contributors illustrate, ethnic boundaries and ethnic classifications linked to essentialist notions of Greek identity and culture persist in creating a shared, imagined “we” along simplistic binaries of “us” and “others”. They reproduce ties of inheritance, which forbid, restrict or provide limited space for plurality, hybridity and diversity of experience. Nevertheless, rather than dismissing such views wholesale or

regarding them as being exclusive of one other, the chapters illustrate the analytical value of examining the interaction between fixed and fluid identity categories. They demonstrate the dynamic and situated ways in which ethnic identities are co-constructed in discourse and the complexities and nuances of diverse social actors' identity negotiations and self- and other-identity ascriptions (see, for instance, Siouti 2019 in this volume; Gogonas 2019 in this volume; Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume). They also show how processes of self-identification may lead to new identities - that are the outcome of "processes of mixing, blurring and cross-identification" (Harris and Rampton 2003, p. 5), as in the narratives of the adolescents returning from Greece to Albania which Kontoyanni et al. reveal. At the same time, as these narratives point out, being positioned in the category of "others" may lead to stigmatisation and discrimination and the development of feelings of "not belonging" in the new and "unfamiliar" society.

The studies in the book shed new light to the dynamic nature of diasporic communities and the complex nature of community belonging that has transformed the myth of return and what counts as homeland. To this end, Angouri (2012) postulates that, "as diasporas cross and draw upon multiple and changing interpretations of the 'local,' 'national,' and 'transnational,' negotiating membership is a complex process that brings to the fore the members' self- and other-positioning as well as symbolic interpretations of the imagined 'centre.'" (p. 99). Indeed, from a superdiversity perspective, transnational population flows enable social actors to orient to multiple authority centres, the "imagined 'centre'" being one of them. Moreover, discourses of belonging and not-belonging are historical and ideological and are tied up with discussions of ethnic authenticity. As new social formations emerge in a globalised world, the following question becomes pertinent: "whose identity practices are considered authentic, and whose are not, and who decides?" (Lytra 2016, p. 131).

4. Re-thinking Greek language education abroad

Greek schools abroad are considered to be crucial educational spaces for sustaining Greek language, culture and identity in the diaspora (Damanakis 2007; see also Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume for a historical overview). Most schools operate in the margins of mainstream school provision, during after-school hours or on weekends. Such schools are commonly referred to in the language education literature as "community", "complementary" or "heritage" schools and serve vital linguistic, cultural and social functions for the students, their families and diaspora communities. Nevertheless, their value has tended to go unrecognised by mainstream education and society at large, which influences their visibility (or lack thereof) and how students, parents and teachers perceive their significance (Lytra and Martin 2010). At the same time, operating in the margins of mainstream school provision may give teachers greater flexibility to design and implement pedagogies that capitalise on students'

entire linguistic repertoires and are more responsive to their needs (Kenner and Ruby 2012).

As briefly discussed in the previous section, Greek schools abroad are important sites for the circulation and consolidation of what counts as “legitimate” Greek language, culture and identity in accordance with Greek national educational agendas. Historically, institutional authorities in Greek schools abroad have often drawn upon and reproduced dominant institutional discourses of the “loss of Greekness” of the younger generation where “Greekness” was understood as “a shared identity consisting of shared claims to descent and a shared language and culture” (Lytra 2014, p. 560; see also Charalambous 2019 for the circulation of similar discourses in present-day Greek schools in London). These discourses have commonly been anchored onto representations of students’ heterogeneous linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge in deficit terms through the use of negatively charged labels, such as “children who do not speak Greek”, unfavourably compared to an idealised Greek “native speaker” child (Lytra 2014). This institutional monolingualism and monoculturalism has been reproduced, but also contested by students who may bring along diverse linguistic and cultural resources and experiences and hybrid identities that do not fit neatly into essentialised and fixed identity categories (Lytra, 2014; Charalambous 2019). Diversity has been an enduring feature of Greek schools. Yet, as several chapter contributors illustrate, new mobilities have heightened the tensions between dominant institutional discourses in Greek schools abroad, shaped by national paradigms and students and their families’ everyday lived multilingual and intercultural realities.

At an educational policy level, the on-going “new” Greek family migration has co-occurred with the passing of Law 4027 in 2011, which radically changed Greek language education abroad. In the throes of the financial crisis, the Greek State and its educational authorities stopped administering and financially supporting many Greek schools abroad by no longer appointing and paying the salaries of teachers seconded from Greece, as well as sending textbooks and other teaching materials for free. As a result, the responsibility for their administration and financing has been mainly transferred to parents, diaspora institutions and communities. These structural changes have led to the privatisation and concomitant marketisation of Greek language education abroad with the transformation of existing forms of Greek language education abroad and the emergence of new forms, both not-for-profit associations and for-profit businesses (see Styliou 2019 in this volume for a detailed discussion of the policy changes and their implications). The concept of “polycentricity” (Blommaert et al. 2005), defined as the interplay of different normative centres social actors may orient to, is a helpful frame to understand the proliferation of Greek schools abroad post-2011. Concurring with Karrabaek and Charalambous (2017), polycentricity “guides our analytic attention towards ways in which different discourses, ideologies, and norms are juxtaposed in everyday life through people’s orientation to different centres of authority” (p. 5). While normative centres such as

the Greek State and its educational authorities continue to exert power over educational policy and practice abroad, local and transnational normative authorities, such as parents' associations, online language learning communities and families themselves, have increased their influence too. As Greek schools abroad become increasingly less dependent on the homeland for providing teachers, teaching resources and curricula, it remains to be seen whether local and transnational centres of authority will challenge the pre-eminence of the Greek State and its educational representatives in determining educational policy and practice abroad.

The chapter contributors examine well-established forms of Greek education abroad (Greek complementary/community/heritage schools in Luxembourg and Canada and a range of different Greek schools in Germany) and how new diversities might be redefining their mission, curricula and pedagogy, as well as teacher and learner identities and expectations, language practices and language ideologies. The studies presented emphasise the lived multilingualism of Greek teachers, students and their families across diasporic educational contexts, where having access to, putting to use and mixing a range of linguistic resources is viewed as everyday practice. Rather than representing essentialised and rarefied descriptions of their multilingual lives, chapter contributors seek to capture the tensions and contradictions involved in teachers, students and their parents' narratives as they navigate the interactions and interrelationships between different linguistic and cultural resources, identities and roles. They remind us of the importance of attending to the diverse historical, political, cultural and linguistic conditions that have shaped the ways Greek language education operates, develops and changes locally, in different diasporic settings, and the possibilities and constraints these conditions afford for sustaining and transforming Greek language educational policy and practice abroad. They also remind us of the importance of attending to institutional practices and discourses and how they interact with teachers, students and parents' language ideologies and language practices. In line with previous research (Blackledge et al. 2008; Li Wei and Wu 2010; Lytra and Baraç 2009; Panagiotopoulou et al. 2017 among others), they illustrate the continuous salience of two seemingly contradictory language ideologies and pedagogies: on the one hand, "separate bilingualism", which has a monolingual starting point privileging Greek language and culture and allowing for the use of the students' and teachers' full linguistic repertoires for specific purposes only (e.g. to maximise comprehension or engage in cross-linguistic comparisons); on the other hand, "flexible bilingualism", which is anchored on a heteroglossic and translanguaging perspective that capitalises on students' and teachers' entire communicative repertoires for language and literacy learning and social identification (Blackledge and Creese 2010; see also Kirsch 2019 in this volume and Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2019 in this volume for further discussion). At the same time, chapter contributors alert us to how new mobilities have the potential to generate alternative teacher identity positionings and institutional discourses. A case in point is the discourse of Greek day school in Germany as a "safe heaven" for newly

arrived students who fail to adapt and succeed academically in mainstream German schools, elaborated in Chatzidaki (2019, in this volume).

5. How might we move forward?

The present edited collection invites us to critically examine the rich and compelling narratives of migration of parents, students and teachers. Contrasted to earlier migration flows from Greece, the “new” Greek family migration has often been represented in Greek and international media as the privileged migration of mainly well-educated professionals viewed as a discrete and homogeneous category (see, for example, the newspaper article in *24 heures*). Chapter contributors unsettle such widely circulating tropes, revealing the sheer diversity of immigrants’ biographies and trajectories, experiences and aspirations. Their nuanced analyses bring to the fore the need to probe further into the diversity of migration flows and to problematise the relationship between privilege and migration by examining, for instance, the co-existence of privilege with precarity and vulnerability (see Leonard and Walsh 2018 in the case of British migration abroad). Chapter contributors remind us that there is still much to be learned about the “new” Greek family migration project.

Conceptually, the studies in this volume attest to the analytical value of employing inductively designed methodologies developed through extended, exploratory qualitative research and taking an international comparative perspective. The goal of the studies is to gain insights into the emic perspectives of the social actors involved, their subjective and emotional responses, beliefs and values, mainly through interview data, and thus provide a window to understanding the significance of social actors’ migration journeys for themselves. At the same time, the studies foreground the need to broaden our research approaches to include ethnographic, visual and multimodal research methods and engage in in-depth, multi-sited team and online ethnographies to extend our understanding of contemporary mobilities (see studies in Martin-Jones and Martin 2017). They also necessitate greater researcher reflexivity with the purpose of unravelling how researchers’ own biographies and identities, embedded in broader social, historical and political contexts, come to shape their interpretations and representations (: *ibid*). Additionally, they call for developing more collaborative and participatory approaches and ensuring that research participants’ voices are not simply heard but that research participants actively shape the co-production of knowledge during all stages of the research process. As Campbell and Lassiter (2010) assert, “an ethnography that makes collaboration an explicit and deliberate part of both fieldwork and the broader processes of research, interpretation, and writing is not just about producing more dialogically centred and multivocal texts ... Because it also seeks to encourage more ethically responsible practices, verifications of findings, and reciprocal analysis...” (p. 377).

As demographic shifts related to migration and digitalisation continue unabated, school leaders, teachers, parents, and students are called upon to play an active role as

policy agents in re-imagining Greek schools abroad. Chapter contributors situate their studies within the field of bilingual community education which posits as its starting point that these educational spaces are “*bilingual* in nature [italics in the original], and [that the focus is] not just the maintenance of an ‘ethnic mother-tongue’ or the development of a ‘heritage language’” (García et al. 2013, p. 4). Anchored in post-modern and post-structuralist perspectives, this conceptual positioning necessitates moving away from static and essentialised notions of language, culture, heritage and community to more flexible and dynamic understandings. In this sense, Greek language, culture and identity are reconceptualised “as something that is used in the present or that can be projected in the future” as opposed to “something one holds onto vaguely as one’s remembrances” (García 2005, p. 601). This repositioning means that the mission of Greek schools goes beyond merely transmitting Greek language and culture to the next generation. It requires envisioning Greek schools not only as “safe” spaces for linguistic and cultural preservation, identity formation and developing community ties, but also as educational spaces firmly embedded within a broader pluralistic society. As the mission statement of the new Greek school referred to in the newspaper article in *24 heures* contends: “*Greek for All*, it’s more than a school, the new association aims to connect Greek language and culture with the multiethnic Suisse society” (www.grecpourtous.ch). To this end, Souza (2016, p. 26) reminds us of “the dangers in favouring heritage maintenance over interaction with the local society. One of them is the perpetuation by and in the community schools of the frequently criticised monolingual and monocultural bias of the mainstream educational system” - an assertion which resonated with the findings of several chapter contributors too.

Viewing Greek schools within a broader perspective chimes with the notion of “school as basecamp” proposed by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation and the Innovation Unit in 2012 (as cited in Anderson and Macleroy 2016, p. 263), where the school is regarded “as a basecamp for learning, rather than as a final destination and sole source of knowledge” and where “learning is something that can happen at any time, in any place, and with a wide range of coaches, mentors, and experts.” This means that Greek schools need to develop interconnections and interrelationships locally, nationally, and transnationally as well as networks with mainstream schools and schools set up by other transnational diasporic communities (see Souza 2016 with regards to Brazilian Portuguese schools in the UK). This conceptual repositioning also requires investigating further the transformations of established forms of Greek language education abroad and the emergence of new ones, interactions between old and new mobilities and their impact on Greek schools’ mission, pedagogy and practice and the teaching and learning potential of culturally sustaining multilingual pedagogies for all.

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