Migration Policies and Education Responses to Migration in Cyprus: From Intercultural Policy Discourses to 'Trivialised' Multicultural Practices

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Abstract

Traditionally, Cypriot education has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project, mainly because of the still unresolved political problem. However, as Cyprus has over the last three decades gradually transformed from a net source of emigration to a recipient of immigration, the need to develop educational policies responding to migration became imperative. In this context, this article analyses the socio-political environment within which the Cypriot education policy, in response to migration, has emerged by examining the flow of policies from the macro-level of the State to the meso-level of the school and the micro-level of the classroom. The aim of this article is to contribute to the debate regarding the improvement of pertinent policies in the field by pointing to suggestions for all the levels of the policy cycle including policy development, adoption and implementation.

Keywords: migrant education, intercultural education, Cyprus, education policy, migration policies

Introduction

The development of the Cypriot educational system, in terms of content and structure, has historical and political origins. Traditionally, Cypriot education has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project; however, over the last three decades Cyprus has gradually transformed from a net source of emigration to a recipient of immigration leading to education reform (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[2]). Initially, the restrictive character of Cypriot immigration policies has allowed for discriminatory ideologies and discourses to prevail in the Cypriot society. Immigrants were considered as guest-workers and, by extension, they were not granted

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welfare or educational rights. Nonetheless, Cyprus' accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 has provided the impetus for immigrants to settle on a more permanent status in the Cypriot society and access educational and welfare provision. This, in turn, raises the question of how educational responses to migration have been developed in such a case. For this reason, in this article, we examine and discuss how the Cypriot historical and socio-political context and the changing demographics of Cyprus have informed its educational system, within which education responses to migration have emerged.

Arguably, immigration discourses imbuing the Cypriot context have influenced the development and implementation of Cypriot policy responses to learning in the field of education. In this context, this article aims to examine the socio-political environment within which the Cypriot educational policy in response to migration has emerged. In this way, we take into consideration 'how the content of policy emerges from the economic, social and political factors that give rise to an issue' (Bell & Stevenson, 2006[3]: 13). Although the area of educational responses to migration has been researched, there is a shortage of published studies in Cyprus addressing the macro-micro integration project by examining the flow of policies from the macro-level of the State to the meso-level of the school and the micro-level of the classroom. In this article we aim to bridge this gap by drawing on the outcomes of former research carried out over the last 20 years in Cyprus (see for example Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[4]; 2017[5]; 2018a[6]; 2018b[7]). Through this article, we aim to contribute to the debate regarding the improvement of pertinent policies in the field, by pointing to suggestions for all the levels of the policy cycle including its development, adoption and implementation. In order to set our discussion in a conceptual framework, we firstly set out to theoretically and comparatively 'unpack' the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism as the most pertinent educational responses to migration in Europe, as well as in Cyprus.

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[3]   Bell, L. & Stevenson, H. (2006). *Education Policy Processes, Themes and Impact*. London: Routledge.

[4]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.

[5]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Adopting and implementing globalised policies of intercultural education: The example of Cyprus. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 17(5), 721-737*.

[6]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018a). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, *30(1)*, 353-367.

[7]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

Education Responses to Migration: Conceptually 'Unpacking' Multiculturalism Versus Interculturalism

Education responses to migration are not fixed, stable or uncontested across time, place and political contexts. International literature reveals an intense debate between interculturalism and multiculturalism or otherwise a dichotomy between cultural essentialism and cultural hybridity (Kymlica, 2015[8]). In more detail, what cultural essentialism argues is that different communities have separate, self-contained and unified cultural identities (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018b[9]). In this sense, each community demonstrates a single homogenous and time-enduring culture (passing from generation to generation) that remains intact of the interaction with other communities or with the economic and socio-political context. Cultural essentialism, and thus multiculturalism, adopts an enrichment perspective by claiming that the existence of diverse, fixed and community-bound cultures promotes the enrichment of society (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[10]). On the other hand, cultural hybridity suggest the dynamic character of cultures, which are an unstable mixture of not only sameness, but also otherness. Cultural boundaries alter and overlap to create a third space, within which natives and immigrants develop multiple or hybrid identities. Bhabha (1995)[11] explains that identities are 'mixed' and multidimensional as they derive from the interrelationship between diasporic or ethnic affiliations and political identities.

In terms of objectives, intercuturalism envisages empathy, interaction, and cultural exchange that may lead to cultural hybridity, while multiculturalism has a rather normative character focusing on reciprocity, cultural essentialism, and civic integration. Multiculturalism has mainly employed an agenda based upon equality and human rights principles, while social justice remained as a normative conception in the background (Zapata-Barrero, 2017[12]). On the other hand, social justice

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[8]   Kymlica, W. (2015). The essentialist critique of multiculturalism: Theories, policies, ethos. In V. Uberoi & T. Modood (Eds.) *Multiculturalism Rethought: Interpretations, Dilemmas and New Directions*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 209-249.

[9]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

[10]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.

[11]   Bhabha, H. K. (1995). Signs taken for wonders. In: B. Ashcroft, G. Griffins & H. Tiffin (Eds.) *The Identity*. London: Sage Publications, 144-165.

[12]   Zapata-Barrero, R. (2017). Interculturalism in the post-multicultural debate: A defence. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *5(14)*. DOI: 10.1186/s40878-017-0057-z

underpins interculturalism and therefore intercultural responses to migration. For example, Mansfield (2013)[13] considers that social justice provides for the responsibility of society to ensure the well-being of all the citizens of the State, and this may only be achieved if public education offers equality of opportunity to all students. García, López, Vélez, Rico and Jiménez (2016)[14] define social justice as the redistribution of learning resources, the recognition of diversity, the combating of inequalities, and the equal representation of all students in school and social life.

Having set the conceptual framework, in the following sections, we now move on to the examination of the socio-political context of Cyprus leading to the transformation of the migration policies, which in turn, influences the development of the education response to migration. Thereafter, we look at the macro- to meso-, and micro-levels in order to examine policy development and implementation with regards to responses to migrant education, while conceptually linking our argumentation to this framework.

Transformation of Migration Policies: The Socio-Political Context

Arguably, since Cyprus gained its independence in 1960, the historical and socio-political context of Cyprus has dramatically affected the socio-economic situation of the island, leading to the transformation of migration policies of the State. In the sections below, we examine how Cyprus has transformed from an emigration to an immigration country and the ways in which its migration policies have influenced Cyprus education responses to migration, and vice versa.

From Emigration to Immigration

Since 1960, after 82 years of British rule, Cyprus has been an independent, sovereign republic with a presidential government system. However, as the island was divided in 1974, since then the Greek-Cypriot government (*de jure* government of the whole island) has controlled only the Southern part of Cyprus. Cyprus has traditionally had a multicultural and multilingual character, not only because of the two major communities, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, but also because of its constitutionally-recognised religious minorities, namely Armenians, Maronites

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[13]   Mansfield, K.C. (2013). "I Love These Girls-I Was These Girls": Women Leading for Social Justice in a Single-Sex Public School. *Journal of School Leadership, 23(4)*, 640-663.

[14]   García, A.J., López, V.S., Vélez, T.G., Rico, A.M., & Jiménez, L.J. (2016). Social justice: A qualitative and quantitative study of representations of social justice in children of primary education. *SHS Web of Conferences, 26*, 1-5.

and Latins. Since 1964, the separation of the two major communities of the population began. In 1974, after the Turkish invasion to the island, Greek Cypriots (and the other minorities) were forced to flee to the South, while Turkish Cypriots were relocated in the North. As a result of the Cyprus problem, education has been attached to the nation-building project aiming to prove political sovereignty.

The post-Colonial independence period (1960-1974) has been marked by the centrality of agriculture in economic activity. Ironically, the division of the island provided, by default, the preconditions for rapid economic development of its Southern part (Hajisoteriou, 2009[15]); dislocated Greek-Cypriots, who were mostly peasants, formed a 'large propertyless urban proletariat' (Anthias, 1987: 195), which would alter the employment patterns and economic organisation (Panayiotopoulos, 1995[16]). The reformulation of the employment patterns, along with other international factors, contributed to what has been called the 'economic miracle' (Panayiotopoulos, 1995: 30). This 'miracle' was the main reason for radical change of policy in 1990 which allowed migrant workers from third world countries in Cyprus. It is thus not strange that it is only by the end of the 1990s, that the State firstly considered the development of official education responses to migration.

Since the 1990s, various types of people have been coming to Cyprus from third world countries including workers in the area of hotel catering, hospitality, housing, political refugees (i.e. from the Israel/Palestine region after the Gulf war), and asylum seekers (i.e. from Syria nowadays). A significant proportion of people from other countries coming to Cyprus are irregular, undocumented, or clandestine migrant workers that are mainly occupied in 'undeclared work' in the so-called 'black economy'. Undocumented workers mostly work under difficult conditions in economic sectors such as construction, agriculture, manufacturing, and the entertainment business. In Cyprus, irregular or undocumented migrants are mostly 'overstayers', meaning that they are workers who entered the country in legal terms but nonetheless remained after their visa conditions have expired (Trimikliniotis, 2011[17]). Socio-political debates on the numbers of migrant workers in Cyprus focus on the fact that most of these workers are Muslims. There is thus a socio-political

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[15]   Hajisoteriou, C. (2009). Europeanising Cypriot intercultural education: a policy process of simulation? *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences. 4(4)*, 1-14.

[16]   Panayiotopoulos, P. I. (1995). Cyprus: The developmental state in crisis. *Capital and Class*, *57*, 13-54.

[17]   Trimikliniotis, N. (2011). *Labour Integration of Migrant Workers in Cyprus: A Critical Appraisal.* http://works.bepress.com/nicos_trimikliniotis/32

concern - that often militates against interculturalism – arguing that the increased number of people from third world countries challenges national identity to a much greater extent in Cyprus than that of other bigger countries with larger populations.

Immigration Under Restrictions

Due to the 'economic miracle', the Cypriot government was called upon to abandon its pre-1990 restrictive migration policies, which only allowed highly skilled positions to be occupied by non-Cypriots whenever Cypriots lacked the relevant qualifications (Trimikliniotis & Fulias-Souroulla, 2006[18]). This led to the allowance of migrant labour, nonetheless, only in a highly regulated way. Immigration policies controlled the employment and length of stay of immigrants on a 'short-term, temporary, employer-tied, restricted-to-specific-sectors basis' (Trimikliniotis & Fulias-Souroulla, 2006: 4).

Notably, during this time, Cypriot public discourses classified immigrants as 'foreigners' or 'aliens' (ibid: 5). Arguably, the deliberate choice of the terminology suggested their treatment as temporary-permit guest workers (Hajisoteriou, 2012[19]). This assumption led to the Cypriot State's failure to acknowledge the need for the development of a successful and inclusive migrant education policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010[20]). This, in turn, resulted in the non-existence of any welfare and settlement services for immigrants and fragmented coordination between employment, welfare and educational policies on immigration. Additionally, the policy of imposing short-stay requirements on immigrants had undesirable social consequences. It became a 'policy of exclusion' as it did not provide immigrants with the time, space and tools for their social inclusion (Trimikliniotis & Pantelides, 2003[21]: 129).

Moving a step forward, a negative connotation has since been drawn between the increase in numbers of migrant labour and the rise in unemployment; the fall of wages for Greek-Cypriot workers; increased crime rates; and the dilution of the

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[18] Trimikliniotis, N. & Fulias-Souroulla, M. (2006). *Mapping of Policies Affecting Female Migrants and Policy Analysis: the Case of Cyprus. Working Paper No 11, WP-1. Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations.* A Specific Targeted Research Project of the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission.

[19] Hajisoteriou, C. (2012). Intercultural education? An analysis of Cypriot educational policy. *Educational Research, 54(4)*, 451-467.

[20] Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal, 9(4)*, 471-483.

[21] Trimikliniotis, N. & Pantelides, P. (2003). Mapping discriminatory landscapes in Cyprus: Ethnic discrimination in the labour market. *The Cyprus Review, 15(1)*, 121-146.

national culture by their foreign cultures (Avraamidou et al., 2019). Cypriot literature challenges the credibility of the above connotations drawn by the media and public discourse (i.e. Gregoriou, 2010[22]; Avraamidou et al., 2019). The media seem to cause 'moral panic' by stereotyping immigrants as responsible for the introduction of 'new' forms of crime in Cypriot society (i.e. mugging) (Trimikliniotis, 2001b: 11)[23] despite the fact that such phenomena already existed in Cypriot society. Lastly, immigrants are depicted as 'damaging to the national cause' at a time when Cyprus is semi-occupied by foreign troops (Trimikliniotis & Fulias-Souroulla, 2006[24]: 34). Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2014)[25] condemn the perpetuation of nationalist discourses of ethnic continuation that leads to intolerance and discrimination. Arguably, the socio-political context of Cyprus has thus become hostile to the development of inclusive social and educational responses to migration, while stereotyping and prejudice practices have hindered their successful implementation, as we will discuss in later parts of this article.

Liberalisation of Immigration Policies

More recently, Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004 led to the liberalisation of the Cypriot labour market in order to meet EU standards. Cypriot literature discusses Europeanisation as a 'Janus-like phenomenon,' implying that it has two 'heads' like the mythical giant Janus; beyond the rise of non-European xenophobia, where Europeanisation has also humanistic and democratic elements (Trimikliniotis, 2001a). On the one hand, the EU States of Southern Europe, such as Cyprus, are called upon to become the 'frontier' of a 'Fortress Europe' by eliminating the inflow of 'outsiders' into EU (Trimikliniotis, 2001a)[26] fostering xenophobia. Trimikliniotis (2001a: 61) asserts that Cyprus' Europeanisation under these terms will 'act as an

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[22] Gregoriou, Z. (2010). *Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus*. http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf

[23] Trimikliniotis, N. (2001b). *Ta Provlimata apo ti Fitisi ton Pontion sti Dimotiki Ekpedefsi: Prokatarktiki Erevna ke Ekthesi* (Problems Due to Pontians Enrolment in Primary Education: Preliminary Research and Report). Nicosia: Research Project Funded by the Cypriot Association of Sociologists.

[24] Avraamidou, M., Kadianaki, I., Ioannou, M. & Panagiotou, E. (2019). Representations of Europe at times of massive migration movements: A qualitative analysis of Greek-Cypriot newspapers during the 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 26(1), 105-119.

[25] Trimikliniotis, N., & Demetriou, C. (2014). Cyprus. In: R. Gropas & A. Triantafyllidou (eds.) *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 67-81.

[26] Trimikliniotis, N. (2001a). The location of Cyprus in the southern European context: Europeanisation or modernisation? *The Cyprus Review*, *13(2)*, 47-73.

additional layer of nationalism as European unionism, creating a boundary in this "new" identity and politico-cultural space *vis-à-vis* the non-European other'.

On the other hand, Europeanisation may play a substantial role in the development of the minority and immigrant rights, while also moving citizenship debates beyond the idea of the nation-State, and thus influencing the development of education responses to migration towards this direction. Trimikliniotis (2001a) points to the beneficial situation brought about by Greek-Cypriots' exposure to European anti-discrimination movements. It is also interesting that Cyprus was obliged to amend its *Aliens and Immigration Law* to meet the EU directives on long-term stay and family reunification (Directives 2003/109/EC and 2003/86/EC). The EU prompted Cyprus to introduce the conditions that would enable immigrants' inclusion not only in the economic, but also in the social and education spheres.

What we argue is that the EU called its members not only to define immigrants' rights but also to transform the political commitment to immigrants' inclusion into legal obligations (Hajisoteriou, 2012[27]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[28]). Issues of inclusion have thus become a challenge not only to European societies, but also to European education systems. As education is a prerequisite of immigrants' cultural, social and economic development, Cyprus has been called upon to sustain immigrants' inclusion through education.

Education Responses to Migration

Previous literature, and also our former research, argues that Cyprus' accession to the EU is one of the most influential socio-political and economic factors that has mobilised the development of Cyprus' education responses to migration (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[29]; 2018[30]). As such Cypriot education policies aiming to address migration should be examined in the context of Cyprus' membership to the EU (both prior and after accession). Nonetheless, at the same time, adverse national socio-political and historical factors, as discussed above, and also material and

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[27]   Hajisoteriou, C. (2012). Intercultural education set forward: Operational strategies and procedures of Cypriot classrooms. *Intercultural Education*, 23(1), 133-146.

[28]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[29]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[30]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

scalar conditions characterising the Cyprus education system have also influenced the Cypriot educational agenda in response to migration not only at the macro-level of policy development, but also at the levels of adoption and implementation. Thus in the following sections we examine education responses to migration across these levels of analysis arguing that while policy rhetoric seems to be rather promising in adhering to interculturalism, policy adoption and implementation appear to still be 'illusory' and 'assimilative' leading to migrants' cultural and linguistic assimilation - despite the scarce examples of positive action.

The Macro-Level of the State: The 'Promising' Rhetoric of Intercultural Education Policies

Education debates on inclusion firstly appeared in the Cyprus education agenda after UNESCO's appraisal study on the Cyprus education system in 1997 cautioning the marginalisation and exclusion of some groups of students. Moving a step forward, immigration issues first became intertwined in the educational agenda of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) of Cyprus in 1999 (Hajisoteriou, 2010[31]). What we argue is that in researching the macro-level of the State, what previous research has concluded is that in order to respond to the calls of the Council of Europe and the EU, Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture has mobilised an educational reform to harmonise its policy with European standards (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[32]; 2018[33]). To begin with, the impetus for Cyprus' interculturally-oriented policy was the ratification of Act 28(III) by the Cypriot parliament, which accredited the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 1995[34]). The FCNM is the only legally binding document that focuses exclusively on the protection of minorities. The convention suggests that States should '[r]efrain from policies {…} aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities' (Council of Europe, 1995, Article 5). In response to the parliamentary ratification of FCNM, the MoEC paid particular attention to the parliamentary provisions for compliance to

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[31] Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: Politics and policy making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

[32] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[33] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

[34] Council of Europe (1995). Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Word/157.doc

European conventions, as it is noted in one of its circulars: 'On the basis of the international conventions that were ratified by our country and have been accredited by the Acts of the Parliament of Representatives and because of the customary practice in the member States of the European Union, we cannot deny education to any student.' (MoEC, 1999[35]: 1).

Moreover, the three reports conducted by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) on Cyprus (ECRI, 1999[36]; 2001[37]; 2006[38]) had been the most important incentives mobilising such change - given that at the time, Cyprus had been at the final stages of accession to the EU and wanted to showcase its European character across all sectors of public policy, and thus education (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013[39]). The three reported the perpetuation of the stereotypical portrayal of immigrant and the 'growing tendency towards the perception of the immigrant and the foreigner as a potential threat to the Cypriot standard of living' (ECRI, 2001: 4). ECRI inspectors focused on the fostering of respect for diversity. They urged the MoEC to include human-rights education as a compulsory subject in the curricula for all children. Their suggestions focused on the following issues (ECRI, 2001[40]; 2006[41]):

- training of teachers in human-rights subjects;
- training of teachers to teach in multicultural environments and to provide Greek as a second language;

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[35]   Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) (1999). Criteria for the Provision of Time for Support Teaching. Nicosia: MoEC.

[36]   ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (1999). *Annual Report on ECRI's Activities Covering a Period from 1 January to 31 December 1999*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_ rights/ecri/5-archives/1-ECRI's_work/2 Annual_reports/Annual%20Report%201999.asp

[37]   ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2001). *Second Report on Cyprus*. http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/euro2001/vol2/cyprusechri.htm

[38]   ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006). *Third Report on Cyprus*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Cyprus/Cyprus_CBC_3.asp#TopOfPage

[39]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2013). The politics of intercultural education in Cyprus. Policy-making and challenges. *Education Inquiry (Special Issue 'Ethnic Diversity and Schooling')*, 4(1), 103-123.

[40]   ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2001). *Second Report on Cyprus*. http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/euro2001/vol2/cyprusechri.htm

[41]   ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006). *Third Report on Cyprus*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Cyprus/Cyprus_CBC_3.asp#TopOfPage

- teaching in languages other than Greek, but parallel to Greek as the official language of instruction.

The second ECRI report encouraged Cypriot authorities to develop an educational framework that aimed at combating discrimination (ECRI, 2001). Hence the MoEC had to prove its capacity to design a multicultural policy in response to the ECRI's (2001) recommendations discussed in the second report. In addition, Cyprus' accession to the EU marked Cypriot education. Equal access to educational provision and education to raise awareness within Greek-Cypriot society were included in the negotiations for Cyprus' accession to the EU (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[42]). Cypriot educational policy ought to respond to the island's two-fold role as required by the EU: on the one hand, the role of the guardian of minority and immigrant rights; and on the other hand, the role of the Eastern frontier of the EU *vis-à-vis* the non-EU world. Arguably, further research should be conducted on the development and implementation of such a policy.

On that account, the MoEC had to prove its capacity to design an intercultural policy (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[43]). To this end, during the school year 2003-2004, the MoEC launched the programme Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP) on a pilot basis. The policy of the ZEP constitutes a strategic choice of the MoEC in order to fight functional illiteracy, school failure and school marginalisation in schools with high concentrations of immigrant pupils. Additionally, in 2004 the MoEC began a campaign to address issues related to intercultural education. The slogan 'Democratic Education in the Euro-Cyprian Society' was adopted to describe the efforts to steer the national education system towards an intercultural orientation according to Europeanised discourses (CER, 2004[44]).

In this context, since 2008 the State and particularly the MoEC replaced the previously used terms of 'multicultural education' and 'integration' with the policy rhet-

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[42] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[43] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

[44] CER - Committee for Educational Reform (2004) *Dimokratiki ke Anthropini Pedia stin Evrokipriaki Politia. Prooptikes Anasigkrotisis ke Eksighronismou. Manifesto Ekpedeftikis Metarrithmisis. Sinopsi Filosofias ke Protaseon* (Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Euro-Cyprian Polity. Prospects for Modernisation. Manifesto of Educational Reform. Overview of Philosophy and Recommendations), Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture.

oric of 'intercultural education' and 'inclusion'. Papamichael (2008)[45] concludes that the MoEC deployed the discourse of intercultural education as the establishment of a school which provides equal educational opportunities for access, participation and success for all students. According to the new curriculum goals, the MoEC envisioned the creation of a 'humane' and 'democratic' school which includes and does not exclude, by respecting diversity and cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism (MoEC, 2010[46]). Despite such efforts, Gregoriou (2010)[47] argues that the MoEC still adhered to monocultural notions of education, as it conceptualised cultural difference as an exclusive characteristic of immigrant pupils; 'the migrant student and not the mutlicultural class, the cultural difference of the "other" and not ethnicity and ethnic borders became the focus of educational policy' (ibid: 39).

This reform also entailed the amendment of the national curriculum to become aligned to critical education and interculturalism (Hajisoteriou, Neophytou & Angelides, 2013[48]). Since the school year 2011-2012, the new curriculum has been put into practice. Discourses of intercultural education appear in this new curriculum. It is interesting that the aims of the new curriculum include *inter alia*: (a) the adoption of an intercultural ideology that connects Cypriot tradition with the knowledge of other cultures; (b) the development of citizens' such attitudes as democracy, tolerance, friendship and cooperation; and (c) the emphasis on the European dimension in education (MoEC, 2010). It is noteworthy that despite setting these goals, the curriculum does not provide any further explanation or commentary on them. However, previous research has pointed out that the inadequate definition of intercultural education in the curriculum has created a gap between policy rhetoric and practice (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2014[49]). Such an observation has adverse implications on language policy planning and implementation in the Cypriot context that we discuss later on. Furthermore, as part of curriculum reform, the project Multiperspectivity and Intercultural Dialogue in Education (MIDE) was introduced

[45]   Papamichael, E. (2008). Greek-Cypriot teachers' understandings of intercultural education in an increasingly diverse society. *The Cyprus Review*, 20(2), 51-78.

[46]   MoEC – (Cyprus) Ministry of Education and Culture (2010). *Curricula for Pre-Primary, Primary and High-School Education. Vol. A and B*. Nicosia: MoEC. [In Greek]

[47]   Gregoriou, Z. (2010). *Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus*. http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf

[48]   Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L. & Angelides, P. (2012). Intercultural dimensions in the (new) curriculum of Cyprus: The way forward. *Curriculum Journal*, 23(3), 387-405.

[49]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2014). Education policy for social justice in Cyprus: The role of stakeholders' values. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 9(2), 157-170.

so as to envisage the reformed history education and social studies. MIDE entailed the development of teachers' education and methodological approaches focusing on multiperspectivity, and production of supplementary educational material on teaching aspects of Cypriot history.

Since the school year 2015-2016, ZEP was replaced by another programme named Actions for School and Social Integration (DRASE). Schools are included in the DRASE programme based on criteria similar to those mentioned above for the ZEP initiative. Within the framework of DRASE, the participant schools are given the opportunity (through funding and other resources) to implement a variety of actions aimed at:

- supporting vulnerable groups of the student population;
- preventing and tackling problems of youth delinquency, school failure and early school leaving;
- strengthening counseling and guidance;
- supporting non-Greek-speaking families in preliminary learning of the Greek language and improving their social skills;
- supporting students with low social skills to ensure their inclusion into the wider community;
- directly supporting students (and their families) facing problems of social exclusion;
- supporting students at high risk of remaining functionally illiterate and graduating from school without the necessary skills required by the modern knowledge society. (MoEC, 2016[50]).

In 2016, there was also another significant turn in MoEC's policy towards the paradigm of anti-racist education. The MoEC developed the 'Behaviour Code against Racism' and the 'Racist-Incident Management and Logging Guide' (MoEC), (MoEC, 2016a[51]; 2016b[52]). In the aforementioned policy documents, a racist incident is defined as any incident that: is perceived as racist by the victim or other

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[50] MoEC – Minitry of Education and Culture (2016). Multifaceted support of schools from September through the programme DRA.S.E (May 20, 2016). Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. http://enimerosi.moec.gov.cy/archeia/1/ypp4137a

[51] MoEC (2016a). *Behaviour Code against Racism*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. [In Greek]

[52] MoEC (2016b). *Racist-Incident Management and Logging Guide*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. [In Greek]

person; cultivates hostility against all those who share the same trait; and seriously harms wider communities. What is specifically stated in this documentation is that both the code and guide do not aim to classify people in the categories of 'racists' and 'non-racists' but seek to support teachers in the identification of racist incidents, taking action to prevent and respond to them, and help develop an anti-racist culture in their schools.

However, it is important to examine MoEC's turn towards anti-racist education *vis-à-vis* international literature and global trends. Since the 1990s, the paradigm of anti-racist education has been heavily criticised by theorists and researchers of intercultural education (i.e. Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994; Gillborn, 2000). Gillborn (2000),[53] who consider anti-racism to be an ill-defined concept. For some it is the organised individual protest to 'white' supremacy and its assumptions, while for others is the systematic approach that encompasses both the theoretical understanding of racism and practical opposition through systemic emancipatory practice. For example, Mansfield and Kehoe's (1994)[54] critical examination of anti-racist education is representative of such critique: It is the case that all education is political, where anti-racist education is viewed as being too political. Anti-racist education tends to be reductive – victims of discrimination are usually referred to as 'black', whereas perpetrators are 'white' – and narrowly conceived to refer only to institutional racism. Finally, many of the reported anti-racist interventions show negligible and even negative results' (ibid: 418). Even if this is the case, MoEC's anti-racist approach seems to be rather 'naïve' and 'superficial' as it does not even take into consideration the mere goals of anti-racist education such as 'discuss past and present racism, stereotyping, and discrimination in society; learn the economic structural and historical roots of inequality; find examples of institutional racism in the school and confront them (confronting might include informing the administration or protesting); analyse unequal social and power relations; know the realities of racism and know the human consequences of racism; and try to alter the unequal social realities that are justified by racist ideology which can be changed by legislative or other action' (Stanley 1992[55]: 8). What we thus argue is that the MoEC

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[53] Gillborn, D. (2000). Anti-racism: From policy to practice. In: B. Moon, S. Brown & Ben-Peretz, M. (eds.) *Routledge International Companion to Education*. London: Routledge, 476-488.

[54] Mansfield, E. & Kehoe, J. (1994). A critical examination of anti-racist education. *Canadian Journal of Education. 19(4)*, 418-430.

[55] Stanley, T. (1992). White supremacy and school segregation in Victoria: Historical perspectives and contemporary implications. *Policy Explorations,* 6, 3-10.

should examine, by means of research, the outcomes of its developed interventions, while also taking into consideration the global theoretic and practical 'scenery' of intercultural education deriving from international research and literature.

Last but not least, we should also examine MoEC's turn towards intercultural education *vis-à-vis*: (a) the yet-to-be-resolved conflict situation that still characterises the Cyprus context, and (b) the role of the Church in the Cyprus education. With regards to the first issue, the volume *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus* edited by Psaltis, Anastasiou, Faustman et al. (2017[56]) provides various examples of how formal (i.e. official curricula), non-formal, and informal education (i.e. the hidden curriculum) have contributed to the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus conflict, while further reinforcing prejudices, inter-ethnic stereotypes, and misperceptions. However, as the authors' note, education in Cyprus should contribute to conflict transformation, empathy and peaceful coexistence amongst the diverse Cypriot communities. As they suggest, MoEC should examine how this has been possible in other multi-ethnic societies undergoing conflict and build policies of intercultural education that respond to these goals.

Concerning examining intercultural policy formation *vis-à-vis* the issue of the Church's interference in Cyprus education, we should refer to the predominant role of the Orthodox religion in the curricula of public education until nowadays (Emilianides, 2011[57]). It is worth noting that during the Turkish- and British-rule period in Cyprus, the Cypriot Orthodox Church used education as the 'vehicle' for the intellectual expansion of Hellenocentricity in Cyprus, in order to contribute to the raising of national consciousness and to the maintenance of the Greek Orthodox character of the island (Philippou, 2007[58]). Despite the fact that Cyprus has ratified the first protocol of the European Convention on human rights according to which the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions, Emilianides, (2011) cautions on the doctrinal character of religious education provided in Cyprus public schools; and he notes, 'according to the curriculum pupils should be assisted to understand the presence of God throughout history and the apocalypse

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[56]   Psaltis, I. Anastasiou, N., Faustman, H. et al. (eds.) (2017). *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

[57]   Emilianides, A. (2011). Religion in Public Education in Cyprus. *In* G. Robbers (ed) *Religion in Public Education*. Trier: European Consortium for State and Church Research, 87-98.

[58]   Philippou, S. (2007). On the borders of Europe: Citizenship education and identity in Cyprus. *Journal of Social Science Education*. DOI: 10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v6-i1-1041

of God as an answer to the fundamental questions of human existence; they should experience the figure and teachings of Jesus Christ and experience the Christian way of love towards all people, regardless of colour, religion and race'. However, as Zembylas, Loukaidis and Antoniou (2018[59]) suggest, MoEC should examine in what ways it may reframe the curricula and practices of religious education in Cyprus as one of the tools to challenge normative ways of politicisation and securitisation by reframing pedagogical practices to address issues of peace, conflict, politics and religion in productive ways.

The Meso-Level of the School: The Illusory Adoption of Intercultural Education Policies

Nevertheless, what previous research conducted in the Cyprus context has shown is that the developed intercultural policies appeared to adhere to 'simulated' efforts of Europeanisation (i.e. Gregoriou, 2010[60]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013[61]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[62]). Although the MoEC 'markedly' included the intercultural dimension of education in its national policy and curriculum discourse, it did not provide schools with necessary resources to implement such policies. The unavailability of sufficient funds, appropriate infrastructures, and adequately trained personnel, operated as material constrains that turned schools into 'simulated' intercultural spaces (Hajisoteriou, 2010[63]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013b[64]). Moreover, the MoEC left the formulation and implementation of concrete intercultural initiatives to the discretion of the schools and their personnel.

Stemming from our discussion above, what appears is that the extremely centralised character of the Cypriot educational system does not allow the develop-

[59] Zembylas, M., Loukaidis, L. & Antoniou, M. (2018). The politicisation and securitisation of religious education in Greek–Cypriot schools, European Educational Research Journal, 18(3). DOI: 10.1177/1474904118788990

[60] Gregoriou, Z. (2010). Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus. http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf

[61] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2013). The politics of intercultural education in Cyprus. Policy-making and challenges. Education Inquiry (Special Issue 'Ethnic Diversity and Schooling'), 4(1), 103-123.

[62] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. Cyprus Review, 30(1), 353-367.

[63] Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. European Educational Research Journal, 9(4), 471-483.

[64] Hajisoteriou, C. (2013). Duty calls for interculturalism: how do teachers perceive the reform of intercultural education in Cyprus?. Teacher Development, 17(1), 107-126.

ment of school-based curricula, leading schools to interpret the ministry's stance as the complete absence of intercultural policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[65]). It is thus no surprise that research shows the lack of clearly-defined, adequate, and successful operational strategies that could potentially support the implementation of intercultural policies in Cypriot schools, which often adopt superficial and folklore practices (Papamichael, 2008[66]; Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018). This observation brings us to the conclusion that it is inappropriate to 'uncritically' model policies that seem to be successful in developed, adequately-funded, highly professionalised, and well-regulated education systems to those that fall short in these dimensions.

Beyond material reasons, political and cultural factors also lie behind the *symbolic* adoption of Europeanised policies of intercultural education in Cyprus (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016[67]). As we have already argued, due to the Cypriot political problem, migrants are portrayed by the society as 'damaging to the national cause'. As education strictly patrols the boundaries of citizenry and belongingness, subordinated groups including immigrants have been purposively remained under-recognised and excluded. In this sense, previous research asserts the MoEC, in serving the State's nation-building objectives, has deliberately omitted to develop effective initiatives leading towards successful implementation in order to maintain immigrants' assimilation in the dominant 'native' culture (i.e. Hajisoteriou, 2010[68]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[69]).

As a result, change seems to have occurred exclusively at the level of national policy rhetoric, but not at the level of practice. This lack of change at the practice level is evidence of the endurance of nationalistic teaching discourses, the absence of textbook reform (i.e. textbooks for history and religious education remain the same despite of the 2010 curriculum reform), and language teaching aiming to the

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[65] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[66] Papamichael, E. (2008). Greek-Cypriot teachers' understandings of intercultural education in an increasingly diverse society. *The Cyprus Review*, 20(2), 51-78.

[67] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[68] Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

[69] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

linguistic assimilation of migrants (Theodorou, 2014[70]). In more detail, the political culture fostered access-based policies and practices of intercultural education, safeguarding all children's right to access school communities. Nonetheless, as such policies and practices were exclusive of outcome-oriented definitions of equity, they impeded action on social justice.

Despite Cyprus officially being a trilingual country, at the practice level, intercultural education policies in the South part of Cyprus almost exclusively relate to Greek-language teaching, promoting cultural assimilation along the lines of linguistic assimilation (Theodorou, 2014). Theodorou contends (2014) that the term "other-language speaker" refers to a rhetorical deficit associated with a rhetoric of pathologisation and risk, as shown in the way the language is used to classify bilingual children at different levels of attainment of the language. Simultaneously, it portrays bilingualism as a problem of the children themselves, instead of a component enriching the school and the broader society. Similarly, Gregoriou (2010) suggests that in the Cypriot context intercultural education has mereley been understood as teaching Greek to migrants. Arguably, the ideology behind this type of language policy is one that promotes cultural assimilation (Hajisoteriou, 2013). This policy appears to be in contrast to the EU goals regarding cultivating cultural diversity and multilingualism (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2017).

It is worth noting that international research claims for the profound benefits of competent language planning are part of intercultural education policies. For example, as McPake, Tinsley and James (2007[71]: 102) observe, 'linguistically diverse societies need to invest in formal educational provision to support and develop people's competences in the various languages to which they have access'. However, in the Cyprus context, Valanidou and Jones (2012)[72] in their study focusing on teachers' perceptions of language-teaching in multilingual classrooms in Cypriot schools, report a number of challenges impeding language variation. Valanidou and Jones (2012) point out a lack of appropriate pedagogical and curricular guidelines, a lack of resources and training for teaching diverse students in multilingual classrooms, and lastly, a lack of parental support. According to the two researchers,

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[70] Theodorou, E. (2014). Constructing the other: Politics and policies of intercultural education in Cyprus. In: L. Vega (ed.) *Empires, PostColoniality and Interculturality*. Sense Publishers, 251-272.

[71] McPake, J., Tinsley, T., & James, C. (2007). Making provision for community languages: Issues for teacher education in the UK. *Language Learning Journal*, 35(1), 99-112.

[72] Valanidou, A., & Jones, J. (2012). Teaching Greek in multicultural, primary classrooms: Teachers' perceptions of the challenges in four Greek-Cypriot primary schools. *The Cyprus Review*, 24(1), 119-145.

as teachers have little (or no) knowledge on bilingual education, they 'need opportunities to develop a dialogue with regards to bilingual pedagogy that would integrate language and content and create learning targets and appropriate resources for bilingual students' (ibid: 119).

Moving from the phase of adoption to implementation, scalar factors have contributed in the 'illusory' adoption on policies of intercultural education at the school level. What our previous research has shown is that head-teachers as well as teachers, who are actually responsible for making new policies to work, often feel alienated to reforms coming from above and do not gradually progress from previous practices (Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[73]; Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2018[74]). Similar findings are also reported by other research carried out in the Cyprus context (i.e. Zembylas, 2010[75]; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010[76]). In examining the ways in which school leadership influenced the implementation of intercultural education approaches, we conclude that most of the participant head-teachers felt 'uncertain' and 'insecure' on how to react to diversity. They thus adopted a combination of assimilationist and cultural-deficit approaches, and transactional leadership styles. As a result of education policies emanating from standardisation in relation to the creation of the 'knowledge economy', these head-teachers emphasised the need for homogeneity in order to sustain the, so-called, smooth operation of their schools (Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). Their leadership styles took the form of a business-as-usual approach, as they did not acknowledge their students' diverse socio-cultural backgrounds in developing and implementing appropriate school cultures, policies, and practices.

What these studies note is that implementing inclusive and socially-just policies in their schools is a daunting task for many Cypriot head-teachers. By adopting, what Riehl (2000[77]: 59) names as managerial types of leadership, these head-teachers reproduced 'sometimes unwittingly conditions of hierarchy and oppression, in

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[73] Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers' professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

[74] Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Successful components of school improvement in culturally-diverse schools. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 29(1), 91-112.

[75] Zembylas, M. (2010). The emotional aspects of leadership for social justice. Implications for leadership preparation programs. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 48(5), 611-625.

[76] Zembylas, M. & Iasonos, S. (2010). Leadership styles and multicultural education approaches: an exploration of their relationship. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 13(2), 163-183.

[77] Riehl, C. J. (2000). The principal's role in creating inclusive schools for diverse students: A review

particular by fostering compliant thinking rather than critical reflection'. On the other hand, previous research conducted in Cyprus has also identified some exceptions of Cypriot head-teachers, who adopt critical approaches of intercultural education and are prone to transformational leadership styles (i.e. Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2014[78]; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2017[79]). These head-teachers lent support to social-justice leadership by examining the institutional barriers, structural inequalities, and power dynamics that influenced inclusion (or exclusion) within their culturally-diverse school settings. They run their schools in more collaborative forms by fostering cooperation among their teaching faculty (Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2018[80]). Additionally, they often network with other professionals, such as educational psychologists to develop school plans and programmes aiming to combat discrimination. They also prioritise highly on their school agendas 'increased student voice', immigrant parental involvement, intercultural professional development of teachers, and school self-evaluation.

The Micro-Level of the Classroom: The 'Trivialised' Implementation of Intercultural Education Policies

What Cyprus research has also shown is that the leap between the intercultural policy paradigm and the ethnocentric character of the Cypriot society further adds to the decoupling between policy rhetoric and implementation (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018b[81]). Previous research over the last decade has also examined the ways practicing front-line teachers view the issue of intercultural education in Cyprus. What we may note from the research that we have conducted in the Cyprus context over the last decade, is that a lot of Cypriot teachers struggle to implement intercultural education initiatives because they lack professional development opportunities tailored to the specific needs that emerge in their schools (i.e. Hajisote-

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of normative, empirical literature on the practice of educational administration. *Review of Educational Research*, 70(1), 55-81.

[78]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2014). Facing the challenge: School leadership in intercultural schools. *Educational Management, Administration & Leadership*, 66-83.

[79]   Zembylas, M. & Iasonos, S. (2017). Social justice leadership in multicultural schools: the case of an ethnically divided society. *International Journal of Leadership in Education. 20(1)*, 1-25.

[80]   Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Successful components of school improvement in culturally-diverse schools. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 29(1), 91-112.

[81]   Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

riou, 2013[82]; Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[83]). Furthermore, teachers feel that various structural barriers lead them to practice the teaching-as-usual approach, and only rarely adopting practices of culturally-responsive pedagogy and interculturally-differentiated teachings that are a prerequisite for the successful implementation of intercultural education (Neophytou, Valiandes & Hajisoteriou, 2018[84]). Such barriers include time constrains, large class size, and the overloaded syllabus, which appear to inhibit the Cypriot teachers' efforts to successfully implement the MoEC's rhetoric of intercultural education (Hajisoteriou, 2009[85]).

Additionally, past research (i.e. Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2015[86]; Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2017[87]; Messiou, 2011[88]; Nicolaou, Nitsiou & Charalambous's, 2007[89]), caution on the lack of initiatives reinforcing the active listening of migrant children's voices as an additional reason behind the gap between policy rhetoric and practice. Such research also cautions on the failure of the Cypriot educational system to implement pertinent policies to address migrant children's marginalisation and exclusion. Despite the reported gradual development of friend-

[82] Hajisoteriou, C. (2013). Implementing intercultural education in the school classroom: Teaching approaches, strategies and applications. In: P. Angelides, P. & C. Hajisoteriou (Eds.) *Intercultural Dialogue in Education: Theoretical Approaches, Political Perspectives and Pedagogical Practices*. Zefiri: Diadrasi Publications, 253-286. [In Greek]

[83] Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers' professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

[84] Neophytou, L., Valiandes, S. & Hajisoteriou, C. (2018). Interculturally differentiated instruction: Reflections from Cyprus classrooms. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 397-408.

[85] Hajisoteriou, C. (2009). Europeanising Cypriot intercultural education: a policy process of simulation? *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. 4(4), 1-14.

[86] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2015). Listening to children's voices on intercultural education policy and practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 28(1), 112-130.

[87] Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Mapping cultural diversity through children's voices: From confusion to clear understandings. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43(2), 330-349.

[88] Messiou, K. (2011). Collaborating with children in exploring marginalisation: An approach to inclusive education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(12), 1311-1322.

[89] Nicolaou, A., Nitsiou, C. & Charalambous, S. (2007). Cypriot high schools as cultural mosaics: Pupils' perspectives and experiences. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations*, 7, 343-351.

ships between Cypriots and immigrants, stereotypical behavior and racist incidents against immigrant students continue to persist in schools (Partasi, 2009[90]; 2011[91]).

It is worth noting that the student voice is reported to be of a significant value in terms of enhancing inclusion in Cyprus schools (Messiou, 2008[92]). It is argued that students hold unique knowledge and perspectives on social justice as they are capable of detecting both segregating practices that enhance marginilisation as well as identifying the factors that inhibit inclusion in their schools. Although many schools struggle with how to support inclusion and interculturalism, only few have decided to go straight to the source and ask students to contribute their opinion on a range of important school issues including sharing their view regarding the ways in which they perceive and identify diversity in schools, thus giving them the opportunity to participate in transformative actions in terms of social emancipation (Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2017[93]).

The 'trivialised' character of the implementation of intercultural education policies in the Cyprus context is also shown by the lack of authentic and effective collaboration between schools and migrant families (Theodorou, 2018[94]). What previous research has indicated is that there is no evidence of a clear process of development of school policies for promoting immigrant parental involvement (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016b[95]). Although schools seem to acknowledge the positive outcomes deriving from the development of collaborative networks between teachers and parents, Cypriot teachers who participated in research studies carried out thus far, argue that migrant parental involvement is often not the case because of various barriers inhibiting such collaboration. Teachers referred to issues including migrant parents' social class and therefore, low socio-economic situation,

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[90] Partasi, E. (2009). Identity and belonging in a culturally diverse classroom in Cyprus. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations,* 9(2), 146-156.

[91] Partasi, E. (2011). Experiencing multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 41(3), 371-386.

[92] Messiou, K. (2008). Understanding children's constructions of meanings about other children: implications for inclusive education. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 8(1)*, 27–36.

[93] Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Mapping cultural diversity through children's voices: From confusion to clear understandings. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43(2), 330-349.

[94] Theodorou, E. (2008). Just how involved is 'involved'? Re-thinking parental involvement through exploring teachers' perceptions of immigrant families' school involvement in Cyprus. *Ethnography and Education*, *3*(3), 253-269.

[95] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016b). Promoting immigrant parental involvement in culturally-diverse schools through a multiple perspectives approach. *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning,* 11(2), 145-162.

deprived educational background and inability to communicate effectively in the Greek language.

Previous research carried out in Cyprus has indicated the exclusion of migrant parents from school processes and functions because of the delimited conceptualisations of parental involvement as on-site presence and adherence to teacher demands (i.e. Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou & Symeou, 2007[96]; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016b). Theodorou (2008[97]; 2014[98]) explains that Cypriot teachers seem to perceive immigrant parents as 'disinterested' and 'uninvolved', while justifying parents' behaviour according to cultural-deficit perspectives that contradict interculturalism and intercultural education.

Conclusion

The main focus of this article was to examine the development and implementation of education responses to migration, while enriching the debate on the macro-micro integration process. To better explain issues regarding macro-micro integration we examined examples stemming from the phases of the development of policies of intercultural education in the Cyprus State, and specifically the MoEC, while transcending to the phases of adoption, and implementation of such policies in the Cyprus schools and classrooms. According to our previous analysis, we conclude with suggestions for improvement, and also for future research focusing on intercultural education in Cyprus.

Arguably, change should occur at the macro-level of the State. To begin with, the newly-endorsed framework of anti-racist education that has been recently introduced as the cornerstone of MoEC's education policy seems to be inadequate to grasp new debates of interculturalism and intercultural education focusing on social justice. As Cantle (2012)[99] argues, in an era of globalisation and super-diver-

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[96]   Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou, P. & Symeou, L. (2007). Promoting closer ties and cooperation between the school, the family and the community in the framework of intercultural education. *International Journal about Parents in Education*. 1, 63-72.

[97]   Theodorou, E. (2008). Just how involved is 'involved'? Re-thinking parental involvement through exploring teachers' perceptions of immigrant families' school involvement in Cyprus. *Ethnography and Education*, *3*(3), 253-269.

[98]   Theodorou, E. (2014). The invasion of the Trojan horse: relationships between immigrant family and the school – issues, challenges and potentials. In: C. Hajisoteriou & C. Xenophontos (Eds.) Saita Publishing.

[99]   Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

sity, the rebranding of intercultural education presupposes that it should be positioned as a future-orientated debate that focuses on all aspects of diversity in an ever-changing environment. Such rebranding calls for socially and educationally transformative educational systems. The MoEC should thus examine the prospect of changing its paradigm from anti-racism to intercultural education with social justice and decolonisation.

Gorski (2009[100]: 88) explains that educational responses to migration should refrain from 'an overly-simplistic approach (can't we all just get along?)' - that rather draws upon multiculturalism - to 'a systemic approach that insists first and foremost on the construction of an equitable and just world'. To Gorski, the deconstruction of power, privilege, and oppression entails the cornerstone of, what he calls, as authentic intercultural education that aims to enable *all* people to play a fully participatory role in society, by substantiating sustainability of social justice for current and future generations. It is thus necessary that the MoEC examines, by means of research, both the meaning of intercultural education per se, as well as the meaning of stereotypes in the Cyprus context, the mechanisms of stereotype formation (i.e. the role of the media), and the influence of stereotypes in the development and quality of interpersonal relationships. The outcomes of such research should inform the development of future educational policies for intercultural education in Cyprus, also with the development of teacher intercultural professional development programmes, and educational modules for students.

Secondly, in the process of developing the operational strategies supporting the implementation of intercultural policies in Cyprus schools and classrooms, the MoEC should carry out sufficient field assessments examining issues such as differentiated teaching, class size and numbers of emergent bilingual students in each class, teacher development, and curriculum reform with regards to intercultural education – and respond accordingly. Thirdly, intercultural teacher professional development appears to be a major obstacle in the successful implementation of intercultural education policies in Cyprus schools and classrooms (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[101]). Cypriot teachers still appear to be ill-prepared to enhance their students' hybrid cultural identities and to equip them with the qualities of intercultural knowledge and competence, critical consciousness, interpersonal skills, and

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[100] Gorski, P. (2009). Intercultural education as social justice. *Intercultural Education*, 20(2), 87-90.

[101] Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

cultural empathy (Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018[102]). What we thus argue is that the current technocratic and knowledge-centred format of teacher training fails to support Cypriot teachers to operate in more intercultural, instead of multicultural ways within their classrooms. What we argue is that teacher training programmes aiming to combat racism, xenophobia and discrimination should help teachers to, on the one hand, critically reflect on issues of culture and stereotype through the pedagogies of discomfort and empathy, and, on the other hand, acquire a repository of teaching methodologies 'appropriate' for diverse settings that are based on experiential-learning (Zembylas & Papamichael, 2018[103]). Moreover, in order to better respond to socio-cultural diversity, MoEC and State teacher training providers, such as the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, should acknowledge the importance of parent perceptions and 'student views as a catalyst for powerful teacher development' (Messiou & Ainscow, 2015[104]: 246).

Last but not least, we propose the development and implementation of school policies and classroom practices that reinforce the active listening of the multiple voices of all school actors (teachers, parents, students, and community stakeholders), the development of collaborative school and classroom cultures, and the endorsements of shared school-based leadership models to support interdisciplinary and intercultural competencies mainly because, 'by combining all these valuable forms of knowledge, more sustainable practices can be developed and better resolutions to current issues may be achieved' (Tilbury & Mulà, 2009[105]: 7). Future research that will be carried out in Cyprus should focus on examining practical ways to put these suggestions in practice.

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[102] Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers' professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

[103] Zembylas, M. & Papamichael, E. (2018). Pedagogies of discomfort and empathy in multicultural teacher education. *Intercultural Education*, 28(1), 1-19.

[104] Messiou, K. & Ainscow, M. (2015). Responding to learner diversity: Student views as a catalyst for powerful teacher development. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 51*, 246-255

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