

GREEK CYPRIOT ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS AND 'ENEMY-OTHERS' IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ETHNIC CONFLICT

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Abstract – *This paper describes and analyses the results of a survey on Greek Cypriot students' attitudes toward immigrants and toward those considered as the 'enemy-others' (in this context, the Turks and Turkish Cypriots). This investigation is important because issues of immigration seem to be further complicated by the ongoing ethnic conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. Although this study does not examine whether attitudes about immigration change as a result of ethnic conflict (or vice versa), it provides an initial mapping to numerically chart the terrain of Greek Cypriot students' tendencies toward both immigrants and 'enemy-others'. The results show that Greek Cypriot students manifest generally negative attitudes toward immigrants and Turks and Turkish Cypriots (although there is a differentiation in the perception of the latter group). It is also shown that Greek Cypriot students prefer the model of separation rather than that of assimilation or integration in their relations with immigrants. Significant differences are identified between the perceptions of: (i) boys and girls; and (ii) younger and older adolescents. The implications for intercultural education both at the policy level and at the level of classroom practice are discussed. It is also suggested that the intersection of (ethnic or other) conflict and immigration and how it is manifest in the context of education requires attention in future research.*

Introduction

Migration for economic, social or political reasons has always been part of human history. The Mediterranean region has recently become the centre of migration movement with countries such as Malta, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Cyprus becoming main entry points into the European Union. Cyprus has traditionally been a country of out-migration throughout the 20th century, especially after the 1974 Turkish invasion that divided Cyprus into its north part (still occupied by Turkey) and its south part (the government controlled area). However, migration of labour to the Republic of Cyprus started in the 1990s as a

result of the relatively quick economic boom that has turned Cyprus into a host country for immigrants (Spyrou, 2009). Although there are no official figures, it is now estimated that migrant workers from different ethnic and racial backgrounds total between 60,000 to 80,000 (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009)¹. The issue of growing immigration, however, is further complicated by the unresolved political problem – known as the ‘Cyprus Issue’ – that raises serious security and other concerns (Trimikliniotis, 2009).

The changing profile of the population in the Republic of Cyprus has clearly affected the social landscape and has altered the fairly homogeneous profile (until the early 1990s) of primary and secondary schools (Zembylas, 2010b). During the scholastic year 1995-1996 the percentage of foreign students was 4.41%, but this percentage rose to 8.6% in the scholastic year 2007-2008 (Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2009). There are now approximately 13,000 foreign students in the Republic of Cyprus. In some schools (especially in urban areas of low socioeconomic conditions), immigrant students constitute the large majority of the school population (80%-90%). This increasing diversity and contact between Greek Cypriot and immigrant children could be a source of enriching learning experiences for all, if certain conditions are ensured (e.g., see Psaltis & Hewstone, 2008). However, as some recent studies among children and youth show, this contact is not free of challenges such as the development of stereotypes against immigrants suggesting that ‘they take our jobs’, ‘they threaten our national identity’ and ‘the immigrants are usually criminals’ (e.g., Spyrou, 2009; Zembylas, in press). These stereotypes, it is argued, become even more accentuated in contexts of ethnic conflict, because ‘indigenous’² students have to negotiate a complex situation: on one hand, they have to deal with the increasing flow of immigrants; on the other hand, they need to negotiate the challenges of co-existing with those they perceive as ‘enemies’ (Shamai & Ilatov, 2001, 2005; Zembylas, 2008, 2010a). As this research suggests, there might be more intense emotional reactions against immigrants as a result of the development of defence mechanisms against all those who are perceived to be ‘different’, ‘threatening’, and ‘fearsome’.

The first step in studying such a complex phenomenon is to find out in more detail the attitudes of indigenous students toward immigrants as well as toward those perceived to be ‘enemies’. Thus, this paper describes and analyses the results of a survey on Greek Cypriot students’ attitudes toward immigrants (migrant workers are included in this category) and toward those perceived to be the ‘enemy-others’ (i.e., Turks and Turkish Cypriots). This investigation is important because issues of immigration seem to be further complicated by the ongoing ethnic conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Although this study does not aim to examine whether attitudes about immigration change as a result

of ethnic conflict (or vice versa), it provides an initial mapping to numerically chart the terrain of Greek Cypriot students' tendencies toward both immigrants and 'enemy-others'³. The present study of Greek Cypriot students' attitudes is valuable because attitudes are believed to be crucial in the formation and maintenance of various (social, ethnic and cultural) conflicts and misunderstandings or their gradual dismantling (Leong & Schneller, 1997). This study, then, has important implications for intercultural education, not only in Cyprus, but also in the wider Mediterranean region in which similar challenges may exist.

The paper is divided into the following five parts. In the first part, we provide an overview of education in the Republic of Cyprus, particularly in relation to ethnic conflict and immigration in schools. Then, we briefly review the previous research conducted on Greek Cypriot students' attitudes toward immigrants and Turks/Turkish Cypriots, followed by the theoretical framework of the research study undertaken here. Next, we describe the research methodology (research questions, research setting, sample and questionnaire) and then present the results. The paper concludes with a discussion of some implications for intercultural education at the levels of educational policy and classroom practice.

Education in the Republic of Cyprus: ethnic conflict and immigration

Cyprus has been a divided society since the violent intercommunal clashes in 1963-1967; in 1974, Turkey invaded after a failed military coup attempt to unify Cyprus and Greece. Before the Turkish invasion, Greek Cypriots constituted approximately 80% and Turkish Cypriots 18% of the island's population. The division of Cyprus, as a result of the Turkish invasion, came with population displacements of around one-third of a total of 600,000 Greek Cypriots to the south and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots to the north. As a result of the lack of contact for many years, the division of the island has been almost complete: geographically, culturally, and politically. Since 2003 there has been a partial lift of restrictions in movement, which has meant that contact has been possible again.

In conflict-ridden societies, such as Cyprus, education is segregated along ethnopolitical lines, resulting in educational systems being often blamed for perpetuating divisions and conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004). Existing research addressing education in divided Cyprus (e.g., Kizilyürek, 1999; Bryant, 2004; Spyrou, 2006; Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 2007; Zembylas, 2008) shows indeed that the curricula and educational practices of both Greek Cypriots

and Turkish Cypriots (who are educated separately) have been systematically used to create negative stereotypes and prejudices about the other. This research indicates how primary and secondary school curricula and pedagogies implore students to remember each side's glories, honour the heroes who fought the 'enemy-other', and despise the other group. Also, history textbooks mirror the collective narratives of each side – for example, in the ways that blame is attributed, the silence of the other's trauma, and the delegitimation of the other's historical existence (Papadakis, 2008).

Recently, in the south there has been an increasing number of 'multicultural' schools, that is, schools attended by minority children from various cultures, including those children whose parents are migrant workers or married to someone from another culture. Occasionally, there are a few Turkish-speaking⁴ children whose parents stayed in the south after the events of 1974 or moved there recently; thus, the challenge that these schools face becomes more complex, because these children are often treated with hostility in light of their ethnic identity and mother tongue (see Zembylas, 2010a, in press).

Intercultural education as an educational policy is relatively new to Greek Cypriot schools and society. Although policy documents and official curricula include strong statements about humanistic ideas and respect for human rights, justice and peace, in practice non-Greek Cypriot children are seen as deficient and needing to be assimilated (Panayiotopoulos & Nicolaidou, 2007). The current model of intercultural education being implemented in Cyprus is a mainstreaming programme in which language learners attend classrooms with indigenous Greek-speaking children. Schools which have an increasing number of non-indigenous children become part of a Zone of Educational Priority and receive additional help – such as extra hours for assisting non-indigenous students to learn the language. The primary goal is to provide intensive Greek lessons and specialised assistance to non-indigenous students. Some Greek Cypriot researchers (e.g., see Gregoriou, 2004; Papamichael, 2009; Theodorou, 2008) emphasise that the social and cultural capital of the immigrant and Turkish Cypriot children is ignored and the integration of these children is accompanied by forms of passive exclusion and cultural misrecognition. Gregoriou, in particular, suggests that our investigations should not remain focused only on Greek Cypriot students' xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants, but should also include inquiries on the gradual development of views and practices toward those perceived as 'enemies' in Cyprus.

With this background information in mind, the next section moves on to the review of previous research and the theoretical framework of the present study, drawing on critical multiculturalism and critical sociology of education in particular.

Review of previous research and theoretical framework

Previous research

Although there is an increasing body of work on intercultural education in Cyprus in recent years, there are only a handful of studies that focus their investigations on the attitudes of Greek Cypriot students toward both immigrants and Turkish Cypriots/Turks. These few studies are based primarily on attitude surveys – however, there is also some qualitative research on children’s views – documenting a variety of stereotypes and prejudices (Trimikliniotis, 2004a, 2004b; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009). A brief overview of this research is provided below to show not only what has been done so far, but also the gaps that exist in the present literature.

A research study conducted by Harakis et al. (2005) – entitled *Anti-Social Behaviour of Youths in Cyprus: Racist Trends* – involved a sample of teachers, heads of schools and deputy heads, media persons and youth, and was carried out during 1998-2001. Two special questionnaires were administered to 1,242 youths between the ages of 15-23. Some interesting findings among youth were the following: 10% of the youths said that racism was justified; religion, way of life/culture and outlook were important criteria to get married to a foreigner; 38% of the youths said that stereotypes were justified or usually justified; Turkish Cypriots living in the government-controlled areas were the less acceptable group among all respondents in the study, followed by workers of Arabic origin, the Roma, Pontians, workers of Asian origin, workers coming from east-central Europe and women working in cabarets; and finally, 50% of all the respondents in the study said that foreigners were usually connected with crime incidents.

The Centre for the Study of Childhood and Adolescence has also published a report based on a survey conducted with fifth and sixth graders in 2004 in 10 different schools of Nicosia (the capital of Cyprus) with a total sample of 288 children (see Spyrou, 2004). The study – entitled *Greek Cypriot Children’s Knowledge about, Perceptions of, and Attitudes towards Foreigners in Cyprus* – painted a very negative picture of foreigners by Greek Cypriot students. For example, 75% of children stated that they thought there were too many foreigners living in Cyprus; the overwhelming majority of children stated that either ‘some’ (46%) or ‘all’ of foreigners should go back to their countries; only 14.6% stated that it was good that foreigners lived in Cyprus, while 59% thought that foreigners helped increase crime. On the other hand, as Spyrou pointed out, the fact that not all children expressed these negative feelings toward foreigners was encouraging.

The qualitative part of Spyrou’s survey study confirmed the findings from the administered questionnaire, highlighting the complexities and ambivalences in the

children's perceptions of Sri Lankan and Filipino women who were employed as domestic workers in Cyprus (Spyrou, 2009). In another study, Panayiotopoulos & Nicolaidou (2007) acknowledge that their semi-structured interviews with students revealed racist incidents against non-indigenous children; non-indigenous children were targeted mostly because of the manner in which they dressed, the financial difficulties of their families and their skin colour. Also, Papamichael (2009) and Theodorou (2008) make references to Greek Cypriot children's negative views of immigrants and the ways in which immigrant students are marginalised. Their analysis shows elements of racism and xenophobia in the majoritised group's understandings and behaviours. In addition, Philippou's (2009) mixed method study shows the prejudiced and stereotyped way in which Greek Cypriot pupils represent a number of national outgroups (including various groups of immigrants and Turks); these groups are hierarchised on the basis of various rules-criteria (the Turks being the least preferred people).

Finally, a recent ethnographic study that lasted for two years also documented numerous racist incidents in which Turkish-speaking students were systematically marginalised by Greek Cypriot students (Zembylas, 2010a, in press). The study explored how practices and discourses at four multicultural schools (three primary schools and one secondary school) shaped or were shaped by the majority group's emotions about 'race' and 'ethnicity'. A major finding was that Greek Cypriot students and teachers' practices and discourses in relation to the complex interplay of race and ethnicity were illustrative of the contingent cultural, political and historical structures that both informed and were reinforced by these practices. This study showed how racialisation and ethnicisation processes were inextricably linked to perceptions, practices, and discourses in Greek Cypriot public schools.

Overall, this brief review of previous research indicates a variety of negative attitudes toward immigrants, Turks and Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriot students at various grade levels. These studies – which clearly reflect similar surveys in the wider society of Cyprus (e.g., see Council of Europe: European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, 2006; the fourth round of the *European Social Survey*, 2008/2009) – do not cover simultaneously a wide range of grade levels from late primary throughout to late secondary school, and do not address gender differences among students. The present study addresses these important limitations of previous research. In addition, this study attempts to address for the first time the attitudes of a wide range of indigenous students' age groups toward *both* immigrants *and* those perceived as the 'enemy-other'. Finally, this study is theoretically grounded in different ideas than those used in the past (see below), and thus the implications for intercultural education take a rather different policy and practical direction.

Theoretical framework

There are three modes of majority-minority interaction that can be used to analyse reactions to immigrants: assimilation, integration and separatism (Shamai, 1987, 1990; Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). *Assimilation* is the elimination of public and private differences between different groups; essentially, the immigrant group adopts the language, culture and norms of the majority (host) group. *Integration* is the elimination of public differences between groups but not necessarily their private (e.g., cultural) differences; in other words, the goal is to create a common unifying citizenship or civic national identity but leaving to individuals to choose their communities of belonging in private domains, enabling them to maintain their cultures. Finally, *separatism* is the preservation of differences between majority and minority groups; the immigrant group members do not adopt the culture of the host society and keep within their own culture. Theorists like Jenkins (2004) and Benhabib (2002) have made attempts to reconcile private and public differences between cultural groups by contending that cultures and identities are not fixed but fluid.

A theoretical framework that combines critical multiculturalism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997) and critical sociology of education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1993) is adopted in this study. Critical multiculturalism is valuable as a framework to gain a deeper understanding of students' attitudes toward immigrants and 'enemy-others', because it adopts a comprehensive view of diversity and acknowledges the role of power relations in shaping dominant discourses and practices in society and schools (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Mahalingham & McCarthy, 2000; Nieto, 2000). Attention is not focused on superficial differences, but on those differences that are linked to social injustices, contested political issues and unequal socio-political structures (e.g., citizenship rights, societal conflict, contribution to economy etc.). In other words, the critical multicultural perspective offers a different theoretical grounding for the interaction mode with immigrants and other minoritised groups; assimilation, integration and separatism are critiqued from the perspective of power relations and their everyday consequences. Furthermore, critical multicultural theory recognises the role of majoritised students' attitudes and their negative impact on interactions with minoritised students (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). These attitudes are generally acknowledged as powerful markers that are used to legitimate inequality between majoritised and minoritised groups.

With regard to the definition, attitude refers to a favourable or unfavourable assessment of things, people, places, events or ideas. Fishbein & Ajzen (1975) defined the structure of attitudes as being made up of three components: cognitive, emotional and behavioural. Breckler (1984) has elaborated further this theory,

clarifying that: the cognitive component (e.g., stereotypes) is formed by perceptions, beliefs, and expectations; the emotional component (e.g., prejudice) is made up of feelings, moods and emotions; and the behavioural component (e.g., discrimination) is made up of action tendencies and self-reported behaviour.

Attitudes constitute an important component of the cultural capital possessed by the dominant group and are selectively endorsed and transmitted at an early age by schools (Del Barco et al., 2007). Privileges of the dominant group are generally unrecognised and most members of this group are unaware of the ways in which racist attitudes against minoritised groups affects them (Gillborn, 2008). The concepts of *cultural reproduction* and *cultural hegemony* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1993) describe how a society – schooling, in particular – reproduces itself through perpetuating existing cultural and social hierarchies. The dominant group attempts to control resources and establish its view as universally accepted. Therefore, the dominant group may be unaware of its racist attitudes or that it has interests in concealing them (Neville et al., 2000). In addition to the presence of racist attitudes, there might also be nationalist attitudes, that is, beliefs that one's own national origin or identity are superior than other national identities; such attitudes are frequently met in conflict-ridden societies (Sen, 2006). It is valuable, then, to examine Greek Cypriot children's attitudes toward immigrants and toward those who may be considered as the 'enemy' in light of the ethnic conflict in Cyprus.

Methodology

The research questions explored in this study were: (i) what are the Greek Cypriot students' attitudes – that is, perceptions, emotions, and self-reported behaviour – toward immigrants and Turks/Turkish Cypriots?; and (ii) which kind of interaction (assimilation, integration and separatism) would Greek Cypriot students like to have with immigrants?

In order to investigate these research questions, a self-reported questionnaire was administered to a random sample of schools (selected from all schools in Cyprus) and primary and secondary students (randomly selected within their schools). More specifically, the sample consisted of students at the upper primary grades (ages 11-12), lower secondary (ages 13-15) and upper secondary (ages 17-18). The questionnaire items (see Appendix) were generated on the basis of the literature on students' attitudes toward immigrants, particularly items developed through the work of Shamai (1987, 1990), Spyrou (2004), Van Peer (2006) and Neville et al. (2000), consultation with experts on racial/ethnic attitudes, and informal individual and group discussions with indigenous and non-indigenous

students, teachers and community groups in Cyprus. Consequently, three groups of questions probed: (i) perceptions; (ii) emotions; and (iii) self-reported behaviours of Greek Cypriot students toward immigrants and Turks/Turkish Cypriots. More specifically, the research instrument was an anonymous structured questionnaire with open and closed type questions. The questionnaire consisted of five parts that are briefly described below.

The first part (constituted by two sub-sections) consisted of 35 statements investigating Greek Cypriot students' perceptions of immigrants. The participants had to select one out of five possible responses, indicating their degree of agreement with the provided statements. The statements on this section of the questionnaire were measured on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from '1 – strong disagreement' to '5 – strong agreement'. The second part also investigated Greek Cypriot students' perceptions, but this time the questions referred to specific national groups. In particular, the students were provided with 14 different national groups (e.g., Indians, Pakistanis, Greeks, Turks, Turkish Cypriots, etc.) present in Cyprus and were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 their degree of agreement to four pairs of cultural characteristics (e.g., 'uncivilised-civilised'). The third part consisted of two sub-sections: the first one included 8 statements exploring Greek Cypriot students' emotions about immigrants; the structure of the responses was based on a 5-point Likert scale like before; in the second sub-section, the students were asked to provide a hierarchy of their emotions (among six pleasant and unpleasant ones) about: (i) immigrants in general; and (ii) the possibility that all immigrants will abandon Cyprus tomorrow. The fourth part consisted of 10 items investigating the self-reported behaviours of Greek Cypriot students toward immigrants. The structure of the responses was again a 5-point Likert scale. Finally, the last part asked for the usual demographic information (gender, grade level).

The survey was administered in the spring of 2009. The population of the survey consisted of students from primary (ages 11-12) and secondary (ages 13-15 and 17-18) education enrolled in the public schools of the Greek Cypriot educational system (i.e., 25,450 students). The sample was identified, as mentioned earlier, when schools were randomly selected from the list of all schools in the Greek Cypriot educational system, since the purpose of the study was to identify students' perceptions toward immigrants, irrespective of their area of residence or their prior experiences with immigrants. A random sample from each selected school also identified the specific number of participant students, who received an anonymous questionnaire with an accompanying letter explaining how to fill it out. The administration of questionnaire took place in classes, at a time specifically allocated for their completion. Overall, the questionnaire was sent to 2,023 students, 675 primary and 1,348 secondary

students, a representative sample based on the statistics of the Ministry of Education and Culture (2008). The final sample consisted of 1,333 students of primary and secondary education (a response rate of 66%). More specifically, the sample consisted of 465 students (37.5%) of primary education (11-12 years), 370 students (29.8%) of lower secondary education (13-15 years) and 406 students (32.7%) of upper secondary education (17-18 years). There were 611 (45.4%) males and 698 (52.4%) females; 30 students (2.3%) did not state their gender. One hundred and twelve students who completed the questionnaire (8.5%) defined themselves as immigrants, and therefore they were excluded from the study (after the completion of the questionnaire) since the study focused on Greek Cypriot students. The data were analysed using the statistical package SPSS. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in order to provide answers to the research questions of the present study.

Findings

Perceptions of immigrants

The analysis of the answers provided by the sample of this study reveals that the majority of Greek Cypriot students held rather negative perceptions of immigrants in Cyprus. Since these negative perceptions were a general finding emerging from the results, it was decided to present in tables all the statements with the highest disagreement (where more than 50% of the sample expressed disagreement or strong disagreement with a statement on a 5-point scale). The results from other statements in the questionnaire, which revealed agreement (more than 50% of the sample expressed their general agreement on a 5-point scale) are presented and discussed independently below.

Table 1 presents the statements with which Greek Cypriot students disagreed to the higher degree.

As illustrated in Table 1, for example, more than half of the students considered immigrants unequal to Cypriots. Moreover, a high percentage of Greek Cypriot students disagreed with the statements that the immigrants ‘enrich the cultural life and the tradition of Cyprus’, ‘make Cyprus better’, ‘help the economy of Cyprus’ and ‘help Cypriots see things in a different way’. However, more than half of the students of the sample answered that immigrants ‘do not make Cyprus worse’, and a large number of Greek Cypriot students considered that ‘the national identity of Cypriot people is not threatened by the presence of immigrants’. A high percentage of students stated that ‘racial incidents in Cyprus are scarce, occasional events’, despite the fact that many students considered racism against immigrants

TABLE 1: Greek Cypriot students' perceptions of immigrants

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Disagreement*</i>	
	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Immigrants enrich the cultural life and the tradition of Cyprus	1043	78.7
Immigrants make Cyprus a better place	1016	76.3
Immigrants should forget their own habits	858	65.0
Racism against immigrants is justifiable	845	63.7
Immigrants help Cypriots see things in a different way	823	62.0
Immigrants help the economy of Cyprus	806	61.5
Racial incidents in Cyprus are scarce, occasional events	792	60.3
The way Cypriots behave towards immigrants is very good	774	58.3
I consider immigrants as equal to Cypriots	721	54.6
The national identity of Cypriot people is threatened by the presence of immigrants	713	53.8
Immigrants make Cyprus a worse place	693	53.0
Immigrants have the same opportunities as Cypriots to succeed in their life	702	52.7
Immigrants have more rights than Cypriots do	671	50.9
Immigrants must return to their origin countries	604	45.6

* Disagreement is a combination of '1 = strong disagreement' and '2 = disagreement' on a 5-point scale

to be unjustifiable. Furthermore, Greek Cypriot students, while disagreeing with the statements that immigrants 'have the same opportunities as Cypriots to succeed in their life' and that they 'have more rights than Cypriots do', stated that 'the way Cypriots behave towards immigrants is not very good'. Moreover, it was found that the majority of Greek Cypriot students disagreed with the statements 'immigrants should forget their own habits' and 'immigrants must return to their origin countries'.

In addition to the results shown in Table 1, the study revealed interesting findings regarding the agreement of Greek Cypriot students to specific statements relating with their perceptions of immigrants, racism and discrimination in Cyprus. Interestingly, it was found that a considerable percentage of Greek Cypriot students agreed with the statement 'racism is a major problem in Cyprus' ($f = 746, 56.7\%$) as well as with the statement 'it is important for immigrants to preserve their own culture and values' ($f = 592, 44.8\%$).

On the other hand, only a percentage of 38.4% ($f = 510$) of the students agreed with the statement 'there is discrimination against immigrants in Cyprus', while a considerable percentage of students ($f = 494, 37.3\%$) stated that 'immigrants are to be blamed for the increase of crime in Cyprus'. Finally, 46.8% ($f = 619$) of the students agreed with the statement that immigrants 'steal jobs from Cypriots', while 41.8% ($f = 553$) admitted that immigrants 'are employed in jobs that Cypriots do not want to do'.

Table 2 presents the expectations of Greek Cypriot students from immigrants.

As indicated in Table 2, quite a high percentage of participants stated that they did not mind that they did not know the immigrants very well. On the other hand, it is interesting that a great percentage of the sample stated that they did not mind the presence of immigrants in Cyprus. Also, a high percentage of them stated that they did not mind when immigrants socialised among themselves and they did not expect immigrants to dress, think and behave like Cypriots.

Other interesting findings of this study (not presented in the Table 2) revealed that a percentage of 57% ($f = 755$) of the sample stated that they did mind 'when immigrants behave as if they have more rights than Cypriots'. However, 38% ($f = 503$) of the sample agreed that 'they like someone no matter what his/her origin is' and a percentage of 44.9% ($f = 598$) agreed that 'they like someone no matter what his/her skin colour is'.

ANOVA tests revealed statistically significant differences among the three age groups in the sample (primary, lower secondary and upper secondary). More specifically, differences were found in the following statements: (i) 'I do mind the presence of immigrants in Cyprus' ($F(2, 1291) = 23.41, p < .0005$); (ii) 'I do mind when immigrants speak in their mother tongue' ($F(2, 1289) = 17.12, p < .0005$); (iii) 'I do mind when immigrants socialize among themselves' ($F(2, 1280) = 9.32,$

TABLE 2: Greek Cypriot students' expectations from immigrants

Statement	Disagreement*	
	f	%
I do mind when immigrants mix with each other	1104	83.9
I expect immigrants to think like Cypriots	1054	79.7
I expect from immigrants to get dressed like Cypriots	1040	79.0
I expect immigrants to behave like Cypriots	1001	76.0
I do mind the fact that I do not know immigrants very well	905	68.4
I do mind the presence of immigrants in Cyprus	797	60.0
I do mind when immigrants speak in their mother tongue	744	56.1
I do mind when immigrants do not understand the Greek language very well	729	55.2

* Disagreement is a combination of '1 = strong disagreement' and '2 = disagreement' on a 5-point scale

$p < .0005$); (iv) 'I do mind when immigrants behave as if they have more rights than Cypriots' ($F(2, 1290) = 15.29, p < .0005$); and (v) 'I like immigrants' ($F(2, 1284) = 23.73, p < .0005$). The statistical analysis showed that upper secondary students were more negative toward immigrants than primary students, who were more positive toward immigrants than lower secondary students in all of the above statements. Overall, Greek Cypriot students aged 17-18 years were the most negative toward immigrants.

Perceptions of specific national groups

This part of the study investigated Greek Cypriot students' perceptions of specific national groups. Students were asked to state their perceptions of several ethnic groups on a 1-10 scale, from 'not at all' to 'very much', on given statements that target specific characteristics (civilised, nice, hard working, and clean). The

results generally revealed the presence of hierarchical perceptions of national groups. It is important to clarify here that students were *not* asked to hierarchise groups; hierarchies were drawn up from the responses to statements presented in the questionnaire. Table 3 shows the general perceptions (means and standard deviations on a 10-point scale from the lowest to the highest degree) of the sample toward the various national groups and according to the four aforementioned characteristics.

TABLE 3: Greek Cypriot students' perceptions of specific national groups

Characteristics	Sri Lankan	Russian	Pontian	Indian	Pakistani	Americans	English	Chinese	Philippine	Turks	Greeks	Romanian	Bulgarian	Turkish Cypriots
Civilised														
Mean*	4.43	6.07	4.41	4.84	4.11	6.84	7.58	6.23	5.06	2.77	8.23	5.41	5.73	4.87
St Dev	2.39	2.79	2.83	2.59	2.45	2.93	2.73	2.77	2.68	2.55	2.48	2.73	2.80	2.79
Clean														
Mean	4.26	6.29	4.81	4.52	3.89	7.04	7.65	6.03	4.98	2.87	8.36	5.53	5.74	4.78
St Dev	2.63	2.85	2.92	2.56	2.51	2.85	2.70	2.71	2.66	2.64	2.38	2.73	2.73	2.79
Hard Working														
Mean	6.09	5.93	5.01	5.44	5.03	6.19	6.91	6.47	5.86	3.08	7.58	5.59	5.85	4.99
St Dev	2.92	2.70	2.93	2.56	2.74	2.82	2.66	2.71	2.78	2.69	2.68	2.72	2.71	2.75
Nice														
Mean	5.45	5.58	4.73	5.48	4.90	6.01	6.89	6.20	5.66	2.70	8.05	5.48	5.71	5.09
St Dev	2.68	2.74	2.90	2.61	2.64	2.88	2.77	2.73	2.70	2.56	2.53	2.75	2.77	2.91

* All means are based on the 1-10 scale from 'not at all' to 'very much'

As shown in Table 3, Greek Cypriot students view the Greeks as the most 'civilised', 'hard working' and 'nice' national group, followed by the English, Americans (third group in 'civilized' and 'clean') and Chinese (third group in 'nice' and 'hard working') are the groups which follow in ranking order, after the Greeks and the English. The Bulgarians always come before the Romanians in the ranking. Turkish Cypriots are ranked in the middle, without having a stable ranking position. The last national group (with significant difference from all the others) is always the Turkish one. Also, the Pakistanis are always toward the end of the ranking scale.

Clearly, not all of these groups enjoy the same status in Cyprus, as they are quite different in reasons for migrating, professions exercised, and perceived cultural identities. Thus, Greek Cypriot students evaluate the English as being

'higher' in their perceptions than Eastern Europeans (e.g., Romanian and Bulgarian); at the same time, the Pakistanis and Sri-Lankans are placed even 'lower' than Eastern Europeans in Greek Cypriot students' perceptions. These perceptions indicate how Greek Cypriot students' representations include biases, prejudices, and particular preferences for certain national groups. Without more data (e.g., interviews) to triangulate these findings (e.g., to justify one's choices), it is difficult to interpret why some groups are perceived differently. One can only speculate on these differences based on similar studies in which the positive perceptions of the English may have to do with their 'good culture' as opposed to the Asian cultures about which Greek Cypriot students are not so informed (Philippou, 2009). Not surprisingly, Greek Cypriot children display the greatest negativity toward the Turks who are traditionally represented as the 'arch-enemy' in Greek Cypriot society and schools (Papadakis, 2008). Unlike earlier studies in Cyprus, however, it is interesting to note that Turkish Cypriots are not perceived as negatively as Turks, perhaps because of more recent efforts in the Greek Cypriot society to make this distinction at various educational, social and political levels (Zembylas, 2008).

Emotions

This part investigates the emotions of Greek Cypriot students about immigrants. The results show the *emotional ambivalence* concerning the way Greek Cypriot students feel about immigrants.

Specifically, the majority of Greek Cypriot students, as shown in Table 4, stated that they did not trust immigrants; they did not feel comfortable among immigrants and they did not have friendly relationships with immigrants. On the other hand, a great number of students disagreed with the statement 'I dislike immigrants', stating that they did not disregard (ignore) immigrants and they did not avoid them. Finally, more than half of the students disagreed with the statement 'I feel sorry for immigrants'.

Student responses were analysed to investigate for statistically significant gender differences. The analysis showed that girls gave a higher score of agreement in the statements 'I respect immigrants' ($t = -4.89$, $df = 1234$, $p < .0005$), and 'I feel sorry for immigrants' ($t = -2.28$, $df = 1284$, $p = .023$), indicating that they respected and felt sorry for immigrants to a higher degree than boys. However, in the statements 'I avoid immigrants' ($t = -2.28$, $df = 1284$, $p = .023$), 'I dislike immigrants' ($t = 5.62$, $df = 1153$, $p < .0005$) and 'I disregard immigrants' ($t = 4.36$, $df = 1185$, $p < .0005$), boys were more positive than girls in stating their disagreement with the statements above.

TABLE 4: Greek Cypriot students' emotions about immigrants

Statement	Disagreement*	
	f	%
I trust immigrants	1029	78.3
I feel comfortable among immigrants	914	70.1
I dislike immigrants	893	68.6
I disregard immigrants	875	66.7
I have friendly relationships with immigrants	793	60.3
I avoid immigrants	746	56.7
I feel sorry for immigrants	704	53.8

* Disagreement is a combination of '1 = strong disagreement' and '2 = disagreement' on a 5-point scale

Moreover, running ANOVA tests, it was shown that there were statistically significant differences among students in the three age groups (primary, lower secondary and upper secondary). More specifically, it was found that primary students were more positive than all the other age groups concerning the statements 'I trust immigrants' ($F(2, 1291) = 27.62, p < .0005$), 'I respect immigrants' ($F(2, 1283) = 9.05, p < .0005$) and 'I have friendly relationships with immigrants' ($F(2, 1290) = 15.81, p < .0005$). Furthermore, primary students disagreed more than the older students with the statements 'I avoid immigrants' ($F(2, 1289) = 6.79, p = .001$), 'I dislike immigrants' ($F(2, 1276) = 10.04, p < .0005$) and 'I disregard immigrants' ($F(2, 1288) = 20.16, p < .0005$).

Finally, when Greek Cypriot students were asked to rank their emotions about immigrants in general, the analysis showed, as indicated in Table 5, that the emotion which was ranked first was 'fear', followed by 'anger' and 'compassion'. The last emotions in ranking were 'aversion', 'disgust' and 'pleasure'.

TABLE 5: A hierarchy of Greek Cypriot students' emotions about immigrants

<i>Emotions</i>	<i>Mean Rank*</i>
<i>When I think of immigrants, I feel:</i>	
Fear	3,13
Anger	3,40
Compassion	3,40
Aversion	3,59
Disgust	3,62
Pleasure	3,85

* ($\chi^2 = 99,223, p < .0005$)

TABLE 6: A hierarchy of Greek Cypriot students' emotions about immigrants

<i>Emotions</i>	<i>Mean Rank*</i>
<i>If immigrants abandon Cyprus tomorrow, I will feel:</i>	
Relief	2,90
Pleasure	3,40
Concern	3,43
Enthusiasm	3,53
Disappointment	3,80
Sadness	3,93

* ($\chi^2 = 214,998, p < .0005$)

Regarding the second statement, ‘If immigrants abandon Cyprus tomorrow, I will feel ...’, the students answered that they would firstly feel ‘relief’, secondly ‘pleasure’, then ‘concern’, followed by the feeling of ‘enthusiasm’, ‘disappointment’ and lastly ‘sadness’ (see Table 6).

Self-reported behaviour

The results showed that the self-reported behaviour of Greek Cypriot students toward immigrants was negative (with percentages of disagreement being over 50%), as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7: Greek Cypriot students’ self-reported behaviour toward immigrants

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Disagreement*</i>	
	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Immigrant children invite me to their house	886	70.3
I invite immigrant children to my house	877	70.0
I help immigrant children do their homework	828	66.0
I live in the same neighbourhood with immigrant children	796	63.7
I sit next to immigrant children in class	752	59.6
I play with immigrant children during brake time	729	57.9
I collaborate with immigrant children on school projects	722	57.8
I help immigrant children learn Greek	692	54.6
I have friends who are immigrant children	678	53.7
I help immigrant children at school	669	52.7

* Disagreement is a combination of ‘1 = strong disagreement’ and ‘2 = disagreement’ on a 5-point scale

The majority of Greek Cypriot students reported that they do not help immigrant children at school in their effort to learn Greek or to do their homework, and they do not collaborate with immigrant children on school projects. Moreover, they stated that they do not play with immigrant children during break time and they do not sit next to immigrant children in class. In addition, the results showed that Greek Cypriot students do not live in the same neighbourhood with immigrant children, they do not invite immigrant children to their house (and vice versa), and they do not have friends who are immigrant children.

Our analysis also revealed that there were statistically significant differences between the answers of boys and girls. More specifically, girls were more positive in their answers than boys (even though all the answers were overall negative, as shown above) in the following statements: 'I help immigrant children at school' ($t = -3.76$, $df = 1253$, $p < .0005$), 'I help immigrant children learn Greek' ($t = -2.91$, $df = 1253$, $p = .004$), 'I help immigrant children do their homework' ($t = -2.46$, $df = 1240$, $p = .014$), 'I collaborate with immigrant children on school projects' ($t = -4.78$, $df = 1235$, $p < .0005$) and 'I sit next to immigrant children in class' ($t = -2.89$, $df = 1247$, $p = .004$).

Discussion and implications

In this study we have addressed two main issues: (i) what are the Greek Cypriot students' attitudes toward immigrants and Turks/Turkish Cypriots?; and (ii) which kind of interaction (assimilation, integration and separatism) would Greek Cypriot students like to have with immigrants? The findings of the present study show that Greek Cypriot students manifest generally negative attitudes toward immigrants and Turks/Turkish Cypriots; also, responses to several statements throughout the questionnaire reveal that, overall, Greek Cypriot students seem to prefer separation from immigrants rather than these groups' assimilation or integration. The following discussion summarises the main findings of the study and examines some implications at the levels of educational policy and classroom practice.

First, while Greek Cypriot students believe that immigrants come to Cyprus to do the jobs that Greek Cypriots refuse to do, they also consider that immigrants do not contribute to economic development and cultural life. On the contrary, it is widely believed that these groups are responsible for the increase in crime rates and unemployment. This finding confirms research results on perceptions of immigrants by adolescence in Cyprus (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2007) and in Europe (Van Peer, 2006), especially in Southern Europe, as the fourth round of the *European Social Survey* (2008/2009) shows⁵. One might argue that the negative perceptions of immigrants are not so unexpected, given that there seems to be no meaningful

contact between Greek Cypriot students and the immigrant population. At the same time, however, this negativity shows not only the hegemonic views about immigrants in the Greek Cypriot society, but also the immense pedagogical and social work that will be required to ‘undo’ such dominant stereotypes and prejudices (e.g., the view that immigrants are responsible for crime).

Second, Greek Cypriot students acknowledge that racism against immigrants is a considerable problem in Cyprus and racist incidents are not isolated, because Greek Cypriots do not behave properly toward immigrants. However, only two in five students agree that there is discrimination against immigrants. It is certainly encouraging (compared to previous studies in Cyprus over the years) that racism against immigrants is acknowledged; yet, it is alarming that such a large percentage of students denies that there is discrimination against immigrants. This fact confirms once again the absence of any meaningful contact with immigrants, as well as the lack of their integration in society (see Del Barco et al., 2007, for similar findings in Spanish schools). In fact, there is a widespread belief that no matter what immigrants do, they will never become ‘Cypriots’ culturally (i.e., integrated in the Cypriot society); rather, they will always be ‘bounded’ in their own national or cultural identities.

With regard to emotions, most Greek Cypriot students express apathy and indifference toward immigrants, except when they feel that immigrants somehow threaten them; in the latter case, Greek Cypriot students develop highly negative attitudes. Particularly with reference to specific national groups, Greek Cypriot students show more preference to Westerners, while Asians are lowest in their list (see also Theodorou, 2008; Philippou, 2009). Turkish Cypriots are in the middle, while the least preferred in all measures is the Turkish national group. This finding confirms previous research (e.g., Spyrou, 2004; Makriyianni, 2007) about the dominance of certain ethnic and cultural hierarchies, but there seems to be some improvement concerning the perceptions of Turkish Cypriots over the years. Thus, it is shown that the Greek Cypriot students’ perceptions toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots are gradually differentiated, with the Turks being always the lowest in the students’ formulated hierarchies. A possible interpretation of this finding might be found in the differential identification of the Turks and Turkish Cypriots in public and educational discourses over the years (Papadakis, 2008). Also, our recent ethnographic research (Zembylas, in press) shows that students are more positive toward Turkish Cypriots than Turks because some cultural similarities are identified with the former group, while the latter group is consistently linked to the Turkish invasion and the increase of illegal immigrants/settlers from Turkey to Cyprus. Although this study has not examined whether there is any correlation between Greek Cypriot students’ attitudes toward immigrants and the attitudes toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots, the overall findings suggest the need to

explore this intersection in future research. Especially in parts of the Mediterranean region in which the intersection between immigration and ethnic or other conflict is strongly present (e.g., Israel and Palestine; Morocco and Spain; etc.), educators need to pay further attention to the ways in which it is manifested in students' attitudes and practices. Finally, with regard to the emotions about immigrants, Greek Cypriot students seem to feel discomfort and lack of trust. In particular, feelings of fear and dislike top the list. In the hypothetical scenario that immigrants would abandon Cyprus tomorrow, feelings of relief, pleasure and enthusiasm are the highest on the list.

Lastly, as far as self-reported behaviour is concerned, it is concluded that the Greek-Cypriot students' behaviour towards immigrants is rather negative. Both boys and girls avoid contact with immigrant children, although girls appear more positive. In general, there is a more positive assessment from girls towards immigrants; also, primary school students (ages 11-12) appear more sensitive towards immigrants compared with students between 13-18 years old. With respect to a more positive assessment from girls, it is claimed that perhaps girls show greater sensitivity than boys in social and personal issues (see e.g. Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). With respect to the issue of age, it might be claimed that children of age 11-12 years old are exposed to the cultural capital that is rather hostile to immigrants for shorter periods of time than later age groups, therefore, the negative impact is not as strong yet.

With respect to the second research question, the present study shows that Greek Cypriot students seem to prefer separation models of coexistence with immigrants rather than assimilation or integration. This conclusion is based on collective evidence from students' responses to several statements indicating that assimilation and/or integration of immigrants is impossible (e.g., it is believed that immigrants will never 'become' Cypriots culturally) or unacceptable (e.g., it is believed that immigrants should leave at some point anyway, so an issue of integration does not exist). These findings confirm that there is a strong monolithic view about 'culture' and 'identity' among Greek Cypriot students that may be further accentuated by the unresolved political problem in Cyprus (Spyrou, 2009; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009; Zembylas, in press). The perceptions of ethnic and cultural hierarchies among Greek Cypriot students – particularly in relation to Turkish Cypriots and Turks – provide evidence of a strong national ethos in schools (for a similar argument in the context of Israel see Al-Haj, 2004, 2005). This national ethos – which can also be linked to society and the media, but is certainly mirrored in schools, as Bar-Tal's (1998, 2004) research indicates in the context of Israel – is shown in the Greek Cypriot students' lack of concern that intergroup interaction is missing, as well as in their expression of preference that each group mixes within itself.

This study has implications for educational policy and classroom practice and encourages educational researchers not only in Cyprus but also in the rest of the Mediterranean region to explore the potential consequences of adolescent perceptions of immigrants and other minoritised groups. At the level of policymaking, it is important that educational authorities and schools take responsibility for identifying and challenging adolescent racist and/or nationalist views. As Gillborn (2008) emphasises, school authorities need to set clear procedures for both the monitoring of racist incidents and nationalist behaviours in schools, and commit themselves to challenge racism and ethnic discrimination in all their formations. For example, there are still no monitoring mechanisms of racist incidents in Greek Cypriot schools and no explicit policies addressing how schools should respond in such cases. Often, many racist claims are covered by co-opting national(ist) discourses about the Greek Cypriot struggle to survive from the constant threat by the Turks (Zembylas, 2008). To respond to these challenges, educational policymakers in Cyprus need to develop relevant policies that not only recognise racist/nationalist incidents, but also propose effective strategies to deal with them.

At the level of classroom practice, the findings of the present study suggest that attention needs to be given to intercultural education that helps teachers and students become more sensitive to issues related to racism, prejudice and discrimination (Banks, 2007), along with a deeper understanding of how these issues may cross path with national(ist) claims. As critical multiculturalism teaches us, an important aspect of challenging racist and nationalist views is acknowledging the role of power relations in shaping dominant discourses and practices in society and schools (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Therefore, the investigation of social injustices, contested political issues and unequal socio-political structures need to become an important part of the school curriculum (Nieto, 2000) in Cyprus. The majoritised group's limited understandings of racism, prejudice and discrimination need to be challenged, moving beyond the simplistic acknowledgment of racism to a more nuanced understanding of how racist views are entangled with discrimination practices in everyday life and in what ways they reinforce certain inclusions/exclusions on the basis of one's ethnic, religious or other identity. Children and youth also need to recognise that beliefs and practices about the supposed superiority of one's ethnic origin constitute particular forms of racism and nationalism; thus, naming these beliefs and practices as racist or nationalist is an important first step in developing mechanisms to overcome stereotypes and prejudices (Zembylas, 2008, 2010a).

In conclusion, the need to make sense of the emerging relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous students constitutes a key component of forming

effective educational policies and classroom practices that will balance unity and diversity in any educational system of the increasingly multicultural Mediterranean region. Unity without diversity results in hegemony and oppression; diversity without unity leads to separatism and fragmentation (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Banks, 2007). Although set in a different context, Gillborn (2008) makes an argument which is relevant to all Mediterranean societies: the importance of recognising diversity while promoting unity and anti-racism. In countries which suffer from ethnic or other conflict, it seems that there is an additional level of complexity that demands our in-depth attention and analysis, perhaps as a way to overcome these conflicts.

Notes

1. Most of the migrants to the Republic of Cyprus are third country nationals from south east Asia, Arab countries, eastern Europe and some European Union citizens; also, a large number includes the Pontian Greeks, who form a special category because most of them are holders of Greek passports and can settle in Cyprus without too many formalities (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2007; Trimikliniotis, 1999). There has also been some internal movement of Turkish Cypriots (who are Cypriot citizens) from the north to the south of Cyprus, especially after the partial lift of restrictions of movement in 2003.
2. Although the word 'indigenous' has certainly different meanings in different contexts, we use the term 'indigenous' here in reference to how the local population is self-identified as the group that has 'natural rights' over Cyprus (see Trimikliniotis, 2009; Zembylas, 2010b).
3. We are currently finalising a mixed-method study that focuses precisely on examining the links between attitudes toward immigrants and those toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots.
4. The term 'Turkish-speaking' is more inclusive and this is why it is used here in reference to both Turkish Cypriots and Roma (who speak Turkish in Cyprus). It is not always easy to distinguish who is 'ethnically' Turkish Cypriot and who is Roma (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009). When we want to make a distinction in the text, then the term 'Turkish Cypriots' is used.
5. The findings of this study resonate with research results on the general public perceptions of immigrants in several European countries (e.g., Green, 2007; Masso, 2009; Rustenbach, 2010).

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE:
ATTITUDES OF GREEK-CYPRriot PUPILS
TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS AND OTHER GROUPS

We would like to ask you to complete *with honesty* the following *anonymous* questionnaire, which is conducted by the Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation of the Ministry of Education and Culture, regarding how you think and feel about immigrants and other groups in Cyprus.

DEFINITION

IMMIGRANT: THE PERSON WHO ABONDONS HIS/HER COUNTRY FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME OR PERMANENTLY IN ORDER TO GET SETTLED IN ANOTHER COUNTRY.

PART Ia

Note to what extent you agree with each of the following statements, by putting in circle the appropriate number from the scale on the right:	Not at all	A little bit	Sufficiently	Very much	A lot
1. Immigrants make Cyprus a better place	1	2	3	4	5
2. Immigrants enrich the cultural life and the tradition of Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
3. Immigrants steal jobs from Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
4. Immigrants help the economy of Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
5. Immigrants make Cyprus a worse place	1	2	3	4	5
6. Immigrants are employed in jobs that Cypriots do not want to do	1	2	3	4	5
7. Immigrants are to be blamed for the increase of crime in Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
8. Immigrants should forget their own habits	1	2	3	4	5
9. Immigrants help Cypriots to see things in a different way	1	2	3	4	5
10. Immigrants must return to their origin countries	1	2	3	4	5
11. The way Cypriots behave towards immigrants is very good	1	2	3	4	5

12. Immigrants have the same opportunities as Cypriots to succeed in their life	1	2	3	4	5
13. The number of the immigrants in Cyprus is too high	1	2	3	4	5
14. Racism against immigrants is justifiable	1	2	3	4	5
15. There is discrimination against immigrants in Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
16. No matter what the immigrants do, they will never become Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
17. Immigrants have more rights than Cypriots do	1	2	3	4	5
18. Immigrants should be obliged to learn Greek	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial incidents in Cyprus are scarce, occasional events	1	2	3	4	5
20. Racism is a big problem in Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
21. I consider immigrants as equal to Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
22. It is important for immigrants to preserve their own culture and their own values in life	1	2	3	4	5
23. The national identity of Cypriot people is threatened by the presence of immigrants	1	2	3	4	5

PART Ib

Note to what extent you agree with each of the following statements, by putting in circle the appropriate number from the scale on the right:	Not at all	A little bit	Sufficiently	Very much	A lot
1. I do mind the presence of immigrants in Cyprus	1	2	3	4	5
2. I do mind when immigrants speak in their mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5
3. I do mind when immigrants socialize among themselves	1	2	3	4	5
4. I do mind when immigrants do not understand the Greek language very well	1	2	3	4	5
5. I do mind when immigrants behave as if they have more rights than Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
6. I do mind the fact that I don't know immigrants very well	1	2	3	4	5

7. I expect from immigrants to get dressed like Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
8. I expect from immigrants to think like Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
9. I expect from immigrants to behave like Cypriots	1	2	3	4	5
10. I like immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
11. I like somebody no matter what his/her origin is	1	2	3	4	5
12. I like somebody no matter what his/her skin colour is	1	2	3	4	5

PART II

Complete what your belief is about each of the following groups by putting in circle the appropriate number from a scale 1-10 (for each pair of characteristics separately).

Sri Lankans	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Russians	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Pontians	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Indians	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Pakistanis	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Americans	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

English	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Chinese	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Philippines	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Turkish	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Greeks	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Romanians	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Bulgarians	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

Turkish Cypriots	Characteristics											
	Uncivilized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Civilized
	Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Clean
	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hard working
	Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Nice

PART IIIa

Note to what extent you agree with each of the following statements, by putting in circle the appropriate number from the scale on the right:	Not at all	A little bit	Sufficiently	Very much	A lot
1. I trust immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
2. I respect immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
3. I dislike immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
4. I disregard immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel sorry for immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel comfortable among immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
7. Immigrants keep me neutral	1	2	3	4	5
8. I have friendly relationships with immigrants	1	2	3	4	5

PART IIIb

Use numbers from 1-6 to put in order the six emotions of each statement, starting from the strongest one (e.g., write number 1 for the emotion which you feel to be the strongest of all, number 2 for the strongest emotion after number 1 etc.)

When I think of the immigrants I feel:	
EMOTIONS	Anger
	Pleasure
	Disgust
	Fear
	Compassion
	Aversion

If immigrants abandon Cyprus tomorrow, I will feel:	
EMOTIONS	Relief
	Pleasure
	Disappointment
	Concern
	Sadness
	Enthusiasm

COMPLETE PART IV ONLY IF YOU HAVE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN YOUR CLASSROOM/SCHOOL

PART IV

Note to what extent you agree with each of the following statements, by putting in circle the appropriate number from the scale on the right:	Not at all	A little bit	Sufficiently	Very much	A lot
1. I help immigrant children at school	1	2	3	4	5
2. I help immigrant children learn Greek	1	2	3	4	5
3. I help immigrant children do their homework	1	2	3	4	5
4. I collaborate with immigrant children on school projects	1	2	3	4	5
5. I sit next to immigrant children in class	1	2	3	4	5
6. I play with immigrant children during break time	1	2	3	4	5
7. I live in the same neighbourhood with immigrant children	1	2	3	4	5
8. I invite immigrant children to my house	1	2	3	4	5
9. Immigrant children invite me to their house	1	2	3	4	5
10. I have friends who are immigrant children	1	2	3	4	5

PART V

Put a √ or complete:

1. Gender: boy girl
2. Class: A B C D E F
3. Primary School High School Lyceum
4. Did you have the opportunity to meet immigrant children? Yes No
If YES how many?.....

5. Do you have immigrant children in your class? Yes No

 If YES how many?.....

6. Are you an immigrant child? Yes No