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Greek teachers' views on linguistic and cultural diversity

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Abstract

This paper reports on a questionnaire study investigating primary school teachers' (N=85) attitudes and practices with regard to bilingualism in their classes. The study was conducted in three major Greek cities in 2013-14 as part of a large European Union funded project ('Thalis') on bilingualism and bilingual education, run by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Our findings demonstrate that teachers are divided between those who are more aware of the benefits of bilingualism and adopt related practices and those who are more conservative in their views and practices. The need for continuing professional development aiming to enhance teachers' awareness on issues connected to bilingualism cannot be overestimated.

Keywords: teacher attitudes, teacher practices, bilingual children, bilingualism linguistic diversity, cultural diversity

1. Introduction

Since the early 1990s, the Greek educational system has been receiving numerous students of a different ethnic background due to an unprecedented immigration from the Balkans, the ex-Soviet Union and countries of the Middle East and Africa. Nowadays, they are considered to form about 10% in grades K-12 (Gkaintartzi, Kiliari & Tsokalidou 2015). The presence of students with a diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic background led educational authorities to reconsider issues related to culture, identity and citizenship, and challenged the Greek society's deep-rooted beliefs regarding the homogeneity of its structure. However, despite relevant legislation which was supposed to ensure the implementation of intercultural education, no major changes have been observed in the way the Greek educational system has dealt with diversity. As teachers are a key agent in education, it is imperative to prepare them for dealing with issues of linguistic and cultural diversity

both during their pre-and in-service training. The study reported here investigates teachers' attitudes and practices about linguistic and cultural diversity and is intended to enrich our current knowledge on the subject.

2. Teachers' beliefs and attitudes on diversity in education

Teachers' attitudes and beliefs are generally considered to exert an important influence on their professional practices, determining to a great extent the *what* and the *how* they teach (Llurda & Lasagabaster 2010; Xu 2012). Moreover, researchers (e.g. Llurda & Lasagabaster 2010; Strand 2011, among many others) have repeatedly pointed out how teachers' predetermined views of their students as 'promising' or 'weak' influence students' self-image and behavior leading them to perform according to their teachers' expectations, what Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) termed 'the Pygmalion effect'.

Teachers' attitudes towards diversity in education and the implementation of intercultural education is a quite complex issue. In a review of related studies, Castro (2010) points out that teachers often express positive views towards the inclusion of intercultural education in schools, using arguments about equality and humanity. At the same time, however, they fail to see the deep-rooted causes of discrimination against certain groups and the structural inequality which may reflect itself in educational matters.

A common finding in the various studies investigating how teachers react to diversity is the need for more thorough training in this field. Lee and Oxelson (2006), for instance, investigated teachers' views with regard to heritage language maintenance among their students who spoke English as an L2 in the US. According to their findings, teachers with little or no experience with such students or without any training on intercultural and bilingual education tended to hold more negative views towards heritage language maintenance than teachers who had acquired a certain level of awareness and failed to see how the school or they themselves could do anything to support L1 maintenance. In a recent study in the United Kingdom (Foley, Sangster & Anderson 2013), where student teachers reported on their observations regarding EAL¹ policies and practices in a variety of schools across Scotland, it was found that in many cases "schools and teachers made little or no

¹ English as an Additional Language.

effort even at the most basic level to find out what the needs of EAL learners actually were" (Foley, Sangster & Anderson 2013: 200). It was also often observed that such students were often confounded with children with special educational needs and their progress was left to the Learning Support specialists. In France, according to Young (2014), teachers often fall victims to widespread but erroneous beliefs about bilingualism and consider the use of other languages at school not only as 'illegitimate' but also as potentially harmful for the development of French.

What is also interesting is that, as Ramos (2001) points out, some teachers express positive views on a theoretical level but fail to do justice to these views in their teaching practices. This means that even when teachers express tolerance and respect towards other cultures, they do not necessarily adopt practices which promote multiculturalism and multilingualism among their students; they may be unaware of what kinds of action are better suited for this particular purpose or may simply pay lip service to issues of equality and fair treatment. At any rate, the question of teacher attitudes and practices should be treated *in tandem*, even when one has to rely only on the subjects' reports.

3. Research in multilingualism and multiculturalism in Greek schools

As mentioned earlier, despite the official rhetoric about 'intercultural education', the Greek educational system has not embraced its tenets towards a more progressive pedagogy. Educational provisions for foreign children are limited to attendance of special classes where Greek is taught as a second language; these may be 'Reception' classes or support classes with the same aim, where emergent bilinguals can learn Greek for a few hours per week (Mitakidou, Daniilidou & Tourtouras 2007; Zagka, Kessidou & Mattheoudakis 2014). At school, the immigrant and minority children's bilingualism remains 'invisible' (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou 2011; Tsokalidou 2005) as 'Mother tongue' or 'heritage language' courses are not provided by the Greek state². Immigrant families who wish to transmit their language to their children in a structured way have to rely on community or 'complementary' schools (Lytra & Martin 2010) operating once a week³.

² Although the law provides for the establishment of classes where immigrant pupils could be taught the language and culture of their country of origin as part of their school curriculum ($\Phi 10/20/\Gamma 1/708/7$ -9-1999), in practice this measure has never been implemented full-scale.

³ Cf. Maligkoudi (2014) for a review on complementary schools in Greece.

Previous research on Greek teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism and multilingualism in education has revealed that they share quite homogeneous but also deeply contradictory views (Mitakidou & Daniilidou 2007; Sakka 2010); their answers manifest both tolerance and ethnocentricity in particular with regard to immigrant languages. Myths about bilingualism are quite widespread, especially those regarding the relationship between the child's two languages (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou 2011; Stamou & Dinas 2009). Such views often lead teachers to consider students' heritage languages as a hindrance to the learning of Greek (Gkaintartzi, Kiliari & Tsokalidou 2015; Skourtou 2005; Stamou & Dinas 2009; Zagka, Kesidou & Mattheoudakis 2014) and even to advise immigrant parents that they should use mostly or exclusively Greek at home (Gkaintartzi, Chatzidaki & Tsokalidou 2014; Gogonas 2007; Mitakidou & Daniilidou 2007; Skourtou 2005). These beliefs are obviously related to their ignorance of the relevant theories which support the interdependence between languages and the transfer of notions and concepts between them (Cummins 2000, 2003; Skourtou 2005, 2011).

Moreover, research suggests that most teachers do not seem to realise the importance of the development and use of the heritage language either for psychological or cognitive reasons (Skourtou 2005). Some even prohibit the use of these languages in the classroom on the grounds that Greek is the only 'legitimate' school language in their new surroundings (Gkaintartzi, Chatzidaki & Tsokalidou 2014; Sakka 2010).

On the whole, these findings suggest that Greek teachers hold complex views towards the management of language diversity in their classrooms. Our own study aimed at exploring this issue further and at identifying factors which may be linked to teachers' views. Due to space limitations, this paper will present only the views and practices as reported by our informants.

4. The study

4.1 Research questions

In order to pursue the investigation of the specific sample teachers' attitudes and practices with regard to linguistic and cultural diversity in their classes, we formulated a double set of research questions: the first ones related to the informants' *attitudes* while the rest referred to their *practices*. In the present paper we shall report findings related to the following research questions:

- RQ1: What are the participating teachers' attitudes towards the use of learners' heritage language at home?
- RQ2: What are their attitudes towards the immigrant families' wish to maintain their heritage language and transmit it to their children?
- RQ3: What are their attitudes towards the use of learners' heritage language in class?
- RQ4: Do teachers modify their teaching practices to accommodate for their bilingual learners?
- RQ5: Do they try to include elements of their learners' culture and language in their lesson?

By looking at their reported views and practices we wished to discover tendencies reflecting our teachers' awareness (or lack thereof) of the importance of valuing and supporting their students' linguistic and cultural heritage.

4.2 Participants

The total number of collected questionnaires reached 85. Most schools in the sample are located in Thessaloniki, the second largest city in Greece, where the bulk of the BALeD research in Greece was conducted. As a result, the large majority of the informants (60 out of 85) come from Thessaloniki, whereas 16 participants come from Ioannina (a city in Western Greece close to Albania) and 9 from Athens.

Of the 76 participants who provided information regarding their gender, 50 identified themselves as female and 26 as male. Regarding their age, 60% of participants were older than 45, 30.5% were between 36 and 45 years old and less than 10% were younger than 35. Their age matches their teaching experience; half of the teachers (50%) have more than twenty years of experience, 35% claim to have between 11 and 20 years of experience and 14% have only 1 to 10 years of teaching experience. In other words, most teachers are quite experienced. With regard to their educational level, 15 of the 85 informants hold a postgraduate degree. Finally, nearly half of them (n=39) claimed to have had some sort of specialisation in issues of intercultural education (IE) or teaching Greek as a second or foreign language (undergraduate courses, in-training seminars mostly).

4.3 Data collection

Between 2012 and 2015, an interdisciplinary team of experts was involved in the BaLeD project⁴ under the scientific coordination of Prof. Ianthi Maria Tsimpli at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The BaLeD project aimed at investigating the relationship of linguistic and cognitive factors with different types of bilingualism in children. The authors of this paper were involved in a number of research tasks, one of which related to the investigation of teachers' attitudes and practices with regard to linguistic and cultural diversity in their classes.

In the course of the broader study, fieldworkers employed by the project visited several state schools in three Greek cities (Thessaloniki, Athens and Ioannina) between October 2013 and May 2014 in order to administer language and psychometric tests to students of Albanian origin. Data collection for the present study ran parallel to the main one, as teachers in the participating schools were asked to complete questionnaires which were subsequently collected by the fieldworker in charge.

The questions included in the questionnaire aimed at providing information on

- teachers' profile (e.g. gender, age, educational background, years of teaching experience, etc.),
- their students' profile (e.g. country of origin),
- teachers' attitudes and classroom practices regarding culturally-distinct pupils.

The study was designed as a quantitative one, as the general research design did not include interviews or class observations. We were quite aware of the drawbacks that such a research design entails and the limitations it poses to the interpretation of the findings. In an attempt to counterbalance this effect and to delve deeper into the informants' rationale or beliefs, we presented them in the relevant questionnaire items with a set of answers in order to choose the one which best described their case. Each answer was formulated in such a way as to express, in the researchers' view, a particular stance regarding bilingualism and diversity.

⁴ A 'Thalis' research project, funded by the European Union and, to a smaller extent, Greek funds (MIS 377313).

5. Results

5.1 Teachers' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance and bilingualism Teachers' attitudes regarding heritage language maintenance were investigated through answers in three separate questionnaire items. The first relevant item involved the participants' attitudes towards heritage language use at home. Informants were asked to give their opinion on the use of such languages by their students' families ("What do you think about it"?) by choosing one of the following statements:

- A. I don't think it is bad for them to use the other language at home. Acquisition of Greek is not negatively affected.
- B. I don't mind which language my students and their families use at home. It is a different issue, however, whether this situation affects the acquisition process of one or both languages.
- C. Every family can choose freely to speak any language they want at home. However, I think that it would be best for children if parents used more frequently or exclusively Greek at home.
- D. I believe that foreign families should speak only Greek at home otherwise their children will not learn Greek well enough.

Nearly half the sample (48.3%) chose answer A, which is supposed to express the most 'open-minded' stance towards bilingualism. However, a large part of the informants (38.6%) chose answer B, which was meant to imply that although they acknowledge the families' right to raise their child in their own language, they are not certain as to the positive outcome of bilingual development. Finally, almost one in ten participants (10.8%) chose answer C, openly expressing their preference for the use of the majority language at home. Although they are seemingly different, we would like to argue that answers B and C express very similar views, as teachers identifying with both such statements are not convinced that children can learn two languages simultaneously without experiencing language and learning difficulties.

These results are consistent with studies whose findings suggest that Greek teachers often consider immigrant languages as a potential hindrance to the acquisition of Greek (Gkaintartzi, Kiliari & Tsokalidou 2015; Stamou & Dinas 2009).

Heritage language maintenance has another aspect which needs to be taken into consideration, namely the financial and organisational burden of setting up such structures. We considered it important to investigate not only whether our informants viewed heritage language teaching positively but also whether they thought it should be the responsibility of the interested community (or its country of origin) alone. The relevant question was formulated as follows: *"What do you think about language maintenance by immigrant and repatriated families?"*. The options provided were the following:

- A. I think it's good that immigrant or repatriated families want to maintain their language. The Greek state should support their efforts by offering, for instance, courses on their native language for interested students.
- B. I think it's good that immigrant or repatriated families want to maintain their language. However, it is not the responsibility of the Greek state to help them but rather of their countries of origin.
- C. I don't understand why someone would insist on maintaining their language, since they have decided to live in another country. These families should primarily promote the acquisition of Greek among their children; any other choice will cause problems.

First of all, it should be noted that only one participant chose answer C, explicitly objecting to heritage language maintenance. Slightly over half of the sample (52.9%) agreed with statement A believing that not only are families right to pursue heritage language maintenance but also that the Greek state should take some measures to this effect.

However, a considerable part of our informants (42.4%) expressed the view that the host country should not be involved in any language maintenance efforts. In our view, this policy falls short of the implementation of bilingual education and manifests teachers' ignorance of the potentially beneficial effect of bilingual development.

Similar findings were reported by Gogonas (2009) who conducted a small-scale survey in the middle of the previous decade. He found that two-thirds of the secondary-education teachers he interviewed agreed on the importance of 'mothertongue' [sic] classes. The rest of the teachers did not agree on heritage-language maintenance mostly because they considered it an obstacle to immigrants' successful integration. Moreover, they were equally divided between those who considered that Greece should support financially such courses and those who thought it was the responsibility of the countries of origin only. The third issue refers to the frequency with which bilingual students use their other languages during class. Teachers were asked whether they have observed the use of other languages besides Greek during class ("*Do your bilingual students use their other language during class*?"). The options provided were the following:

- A. No, I have forbidden them to use it.
- B. No, it does not happen.

C. Yes, they do.

Only one teacher chose answer A admitting that she has enforced a 'Greek-only' policy in the classroom. The large majority of our informants (83.5%) preferred to claim that their students do not engage in such behaviour, contrary to the other 14%.

Next, we asked those participants who claimed to have observed such language use a follow-up question (*"What do you do when this happens?"*) in order to better understand their own stance towards students' practices. We presented them with three choices, which were supposed to cover a spectrum of language beliefs related to the usefulness of bilingual use in class:

- A. I encourage my students to use the other language while interacting, because I think it's good for them.
- B. I encourage the students who know their language well to use this language with those who are not as proficient in Greek. The non-proficient students will benefit from this practice, which facilitates language learning.
- C. I do not encourage the use of other languages. I just do not discourage it either.

Out of the twelve participants who responded, six (50%) chose the third answer, while the rest were equally divided between answers A and B. So, only a mere handful of teachers (n=3) seem to recognise the importance of allowing children to express themselves in the language they feel more comfortable with and to display some distinct identity. Similarly, only a few (n=3) understand that it would be helpful for a beginner to have someone introduce him/her to the new language and a new learning environment through the language s/he already knows.

We can only speculate as to the reasons for such scarce appearance of multilingualism at school. Bearing in mind the general mistrust and neglect of immigrant bilingualism by the educational authorities, we suggest that it may be at least partly due to the subtle messages conveyed to the pupils; their languages are not considered worthy, legitimate or welcome at school. The small number of teachers who see the use of other languages as a powerful pedagogical tool which helps pupils negotiate their identities and invest in learning (Cummins 2000, 2003) is actually discouraging. It appears that even teachers who are positive towards bilingualism adopt the view that the only language suitable for use in the mainstream classroom is the majority language. On the whole, our findings with regard to teachers' views on bilingualism agree with previous studies (Mitakidou & Daniilidou 2007; Mitakidou, Daniilidou & Tourtouras 2007).

5.2 Teachers' practices in multilingual and multicultural classes

The issues we wished to investigate with regard to teaching practices involved the teachers' preparedness to alter their usual teaching practices in order to cover the needs of L2 Greek speakers and produce a welcoming and empowering teaching context. The first relevant question was: "Do you make any modifications/changes in your teaching in order to help students who do not speak Greek well?".

Many teachers are under the impression that since their students can speak Greek with certain ease, they are no longer in need of any special assistance. Although this may well be true in certain cases, it has often been noticed that teachers judge the children's overall linguistic development in the majority language on the basis of their conversational fluency (Cummins 2000, 2003), without taking into account that the development of 'academic language' is still lagging behind.

The options available for this question were the following:

- A. No, my bilingual students can speak Greek quite well and they don't need special treatment.
- B. No, I don't have time to deal with specific cases. I have to go on with my lessons; otherwise the rest of the class will fall behind.
- C. Yes, I do everything I can.

First of all, it is comforting that only one informant chose answer B, openly admitting that s/he does not pay any attention to these students' needs. The rest of the informants, however, appeared neatly divided into two, as options A and C received each 49.4% of the answers.

In an attempt to better understand the kind of approach teachers adopt to deal with their students' needs, we presented them with a list of possible techniques and strategies and asked them to choose as many as they consider relevant in their case. Table 1 presents the techniques and strategies selected by the 40 teachers who claimed to modify their practices.

		%
1	I give them shorter texts to learn and easier exercises.	55.0
2	In History or Social Studies class, I explain the basic vocabulary	27.5
	of the unit up front or ask them to use a dictionary.	
3	I ask them to learn only the basic points of the lesson.	55.0
4	I give them more/ different grammar exercises so they can practice	45.0
	the parts they have difficulty in.	
5	When I deliver the content, I use many hands-on materials and	37.5
	advanced organizers to help them understand the lesson.	
6	I pay attention to the language I use so that bilingual students can	95.0
	understand me as well. I paraphrase words or use synonyms.	

Table 1: Techniques and strategies teachers employ to help emergent bilinguals

Our understanding of the various techniques and strategies proposed is that they are situated along a continuum. Techniques (1) and (3) are consistent with a 'deficit' view of bilingual students. Teachers have lower expectations of them as they consider them unable to participate in the lesson and have access to the whole curriculum. Cummins (2000, 2003) warns us of the dangers linked to oversimplifying and 'watering down' the curriculum for these students; if they are never engaged in cognitively challenging tasks, students will fail to make progress either linguistically or academically. These techniques were quite popular among our informants, as they were chosen by more than half of the teachers who answered this question (55%).

Technique (4) is somewhat similar in the sense that it perceives language as a set of distinct grammar rules which can be learned by individual practice. Its use probably means that the teachers involved do not engage the bilingual students in collaborative work over meaningful activities, an approach which is extremely helpful (Carrasquillo & Rodriguez 1996; McGroarty 1993), but place emphasis on the acquisition of grammatical structures as a sign of progress (cf. Table 1). Nearly half of the teachers who answered said they used this technique (45%).

The three strategies we have put forward (2, 5, and 6) are more suitable for students' development of the academic aspect of the new language (cf. Carrasquillo & Rodriguez 1996). Strategies (2) and (5) are both related to making the content more accessible, not just simplifying it. In these conditions, new concepts and terms are

supposed to be explained beforehand or during the lesson with the use of a dictionary (Kinsella 1997), something which helps students understand the full meaning of the lesson at hand while enriching their vocabulary. Using hands-on material and visual aids to deliver the content is particularly helpful, especially for students who cannot rely on words only for understanding. However, these two strategies are not as popular among our teachers as others (cf. Table 1). At least the last strategy proposed (sentence 6) was almost unanimously chosen by the forty informants who claimed to modify their teaching practices. We consider this a positive sign, since if teachers are attuned to their students' level of competence and wish them to understand the content they will have to resort to the use of synonyms and paraphrases.

The last question investigated whether teachers actually show their appreciation of their students' language and culture of origin by integrating such elements in their teaching. The proposed answers were:

- A. Yes, often. I try to integrate elements of their cultural background in several aspects of their school life.
- B. Rarely. I may ask them to tell me a word or a poem in their language.
- C. No, I don't think it is necessary. Besides, I can't speak their language.

Nearly half of the 79 participants who answered (48.1%) chose option B, while one tenth (10.1%) of the informants claimed never to engage in such practices. The percentage of those who show a more active approach towards bilingualism and multiculturalism and chose option A (41.8%) is not particularly high; still it indicates that at least some teachers are aware of the importance of using productively all students' cultural background, including their languages. We conclude that the majority of our teachers do not see diversity among their students as a stimulus for opening up the classroom to new worlds and cultures; as long as their students are able to manage language-wise, they are content.

6. Concluding remarks

Summing up, our findings regarding teachers' attitudes towards learners' use of heritage language at home and at school are not particularly encouraging. As far as practices are concerned, the number of actively involved and sensitised teachers is rather small. Moreover, although their efforts to modify their practices for the bilingual learners' benefit sound promising, we cannot be sure whether this holds true in real practice (cf. Ramos 2001).

The study presented here obviously has certain limitations which should be taken into account. As mentioned in section 4.3, we were obliged by the design of the greater BALeD study to investigate attitudes through the use of questionnaires, a research instrument not exactly suited for this purpose. Our approach (i.e. providing pre-determined answers which informants could select from) may have been a step to yielding subjective information on views and practices; however, it cannot substitute entirely for in-depth interviewing and/or classroom observation. Such data collection techniques would allow us to triangulate our findings and speak with larger confidence about them. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that our data cannot be generalised to the whole population of Greek teachers; informants participated in the survey on a voluntary basis and were not sampled according to specific criteria. This may have skewed the data in some ways (for instance, it is possible that teachers holding more positive views about bilingualism in immigrant families were more eager to take part in the research). Nonetheless, our findings shed light on various issues regarding how Greek teachers handle diversity both at the level of attitudes and practices. Further research might collect and examine classroom data in order to record the techniques and strategies teachers actually use to support bilingualism. Such data will allow us to design more effectively in- and pre-service teacher training with regard to issues of bilingualism and intercultural education.

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