WILL BOYS BE BOYS? Inclusionary Narratives in the Institutionalization of Unaccompanied Minors' Exclusion

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Abstract

This thesis explores how important social markers surrounding the figure of unaccompanied minor (e.g. 'integration', 'deservingness') are negotiated between unaccompanied refugee youth and the researcher-coordinator in an Athenian residential facility. Starting from the premise that the educational space created in the facility's classroom constitutes the heteroclite simultaneity of being at once a project of future-making and control, I investigate the ambiguous potential of a child-centered education in shaping and providing these minors with experiences of and in the Greek society. This continuous ambivalence between their existential presence(s) and the legal, political and social contestation of its legitimacy produces the tensions whereby the paradoxical dynamics outcast them while promising to include them in the society. Under that light, viewing them as right-bearers within and through their displacement and separation, I look into what it means and how to tend to a refugee child taking into consideration their particular vulnerabilities. Through our interactions, I explore the role of an ethics of care in how I navigate my desire for standardization (e.g. curricular, attendance) and the interpersonal teaching and care relationships mandated by the pedagogical approach and the feminist research practice. In doing so, I examine, delineate, draw upon and evaluate my role(s) as a visual arts' coordinator and social researcher whence I resist, reproduce and re-appropriate the dominant discourses on migration control and my personal biases pertaining to the presumed rights and needs of an education system for unaccompanied minors. By examining how refugee's children right to education is honored and/or obstructed, I substantiate the barriers they face, and the common informal solutions taken upon, well-intentioned but not durable, NGOs and volunteers for their alleviation since the 'humanitarian crisis' framework. These barriers and discrepancies subsequently produce the particular kind of social segreggation unaccompanied minors undergo in Athens (Greece). The findings suggest that the discrepancies between their institutionalized inclusion and their exclusion in practice perpetuate their precarious living conditions as minors which serves to discourage them and expel them by adulthood.

Key words: unaccompanied minors, European humanitarian crisis, refugee education, Greece, refugee children's rights

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; it contains no material accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis are accurate:
Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices, etc): 19,695 words
Entire manuscript: 24,390 words

Signed,
Lydia Kanelli Kyvelou-Kokkaliari

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List of Abbreviations

EKKA: National Office for Social Solidarity

EPZ: Educational Priority Zones

EU: European Union

IPA: International Protection Acr

MoEdu: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs

MoMA- Ministry of Migration and Asylum

RFE: Refugee Education Coordinators

RFRE: Facilities for Refugee Education

RIC: Reception and Identification Centers

SSPUM: The Special Secretary for the Protection of Unaccompanied Minors

UAM: Unaccompanied Minor

UN: United Nations

UNHCR: Office of the United Nations High Commisioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Introduction

Children have been crossing international borders, accompanied and alone, throughout history, fleeing persecution and marginalization or seeking independent and familial migratory projects (Heidbrink, 2022). Nevertheless, public and media attention is focused on those children seeking entry into Europe. Greece, one of the main entry points in the eastern Mediterranean route where over a million persons cross the border; by land and sea. Of this one million people, 37% of those who have arrived since January 2016 are children (UNICEF, 2021). According to UNICEF's latest estimates, dating back to September 2020, Greece currently hosts approximately 45,000 refugee children. Most of those children travel with their family, while others travel alone or with adult relatives who cannot be directly recognized as their legal guardians (MoMA, n.d.). The latter mobile children fall into the category of 'unaccompanied or separated minors', depending on whether they initiated the travel independently or whether they've been separated along the journey.

Unaccompanied minor (UAM) is any third country national under the age of 18 "separated from both parents [who] is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so" (UNHCR, 1997). Data on unaccompanied minors in Greece are collected by accounting their referrals from EKKA (National Office for Social Solidarity) controlled and verified as well by the Special Secretariat for the Protection of Unaccompanied Minors, in operation since 2020 (GCR, 2021). In total, by January 2016 until March 2022 about 40,000 unaccompanied minors have been processed through Greece's identification and relocation process, and as recently as March 2022, 2,079 unaccompanied and separated minors are documented as residing (EKKA, March 2022). During the period that I conducted the field research in an Athenian residential unit, September – October 2020, there were approximately 4,500 UAMs residing in Greek territory, half of them were relocated in age-specific accommodation on the mainland (EKKA, August 2020).

It is important to note here that in the case of unaccompanied minors living in Greece, their accounted and real numbers might diverge. This discrepancy has a variety of reasons, but in the Greek case, data on unaccompanied minors is collected and disseminated by EKKA

through the identification and registration process, and not based on arrivals or asylum applications. Those referrals, more often than not, secures them a temporary placement in facilities like Reception and Identification Centers (RIC) operating at entry points on Greek islands and near land borders, where they await transfer to reception facilities specialized according to age, gender and circumstances.[1] Given that they often do not enter with travel documents and this unfortunately includes a large number of these children, some unaccompanied minors remain in 'protective custody', i.e. they're detained in police stations and closed facilities around the country (Anagnostou and Gemi, 2015), due to lack of available places in specialized accommodation. In this first, and temporary, accommodation they are registered and when minority is determined, then, the process of referrals, i.e. transfers to specialized facilities, is initiated. The irregularity of their documentation and registration potentially undercounts them, because Eurostat figures "counts asylum applications but not arrivals themselves" (Menjívar& Perreira, 2019:199).[2]

The issue of how unaccompanied minors are treated and embedded in the Athenian – Greek society is a complex one which requires paying attention to the attitudes relating to the conduct of their simultaneously assigned categories as minors, both in the sense of age; under 18, and origin, third country national. Hence, in order to look at the emergence of reports of insufficient care and lack of access to opportunities for this particular population is suggested, here, to break down the multiple configurations, conjunctures, and, convergence of this, the least, dual 'minority' of unaccompanied children (which dictates their behavior and life chances). The legal-juridical establishment as a particularly vulnerable population group

[1] Reception and Identification Facilities (RIC) are often also colloquially called **hotspots**. The crammed, overpopulated conditions that most of the new arrivals have been facing since the summer of 2015, justifies the 'hotspot' feature of those facilities. Earlier in literature allusions that Greece participates in the policy initiatives of European Union against **illegal** migration with the **policy of the camp** (Petrakou, 326-7) anticipated the conditions unauthorized foreign persons stumbled upon siunce 2015. It also comes to say that as early as the beginning of this century stakeholders and experts were aware of the exclusionary and de-humanizing policies and infrastructures in Greek migration management.

[2] EUROSTAT figures are collected by each EU member state based on the systems they have at place, either in their International Protection Acts or on other demographic data collection. Menjívar & Perreira correctly emphasize the issue with *undercounting* although in many cases, as in Greece for example, the sum totals are not based on first time asylum applications but on their referrals/ transfers. As Stathopoulou accurately states on the challenges faced in conducting a research with refugees, asylum seekers and other foreign populations who haven't entered through the official state's routes one should "take into account the dynamic nature of the targeted population (people moving from camp to camp)" (2018:167).

pertains to the obligation of every state to provide protection and appropriate care to unaccompanied minors; a legal obligation protected internationally by the Geneva Convention (1950) in addition to nation and local level protections. This juridico-legal approach is thought to crystallize and illuminate the socio-political struggles over definitions and rights through the particular historical formulation of the western parliamentary democratic processes occurring in Athens currently. The scarcity of available data is an index of the "absence of functioning laws and structures to account for, and accommodate, the waves of immigration" (Trikalinou, 2015:168) by the Greek state. Indeed, measures of deterrence do not prevent illegal/ irregular migration (Petrakou, 2008:214), but enable this "ambiguous situation where immigrants exist but only in the margins of society" (Trikalinou, 2015:168). In order to see how this process of (de)regulation functions for unaccompanied minors, I first refute the political discourse which justifies this lack of administrative protections through the novelty of immigrants in Greece. Following, I account the current structures and responsibilities for foreigners and especially children on the move and its, purposeful, lack of an integrational framework. Lastly, I take upon my own empirical research in an Athenian residential unit where unaccompanied minors' precarity and oppression comes through in the lack of appropriate care and protections.

This thesis aims to unfold the pitfalls and victories of engaging with young migrants as a coordinator of a visual arts workshop implemented at their residential unit. As an educator whose own personal migratory journey led me to teach and learn in a variety of settings in all education grades, I'm equipped and skilled to conduct such a workshop. My role as a student and a teacher has always been close to my little heart[3] and so, one, I would often contemplate upon and educate myself forthe pedagogical intricacies of multicultural settings. In the past, I have conducted visual arts workshops for primary school age children, partly due to the focus of my formal education as a primary years teacher.The four-year (160 ECTS) early childhood education study program focused on the needs and intellectual capabilities and responsibilities carried upon by preschoolers with a focus on children's play

[3] From my little heart = *dalam hatiku kecil* the Indonesian idiom corresponding to the English *'from the bottom of my heart'* and the Greek *'απ'τα βάθη της καρδιάς μου*'.

and interdisciplinarity. As such it allows, enables and develops reflexes that suit better to holistic, participant-centered learning methods and teaching approaches, such as the ones required by the, non-curriculum/topic-based didactics of an arts' workshop.

In addition, the urgency to address the educational needs and aspirations of underage migrants who live alone, although provisionally anticipated, have grown exponentially after Europe's humanitarian crisis where refugee children, and unaccompanied minors especially, have crossed the country's borders in unprecedented (record) numbers. My educational, geographical, cultural, linguistic journey has familiarized me with a variety of strategies to submerge and subvert the spaces in which one's immersed, at times in transition, in flux, or in a state of 'fight-or-flight'. The type of housing offered to unaccompanied minors in Athens, Greece, and, especially, the one where I conducted my research, in its structure bring persons of different ethnicities under the same roof sharing their minority in age and separateness from adult (guardians). Tales of resilience portray those young mobile individuals as feisty almost-adults wishing to satisfy their strive for power (and recognition) while those of peril narrate the 'danger in every corner' story comprising a point of view where those unaccompanied minors are that destitute that are constituted as helpless little pones. Both, allude and contribute to Malthusian understandings of demographic (alternation) which foretell the end of us all by us all in sheer, and absolute, numbers.

To that effect, conducting an educational action research for unaccompanied minors residing in an Athenian facility was sort of exceptional. I was granted access to the facility mainly because there has been very few education initiatives targeting and sensitive to the vulnerabilities of this particular population and age group. A variety of reasons and rationales explain the invisibility of educational practices for UAMs, due partly to the lack of correctly assessing vulnerability. Stakeholders and other "actors should have a granular understanding of their beneficiaries' vulnerabilities at a local level in order to protect persons and groups who are de facto vulnerable" (Gazi, 2021:5). Furthermore, the lack of research on the field constricted this field research to an exploratory function and required assessment of my dual function as a volunteer-educational co-ordinator and researcher, i.e. not assessing my

educational practice neither the change both of which are mandated by action research methodologies (O'Brien, 2001). Finally as an ethnography with vulnerable and minor participants conducted in strictly voluntary basis employing translanguaging in order to include potentially all of them, I was committed to safekeep privacy, protection and their migratory journeys outside of my classroom. In other words, out of necessity, but also, essentially respect to my unaccompanied minors participants and the adults that currently care for them, this research answers:

1. What are the con-current systems of protections and education for displaced persons in Greece and how did they come to be implemented in their current format?
2. Which is the function of discrepancy between the theory and inscription of rights and remedies and the practice of protection, care and education for unaccompanied minors in (permanent) reception facilities?
3. How can one implement fieldwork with vulnerable populations through reflexive and feminist action research? What are the ethical considerations and limitations of such practice? Which are its effects on the research participants and the role of the researcher?

Understanding the current living conditions and lives of unaccompanied minors in Athens, substantiated through an educational action research involves understanding the levels of responsibility, protections and the reach of state control. Taking the Foucauldian notion of governmentality enables the analysis of the ways in which the legislated migration management and the administered population control (de)limits the modalities and actions of specific divisions of population. "Government, designated the way in which the conduct of individuals and groups might be directed… [i.e.] to control the possible field of actions of others" (Foucault, 2002:326,341). Child migration isn't a new phenomenon, however, in the last decade's increased interest in the public discourse and media coverage of children on the move added to policy and politically oriented motivations "driven by a wide range of concerns such as economic development, security, labour, migrant's rights and identities" (Huijsmans, 2011:1309). Academic and scholar impetus to surpass the methodological nationalism and beyond the nativity or domicile basis (and biases) of citizenship, belonging

and the formation of polity has motivated attention to children in migration (Benwell, 2009; Holt and Costello, 2011; Porter et.al. 2010).

Since until recently, children in migration were viewed as "things transported by adults" (Dobson, 2009:356) or an "undifferentiated population of vulnerable dependents of adult migrants, with claims subordinate to those of the responsible adults and needs and rights derive from them" (Bhabha, 2018:90) it was impossible to look at them as social actors on their own right. In the case of children migrants, as soon as the ordinary chronological developmental stages assumed and imagined under the category of 'child' or 'minor' is combined with that of 'displacement' issues of categorical primacy in the assessment of their condition and vulnerability arise (Lawrence et.al., 2019).Thus, collecting relevant data on their number and conditions would shed light to the discrepancies between the rights inscribed and the protections administered.

As a de facto vulnerable fraction of the population (Bhabha, 2018:89), attention to their needs and psycho-social condition (Bethlenfalvy, 1983) would heed to sentiments of empathy and solidarity initiatives, thus their trajectories have largely remained out of sight until recently (Huijsmans, 2011). Constricting and/or limiting the study of children's migratory journeys and their role in transnational processes contributes to the on-going dehumanization of migrants and refugees and serve the agendas of the restrictive, populist, conservative, xenophobic (democratic backlash) of the European (Union) political elites and technocrats resounding those principles which formed "Fortress Europe" (Malik, 2018,n.d.). If we were to(re)humanize the population flows then we would have fractured the real function of the almost expelled, dehumanized, vulnerable, flexible, and cheap foreign labor force (De Genova, 2002:439). Thus, inhibiting the consensus for the continuous implementation of "the political world order of neo-liberalism that stimulates the free circulation of capital and goods while it restricts the movement of particular groups of people" (De Graeve, 2015:72).

The methodological nationalism which dominated social sciences to recent times conflates the national with the social and presents container-like models of social processes

delimiting with the borders of the state the polity (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002). To countervail these reductionist models accounts on change, movement and migration offered alternative points of view inspired by the 'spatial' turn (Foucault, 1986) all the way to the new mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2007). This epistemological shift has provided an impetus of research on children and migration featuring them not as part and parcel of adult mobile individuals, parents or other, neither as just victims (e.g. of trafficking). Similarly, this research will "treat children as social actors actively engaging with the world around them" (Huijsmans, 2011:1317). Regarding unaccompanied minors as social actors with agency enables us to reposition "children... [as] competent informants [who] seek... to understand the world from their perspective" (Ansell, 2009:193, Lawrence et.al., 2019), without obliterating the ambiguity and temporariness of their developmental and migratory state and legal statuses. As Honwana contends on child-soldiers "they find themselves in a liminal position which breaks down established dichotomies between... victim and perpetrator, initiate and initiated, protected and protector, maker and breaker" (2005:32).

This research aims to identify the organization and limitations set to independently travelling underage migrants who having been identified as 'unaccompanied minors' within the Regional Common European Asylum Framework (EASO), their right to appropriate accommodation has been granted. This means that those unaccompanied children who haven't been processed in the Greek asylum systemfall outside the scope, and view, of this research. The question of displaced minors entering European Union territory via the eastern Mediterranean route in Greece is a complex one, as the provisions which ensue legal responsibilities for their protections and care exceed the national policies for international protection while conforming to the regional political imperatives set forth by European Union (EU) instruments and regulations. At the same time 'unaccompanied minor' enjoys special provisions, its legal foundation is neither de facto an asylum-seeker neither a refugee. Not all UAMs will lodge an asylum application neither they would be able to attain refugee status (Stathopoulou, 2018; Bhabha, 2018, Lems, 2020), but the safeguard of the rights and the

promulgation of protections for them stems first and foremost from their status as 'children' (Lawrence et.al. 2019).

In fact, this chronological priority in the stipulation of rights and protections on young persons' "involves excluding from the classification of a child any asylum seeker whose age can be doubted" (Lawrence et.al. 2019:3). This means that the vulnerabilities unaccompanied minors face because of the lack of an adult figure outdo the precarity ensued by their displacement (De Graeve, 2015; Pruit, et.al. 2018; Bhabha, 2018; Stathopoulou, 2018). In contemporary liberal states, provisions and protections are administered to adults; a recognition of the need to care for them to alleviate discrimination and/ or precarity. This state established vulnerability of adult citizens and residents alike, shrieks in comparison to the lived realities, journeys and life chances of unaccompanied minors.

When perceived progress of unaccompanied minors condition in the institutional practiceis perceived by celebrating the recorded only "80 to 100 unaccompanied minors in…custody weekly' (EASO, 2019:19), the minors in long-term and temporary accommodation, like the participants of this research, have been enjoying the implementation of rights which many among their classified group were not as fortunate to receive by the state and/ or the stakeholders and service providers recognized by the state. Special consideration is given to the constitution of the young subject and to the modes of expression of their agency which is shaped by citizenship regimes, migration policies and other formal institutions; set for all under this age group, or exceptionally due to separation. This research was conducted with male foreigners over the age of fourteen staying at a residential unit in Athens. The selection criteria for this undertaking were primarily based on the availability of access to the field. Thus, the inclusion of participants of both sexes was not possible, although, it's important to emphasize that in Greece, male unaccompanied minors comprise over nine out of ten of the total population of unaccompanied minors. It's similarly notable that reports often use gender-neutral terminology, 'minor' in English and 'child' in Greek, although the humanitarian crisis which brought to the forefront of Greek domestic politics

unaccompanied minors implicitly equates an unaccompanied minor with a teenage boy who's almost a young man.

The educational aspect, i.e. the type of educational policy and praxis offered to unaccompanied minors is an important prerequisite in order to understand the trials and tribulations of conducting a(n) (living) educational (theory) action research by implementing a visual arts' workshop through the project-method learning approach for unaccompanied minors in a residential unit during autumn of 2020 (amidst a global pandemic). The history of education for other-than-Greek language speakers and/ or foreign students is discussed to set the framework for the (a) identification, typology and treatment of otherness in the Greek educational system, and (b) definitions and perceptions of their vulnerability, i.e. educational gap, and (c) the concrete actions suggested by policy initiatives. This historical overview enables the reader to understand better the current state of affairs at play in the field of the access to educational opportunities for unaccompanied minors staying or living in Greece, as well as the evolution of the presumptions for their ascribed abilities and deficiencies which influences the political, and, thus, sways the policies, discourse.

Having understood the preconditions and the limitations in place for the population in question, i.e. unaccompanied minors, a closer look at the methodological decisions illuminates the innovation of this research. The case of unaccompanied minors participating in a visual arts workshop inside their residential unit's classroom is discussed by the methodological assumptions pertaining to the specifics of this educational action research, the methods selected to collect and process the data, and, of course, the limitations of this study in ethical, technical and personal points of view. Partly enlisting the variations and progression of this educational action research, I aim to illustrate briefly the painstaking effort of attempting an innovative approach which because of its new-ness has been so scarcely documented, discussed and regulated that at the same time it seems futile and vague it, also, looks enriched and fruitful.

Chapter 1: History of the continuous mobility since the formation of the Modern Greek state

Record numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers, including unaccompanied minors have entered Greece since the summer of 2015. However, the obstacles that these individuals confront, the processes of discrimination, exclusion and expulsion they meet are based on stereotypes and assumptions about age, gender and origin that predates the 'humanitarian crisis' framework. Similarly, the regulation of migration has taken center stage as a national, regional and worldwide (western) imperative but the systems which classify, protect and control migrants are imprinted upon the very fabric of the Greek national project. The current function and reach of the institutions reiterate previous systems of exclusionary practices based on rationales on Other-ness. A history of displaced persons in the modern Greek state illustrates the evolution of policies and public attitudes since the First National Meeting (1844) where the subject of 'heterochthonous', i.e. not-domestic inhabitant, took center stage in regards to the question of rights' acquisition. National citizenship meant that "the state has exclusive claims to that person's loyalty" (Kaspner, 1992:25).

In this chapter I make this point clearer by providing a chronology of population flows to and through the territory of Greece, as well as the tensions pertinent to these movements relating to administering, safeguarding and protecting the rights of foreigners in each era. To do so, I have divided this chapter into three parts. The first one accounts population flows occurring in the Early Modern Greek State emphasizing the role of foreign workforce in Greek nation building and the questions of citizenships that ensued. In the second part, I focus on the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey highlighting both the lack of integration framework and the discriminatory practices which situated the term 'refugee' as synonymous to 'person from Asia Minor' in the Greek imaginary, until recently. The last part brings us to the population flows to and from Greece after the Second World War, illustrating the incentives for emigration out of Greece and the exclusionary practices of foreign, Other-ed populations in Greece.

History of 'Heterochthonous' and 'Foreigners' in the modern Greek state (1844-1900s)

The history of migration flows is not so much synonymous to population flows, rather its definition lies in the historical contingencies that bound these movements as migratory. In other words, population movements are not a fact which in itself constitutes the signified difference between the governed-national subject and the foreign other but instead becomes and is interpreted as significant over a certain period and for the specific political purposes which aims to serve. The nation states founded in Southeastern Europe in the middle of the 19th century after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire such as Greece, emerge with struggles that are ignited and span the initial, and current, borders of the nation state. Efforts of their nationalization required to hinder the visibility of the diverse linguistic, cultural and ethnic groups that comprised them. This smoothening of differences aimed to normalize and create an unambiguous and homogenous national identity of its citizens.

During the nineteenth century, a period of modernization led by Charilaos Trikoupis (1875-1894), coincided with the need for a larger foreign labour force. Economic migrants were concentrated in the new industrial and commercial zones, such as Kimi, Serifos and the mines of Lavrio (Petraki, 2002). One example of how these workers came together in large numbers to form communities is the 1870 establishment of the 'Spanish' quarters of specialized workers, mainly of Spanish origin as the name indicates, living in the area. Economic migrants were a vital part of the country's development into a modern nation-state and were responsible for many of the major projects of the period, including the period of the Tricoupian modernization; the opening of the Corinth Canal, which enables new sea lanes facilitating trade and the construction of the national railways, which connects its industrial centers. In addition to the purely economic immigrants, this period is also characterized by the movement of persecuted populations, based on their political affiliations. For example, Italian and German refugees come to be seen when they pioneered the seafarers' mobilizations in the Aegean islands in 1877-8 (Moscof, 1978: 197-9). In the city of Patras in 1877 Garibaldini founded the 'Democratic Association', the first mass socialist organization in Greece.

An account of the continuous existential presence of mobile individuals at the beginning of the modern Greek state, wasn't a process of inclusionary and egalitarian practices. The tensions between populations characterized by their mobility or nativity culminated as early as in the First National Assembly of 1844 (Argos) where the debate on the "qualifications of the Greek citizen" brought forward issues of (a) citizenship, (b) voting rights and suffrage,and, (c) representation' rights of 'heterochthonous' persons (Parsanoglou, 2009: 294). The side of nationalists/ indigenous people expected the population flows to bring

laborers tofill the labour deficiencies of the country, as Plapoutas' prominent stated "We want workers"[4] (Dimakis, 1991:59 Cf in Parsanoglou, 2008:295). At the same time, their tendencies of 'xenelasia'[5] juxtaposed the new settlers', i.e. displaced persons, identitarian, and existential subservience by prompting rights outside of labor opportunities only to autochthonous 'Greek citizens'. The result of this debate -the renowned "Second Resolution on Heterochthonous", provided for the expulsion from public service of all newcomers who had not participated in the Greek Revolution of 1821 (Tsakanika, 2020:n.d.). The expulsion of heterochthonous Greeks is not carried out by their expulsion from the country's borders, but by their exclusion from the state apparatus.

In brief, this first phase of the modern Greek state is characterized by a wide variety of attitudes and efforts to simultaneously incorporate foreign/ other workforce and the issues and challenges it poses in the definition of the Greek citizenship. During this period, similar to processes in other parts of the world, population flows are often simultaneously welcomed as contributing to economic development and treated as threats to the homogenously perceived, but linguistically and ethnically varied, population make-up of the country (Parsanoglou, 2009: 292).

History of Displaced Persons in Early-Twentieth Century

Prior to the Second World War territorial annexations and population flows of economic and forced migrants brought to the surface a graver dilemma for the legitimate subject of policies and the specification of the actor of politics in Greece's ground. The restructuring and collapse of the Ottoman Empire, witnessed many of its Orthodox Christian populations, e.g. Greeks and Armenians alike, seeking refuge in the, newly annexed, neighboring Greek territories. Initially, state intervention on their protection was limited and the protection of the newcomers was taken upon voluntarily through the Associations of their communities, organized in ethnic groups for ethnically foreign, as in the Armenian case, or by place of origin of ethnically Greeks, e.g. Cappadocia.

The irredentist campaign, Greco-Turkish War (1919-22), which characterized the political will of the first quarter of the 20th century resulted to the Greek army's rout in Southern Turkey. The army's retreat to Smyrna which led to the city's destruction, has been a

[4]Πλαπούτας «θέλομεν εργάτες» cited in Parsanoglou 2008 page 288
[5]The opposing side refers to this 'autoxhthonous' stances as 'ξενηλατες', i.e. the ones who perform 'xenelasia'

landmark moment for millions of ethnic Greeks of Asian Minor as they swiftly, and initially forcibly, sought refuge in the Greek state. The large numbers of displaced persons culminated with the signing of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923between Greece and Turkey which legitimized the already in progress, exchange of population. It is estimated that more than a million Greek (Greek-language speakers of Orthodox faith) fled to the mainland and the island of Northern Aegean (much like today), and that about over half a million of Muslims, mostly Turkish-speaking families and communities, left the mainland fearing persecution.

This large population movement evidently; led to an augmentation of the country's population and therefore intensified the process, initiated in the nineteenth century, of Greece's urbanization. The arduous and cheap labour force that they represented has also contributed to the economic development of the country (Parsanoglou, 2008: 344). What is notable is that state interventions created the Refugee Compensation Fund which in it's four-year function, offered land and labor incentives to many of the displaced persons from Asia Minor. This is a period where population flows and migration, within borders and international, is dominantly imagined by policy-makers and stakeholders following a uni-directional movement from departure to arrival at the destination, to the assimilation of the (groups of) individual(s). In practice, discrimination and active exclusion required that newcomers loosen ties to their birthplaces in exchange for provisions and opportunities in their current habitual domicile.

The framework of inclusion by assimilation and exclusion, based on differences, has created administrative processes and societal attitudes whereby discplaced persons should substantiate their allegiance to their host society (citizenship). The history of displaced and non-ethnic Greeks in Greece helps the reader understand that despite the unprecedented numbers of arrivals during the humanitarian crisis framework, the implied contextualization of non-existent Others until recently in Greece hides the already established, but substandard systems of care and protection. It is important to understand that by reinstating and tracing the mobilities of persons to and through Greece, illuminates this hidden function of the political rhetoric which by employing humanitarian language and the element of surprise it contends

that foreigners' oppression is just a problem of their geographical strandedness in a transit state, or the financial strains of this state. Thus, they way they're integrated and the rights and protections administered to non-citizens, and non-residents, has a legacy of exclusion whereby the Greek state denounces its international and national responsibilities

Emigration state and Migration Control after the Civil War (1943-1949)

As demonstrated previously, persons on the move were always present since the founding of the modern Greek state, for various reasons, e.g. economic, asylum-seeking, and were offered exclusionary to assimilating treatment depending on the group and time-frame. With the worldwide attention to the millions of refugees after the Second World War (1939-1945) Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees is signed in 1951, two years after the conclusion of the Greek Civil War. Up until that time, in places without colonial tradition, like Greece, and all the while reasons and requirements for migration were not as codified. The relatively easier traveling conditions for population movements, internally and internationally, led to the reconceptualization of the trajectories in multiple directions and refocused the national lense to migratory practices. In Greece, emigrating rural population internally, resulted to further urbanization - and is in part, responsible, for the under-designed expansion and chaotic structure of the capital, Athens.

The turbulent period in Greek internal politics before and after the Second World War with unstable democratic rule and consecutive dictatorships until mid 1970s, as well as the possibility for short term economic migration trajectories and repatriation viewed as *desirable* state policies preferred to abstain for rural development, and Greek rural and urban population flew internationally mainly to Western Europe due to economic and/ or political reasons (Petraki, 2002:29). At this point, the desirability of emigration was based on two rationales simultaneously. The first one asserted that if one is poor (and destitute) it's better to go and work as far away as possible from their birthplace rather than stand "to lose face", becoming undignified in the eyes of one's co-habitants. This principle motivated the lowest income groups of many Greek communities to take 'flee and refuge' in places where both the conditions of anonymity and an ample economic opportunity were satisfied.

The second aspect that contributed to higher numbers of the Greek rural and urban population to cross international borders was that emigration was viewed as correlated to economic development (Petrakou, 2008:309).That meant that short-term economic migration of the poorest strata of the population, instead of staying and demanding political solutions and policy provisions to alleviate their destitution, was a desirable endeavor. For example, Greek migrants could acquire dual citizenship. Another incentive that motivated emigration from Greece during this period, was that the temporary aspect could ensure that foreign currency would enter the country by their citizens who would provide the cultural and financial means to enhance the quality of lives for their communities locally and at large.

With the ever-extended role played by European (Economic) instruments, during the end of 1970s and 1980s, the European identity was idealized as a supranational, and western, endeavor, instead of tribal-ethnic *paradigm* of Greek citizenship law,spurred a (re)new(ed) debate on which population movements are desired/ allowed. Emphasis on (a) illegal migration, and (b) migration policies coincide with the loosening of population movements within the supranational community (Petrakou, 2008:309). Europe was increasingly becoming a trend-maker and welcomed the mobility of skilled and unskilled foreign workforce, by further codifying their rights and obligations, under the pretext of rights' distribution and the guise of regularization and/ or equality.

In fact, the rule(s) of rights'/ law obscures the preferred profile for mobile individuals who come along just if they can amass the ranks of flexible and cheap labor, since "*having* a right is the potency of the person in question to compel those who have an obligation toward that person to do something or to refrain from doing something" (Norcross, 132). Thus, policies that prefer temporary economic migrants and, which, limit the capacity of persons fleeing persecution to seek asylum and relief, or having other *existential* motivations for their migration trajectories, are seen with doubt on the *deservingness* of such claims (Dursun & Sauer, 2021). It's, thus, evident that European preferred migration regimes are based on assessing the economic merits for the member states, while restricting the rules and requirements of humanitarian protections under the preface of national welfare by framing

asylum seeking as *illegal* (Petrakou, 2008:323). This illegality exerted by the threat of deportation (De Genova, 2018) shapes migrants' and asylum-seekers' political identiy (De Genova, 2002:422) and forms a social space of extreme precarity and forced invisibility, exclusion, subordination and oppression (Coutin, 2000:30/40). In the case of unaccompanied minors, it becomes evident in "the label 'minor' [which] lends a certain degree of protection... tied to specific expectations and... a clear temporal limitation" (Lems, 2020:406), forcing them to brief time intervals of visibility, soon to be expired.

It's noteworthy that one of the first usages of the term 'unaccompanied minor' by Bethlenfalvy in his 1983 speech at the, then. Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (nowadays International Organization for Migration – IOM), was employed to define, not the clandestine children (Rochcau, 1979) but the Palestinian, mainly adolescents, who traveled to West Berlin *via* Lebanon with ambiguous travel documents and reception regimes (1983). This historical overview has illustrated the paradox of "asylum–child welfare" (Dursun & Sauer, 2021) where unaccompanied minors are constituted as 'crisis figures' (Lemms, et.al., 2020) is not the immediate response to their unprecedented arrivals during the European humanitarian crisis. I, conversely, suggest that their substandard treatment and continuous violations of their rights is the result of decades-long negotiations and/or restrictions of mobility for persons who seek asylum and remedies. The global political economy where the wars are better to be waged far from one's homeland to secure maximization of profit is one of the most prominent rationales under which responsibility is transferred far and away. The framings of undocumented, unaccompanied and undocumented obfuscates questions pertinent to the lived experiences (Menjívar& Perreira, 2019) of unaccompanied minors who cross international borders aloneand negates the deservingness and legality (Pruit, et.al. 2018) of their claims to protections and care.

Chapter 2: Current systems of Protection in the educational context

Bringing up and centering issues of unauthorized migration as illegal in the domestic and European-wide political debate, clearly shows that migration is perceived as a phenomenon to be controlled. The variety of socio-cultural migrant' background is received with suspicion since it has the potential to challenge the "national order of things" (Malkki, 1995). Inciting 'human dignity' from the preamble of the United Nations Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951), European countries have fortified (again) against the imminent threat imposed by (poor and non-educated) third country nationals. Employing "both exclusionary–repressive and inclusive–caring norms and practices into its asylum regime in a simultaneous, flexible, and strategic fashion, [it] incorporates *ambivalence* into the asylum procedure as a constitutive element" (Dursun & Sauer, 2021). [6] This chapter starts by illustrating the international and national protections of foreign residents in Greece especially children and unaccompanied minors. Following through the stipulations of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, I account the legal and administrative provisions for the protection, accommodation and education of unaccompanied minors currently in place. The chapter concludes by denoting how the history of education for non-ethnic Greek citizens has impacted the form of education provided for refugee children and unaccompanied minors, and the specific type of parallel/ segregated educational opportunities offered.

Authorized mobility should follow formal and legal routes, hence the framework of the battle against trafficking, it is imperative to be codified, regulated, restricted, and controlled. In countries like Greece, a migration destination of only moderate numbers of economic migrants and asylum seekers, until recently, 1990s brought about a change in the framing of international migration. External historical events occurring in Europe (USSR and Yugoslavia) directed international population flows in Greece and concomitantly hundreds of thousands of ethnic Greeks returned and/ or repatriated (Tassiou, 2020: 33). Greek society and state talked with surprise of having become a host country (Parsanoglou, 2008). Greece has positioned itself as a transit state (Stathopoulou, 2018:169) and along with claims of

[6] Emphasis added.

unprecedence as a migration destination created a sufficient alibi of legislating and administering the bare minimum to the foreign newcomers. Nevertheless, the country's participation in supranational orders, such as United Nations and EU, promulgated initiatives which tolerated visibility and, partly, recognition of the immersed Otherness such as intercultural education. Tolerating the visibility of *some* Others referred mainly to the newcomers, especially if they were of Orthodox Christian faith. This intercultural selection wasn't extended to persons of Greek citizenship, but of *recognized* Muslim faith.

International Protections and the Convention on the Rights of the Child

In 1924, the first coordinated effort was made in Geneva with the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which is the first international text to address the legal status of minors. The United Nations has entered into a number of child protection conventions, such as the Convention on Discrimination in Education (1960). Greece is a signatory party to both the Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951), the UN Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, transposed into the current International Protection Act as well as the 1989 International Convention on the Rights of the Child with the latter ratified in 1992 with Law 2101/1992. The International Convention on the Rights of the Child addresses the needs and rights of the child and requires States parties to act in the best interests of the child. Based on its hierarchical value, in any case of conflict with a common domestic law, the International Convention prevails.[7]

- [7] Article 1 of the Convention defines as a minor "every human being below the age of eighteen years", allowing, though, for different configuration for the age of minority and adulthood, i.e. a divergence to the age margin above, to be provided by the domestic law of each country. Similarly, according to the Greek Civil Code, a person acquires legal capacity by the age of 18 and is assumed to be an adult.
- In accordance with Article 2 of the Convention, states parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is effectively protected against all forms of discrimination (race, creed, sex, language, religion, political or other belief, national or social origin, property or any other condition). This article constitutes a moral and

social obligation for equal treatment and is in line with article 4 par. 1 of the Greek Constitution which establishes the principle of equality.

- Article 3 of the Convention establishes the protection of the child from judicial, administrative and legislative decisions. States are obliged to give priority to the *best interests* of the child but also to observe and respect the rights of those who care for the minor. In this way, it has the ability to express itself orally, in writing, through the press or even through artistic expression, which in fact is independently protected by Article 16 of the Constitution as an inalienable right. Although the Convention provides more complete protection, freedom of expression is also protected by the Greek Constitution through article 14 par. 1.
- Article 7 speaks of the inherent right of the child to life and development at the social, economic, cultural and political levels. For children this includes physical and mental development that is the result of adequate nutrition, shelter, medical care and education.
- The ability of minors to express their views freely and unequivocally on any matter is set out in Article 12 of the Convention. The state is obliged to take all necessary measures ensuring each child the opportunity to express themself. It is worth noting that minors protection in that effect is transposed by Law 2502/1997 recognizing procedural rights for minors.
- Article 13 states that every child may express himself or herself independently, regardless of the medium he or she uses, the choice of which is left to his or her personal will. In this way, it has the ability to express itself orally, in writing, through the press or even through artistic expression, which in fact is independently protected by Article 16 of the Greek Constitution as an inalienable right. Article 13 states that every child “have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice”. The Convention provides a more comprehensive set of protection provisions corroborating Greek Constiturion Art. 14 §1 freedom of expression.

Greece, a member state to United Nations and its Agencies, has a dualistic International Law system defined by Article 28 of the Greek 1975 Constitution (Arthro28 Synt.). A signatory party to Conventions, Protocols and other Treaties and Agreements, the Greek government drafts a Bill which requires accession by two thirds (2/3) of the Parliament and is adopted as a transposed provision of domestic law (Tsoutsos, 1976:558). Prior to the constitutional reform, international principles and laws were "considered similar to domestic law, and of the same value' (Tsoutsos, 1976:557). The transposition international agreements and treaties, 1975 Greek Constitution stipulates in Section 1 of Article 28 (Arthro28(1)Synt.) that "the acts promulgating the treaties transformed into domestic law have priority over all the other legal acts" (Bodnár, 1996:117). Despite the initial optimistic speculations of this international law supremacy over the domestic juridico-legal order on unaccompanied children's protection, the priority of International Law over Domestic Law doesn't extend to the country's constitution as it isn't a locus of international law implementation neither its content can be *recasted*; resembling monistic approaches (Tsoutsos, 1976:558, Bodnár, 1996:117). This in practice has been shown to be an influential social coercion governmental and juridical mechanism, in the case of Muslim minority especially.

Systems of Protection and Responsibility for Children in Greece

To safeguard those rights of the children, including refugee children and especially those unaccompanied which are more susceptible to facing social and administrative barriers, invisibility and discrimination, a number of state and supranational initiatives have taken

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- Articles 14 and 15 of the Convention safeguard children's freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and freedom of association and peaceful assembly respectively
- Article 28 says that "State Parties recognise the right of children to education" and "should take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity".
- Article 37, prohibits the unlawful or *arbitrary detention* of children, stating explicitly that any arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child "shall be in conformity with the law and shall be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time" (Article 37(b)) and that 'every child deprived of liberty shall be treated with humanity and respect for the inherent dignity of the human person, and in a manner which takes into account the needs of persons of his or her age' (Article 37(c)).

place. At the earliest day of the humanitarian crisis the cases of asylum-seekers arrivals in Greece were handled by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the National Office for Social Solidarity, especially pertaining to the issues and cases of vulnerable refugees, such as unaccompanied minors who required adequate accommodation and appropriate care. The large numbers of arrivals propelled the founding of a separate Ministry, that of, Migration Policy by the fall of 2016 in the cabinet of Syriza-Anel government coalition.

The new government of New Democracy true to its xenophobic, racist and neo-liberal mandate abolished the ministry by July 8 2019 and submitted the new International Protection Act (IPA)[8] by November of the same year amidst public outcry. The abolition of the Ministry of Migration policy couldn't be subsidized by a new asylum application law, for which fears were expressed of further destitution of the, anyway, poor material conditions and protections offered by the Greek state to applicants of international protection. Thus, soon following its abolition the right-wing New Democracy government re-founded an institutional instrument for the administrative management of foreign population: the Ministry of Migration and Asylum (MoMA) by January 2020. Subsequently, they also established The Special Secretary for the Protection of Unaccompanied Minors (SSPUM) responsible for unaccompanied minors' referrals, accommodation and relocation applications, with EKKA now only handling their representation.

SSPUM, in April 2021, launched the National Tracing and Protection Mechanism for Unaccompanied children in Precarious Conditions to address issues of homelessness or living in insecure conditions and transferred unaccompanied children to safe accommodation. "Since its establishment up to September 2021, a total of 892 cases of accommodation requests were submitted to the National Mechanism which is indicative for the homelessness and precarious living conditions that unaccompanied children may face in Greece" (UNICEF, 2021: 82). Another legally binding protection based on the relevant Ministerial Decisions safeguards the extension of the material reception conditions for specific categories of persons, including unaccompanied children.[9] Unaccompanied minors are offered, officially, an extension of

[8] L 4636/2019, Gov. Gazette A' 169/1.11.2019.
[9] Ministerial Decisions No 23/13532, FEK B'5272, 30-11-2020, art. 21, No 13348/2020 FEK 1199 B', 7-4-2020, art. 6, and No 270/2021, FEK 451/B/5-2-2021, art. 21-22

accommodation and asylum remuneration for a period of three months following their adulthood.[10]

Respecting children's right to family life, initiatives of relocations according to Directive 2003/86 which sets the rules for family reunification among European member states were also undertaken. Additionally, EU commission launched the voluntary relocation scheme where UK and Portugal participated in accommodating vulnerable refugee population by "areas most inflicted" by the humanitarian crisis. "By the end of 2021, 1,199 unaccompanied children, had been relocated to other EU Member States under the voluntary relocation scheme launched by the EU Commission in March 2020" (Mentzelopoulou., 2022:4). In part these relocations explain the gulf in the numbers of unaccompanied minors (SEE: pp 3-4 of Introduction) whereby from over 4,000 unaccompanied minors residing in Greece in 2020, only 2,000 are reported by 2022. The margin of a thousand unaccompanied minors can be explained either by entering adulthood or by their decision to move forward with their migration journey outside of formal routes.[11]

The right and obligation of unaccompanied minors in education is framed in Article 51(2) of the IPA, adding that children that do not enroll on or attend classes because they do not wish to join the education system shall face reduction of material reception conditions, while parents shall face the same sanctions applicable to Greek citizens. That means that in the case of unaccompanied minors their lack of an adult who cares and implements a custodial function is supervened by Law 4554/2018.[12] According to Article 19 the bodies of the Guardianship Committee of Unaccompanied Minors are the Juvenile Prosecutor of the juridical area or, in cases that a Juvenile Prosecutor is not at place, the locally competent prosecutor of the First Instance Court, the unaccompanied minor's guardian and the Supervisory Board of the Committee of Unaccompanied Minors. The Joint Ministerial decisions that would enforce the implementation of salaried legal guardianship in Greece still lack in the time of writing (GCR, 2021).

Future thinking of the Past: the educational policy created which alien?

The question of which educational opportunities unaccompanied minors in Greece have access to can answered by tracing the formation of the national and public education in

[10] In the shelter where I conducted my research there were cases of persons over the age of eighteen and three months old still residing, though, remuneration was withheld and their daily expenses were covered through the emergency fund which was an employee initiative.
[11] An example of this type of informal migratory trajectories is also briefly described in page 37 of this thesis.
[12] "Guardianship of unaccompanied children and other provisions" Gazette 130 / A / 18-7-2018

Greece since its initial founding, as well as the reception and integration policies which aim to include foreign citizens. Education in Greece was an endeavor taken upon for the shaping of this national identity as early as the founding of the modern Greek state. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the new regimes in both sides of the fence which caused Greece's sedentarist wars and losses is set as the starting point of codifying educational provisions for non-Greek-speaking orthodox groups of the country's population. This second section accounts the evolution of Greek educational institutions and educational policies established as bilingual, minoritarian, and intercultural. The ideal of shaping a homogenous national identity and the lack of integration provisions reveal the tension between declarations of equal treatment and the contestation that existentially present foreigners (produce) in the national order of things.

Greek state's discourse on educational possibilities and their contribution to social progress and ascendancy illuminates the policy and political responses to this direction adding value to the Europeanization of curricula and evaluating negatively the cultural similarities to the neighbors., The Greek educational system is centralised and the provision of free education is a constitutional principle. "It is organized by, a prevalence of, national laws, presidential decrees and ministerial acts" (Eurydice, n.d.). Although often not enforced for the general population, "the penal code foresees sanctions to anyone having the custody of an underage pupil and failing to enroll him/her or supervise his/her school attendance" (Eurydice, 2021:n.d.).

Education in Greece is compulsory for all children between the ages of 4 and 15. Given the residential criteria of the research participants secondary education which caters for teenagers between the ages of 12 and 18 and Higher Education for those wishing to attend university courses are significant (Constantinides, 2021:n.d.). The goal of the educational policy of the Ministry of Education is the formation of the *intercultural* and *inclusive* school of the 21st century through the provision of quality education to students and the strengthening of teachers' skills (MoEdu, n.d.). [13] Measures for the systematic inclusion of refugee and asylum-seeking children were taken only by 2015 through Joint Ministerial Decisions.[14]

[13]The emphasis is in the original Greek language description provided by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs.

[14] ΚΥΑ 152360/ΓΔ4/16 was repealed by ΚΥΑ 180647/ΓΔ4/2016, Gov. Gazette B' 3502/31.10.2016, available at: https://bit.ly/36W3cDn . See also UNICEF, 'Greece goes back-to-school with more refugee and migrant children getting into the Greek education system than ever', 11 September 2017, available at: https://uni.cf/3sChdBL

Refugee children residing in locations where freedom of movement is restricted, RICs and camps, can access kindergarten and Reception Facilities for Refugee Education (RFRE)[15] in preparation for mainstream classes and consist of afternoon classes on the premises of primary and secondary public schools (RSA, 2021). The reception and integration system for persons who are relocated is, essentially, implemented with a single regulation and, thus, a single implementation, i.e. the 'reception classes for students with little or no knowledge of the Greek language' Educational Priority Zones (EPZ)[16] (RSA, 2021). Although the Ministry of Education promotes itself as an advocate of human rights and administer in these integration programs, in essence, the whole effort simply includes an intensive program of learning the Greek language 15 hours/ week in a separate classroom, but in the school premises. EPZ courses are divided into two levels beginners (EPZ1) and intermediary users (EPZ2). At the same time, students attend regular classes with little or no knowledge of Greek in their designated classroom, such as Physical Education, Music, Informatics, Foreign Language or another course, according to a decision of the Association of Teachers (MoEdu, n.d.) where language requirement in the instruction is minimal.

Apart from the language courses, to promote refugee children's integration Refugee Education Coordinators (RFE) [17] liaise with refugee families and provides them with the necessary information in regards to the education system. RFEs are also responsible to help register refugee children in school as well as to navigate mainstream education (RSA, 2021). My empirical findings have shown that in residential units for unaccompanied minors in the mainland there's a permanently employed RFE or the function of an RFE is taken upon a social work office staff in cooperation with an RFE responsible for more units.

The opinions on the integration systems in education differ. In the NTR report of 2017, recommendations from experts claimed that EPZ "should have been extended more widely so that refugee children could integrate socially, culturally, professionally". Often the implementation of those initiatives in other European countries, such as France for example, has been considered successful by policy makers in compensating social inequalities, translated by educational gaps in specific locations where large amounts of displaced populations congregate. On the other hand, concerns expressed by intercultural education experts highlight that the establishment of RFRE has created a "segregated school for a

[15] (Δομές Υποδοχής για την Εκπαίδευση Προσφύγων, DYEP). The Greek acronyms are sometimes used in literature produced in Greece. This can cause confusion as similar systems and provisions function elsewhere. I opted for English equivalent to propose and enable the possibility of comparative analysis.
[16] (Ζώνες Εκπαιδευτικής Προτεραιότητας, ZEP). Similar to Ft 11.
[17] Συντονιστές Εκπαίδευσης Προσφύγων, SEP. See Footnote 11.

particular number of students". They also denote that EPZ, in many cases, have been transformed into a segregated system in practice (Simopoulos & Alexandridis, 2019).

But before we move forward into the future thinking and the artistic inquiry framing and producing this thesis, one should look behind the current state of affairs in the *intercultural* and *inclusive* Greek education and see through the issues and paradigms in the production of educational policy. It's important to highlight that the education system in Greece is informed by the Ministry's co-constitution of Education and Religious Affairs. The predominance of the visibility Greek-Orthodox citizens, in numbers, rights and political representation, is thought to have affected the types of education curricula that have prevailed. At the end of the 19th century, the Greek state aiming at constituting a Greek educational system according to European history and Western values with a focus to national homogeneity marginalizes minorities (Calliga, 2016:54) by not including them in its regulation or explicitly excluding them. According to (Tsioumis, 2000) the perceptions of the period couldn't enable teaching in a language other than that of Greek official state's language. In short, questions of language and religion persist in the Greek educational debate, as the two have formulated the ideal national Greek subject – an ideation that directly excludes variation and/ or mobility within this social identity, thus, rightfully rendering it rigid and unattainable.

Education for Others and for All (?) in the Modern Greek state

The nationalization of peoples and institutions in the Modern Greek state led to the rapid establishment of, state and other, educational institutions. By late 19th century alongside state-owned public (mainstream) Greek schools, private community schools were founded to serve the needs of linguistic (and ethnic) groups of other-than-Greek language speakers. Some of them, were organized and taught by the religious leaders of each communities, while others recruited teaching staff from the local community and consisted primarily in the instruction of language and culture. These private institutions were, in effect, bilingual primary education schools where the tensions between indigenous, heterochthonous and foreign[18], especially emphasized the issue of 'language'. The Greek language issue was a debate dating back at the early Modern Greek state pertaining to whether the language spoken by the public (*demotica*) should be instated as the official language, or, as it happened until late 20th century, the official language should be the cultivated imitation of Ancient Greek, called *katharevousa*,

[18] In Greek official documents of the period there's a distinction between other-language speakers (Αλλόγλωσσοι) and other ethnic/ national groups (Αλλογενείς). The latter, I choose to translate as foreign/ alien interchangeably.

i.e. literally translated cleansed (from other-language loans). This century-old dispute informed the attitudes of the Greek state's ideology and in an undifferentiated manner between neighbours, enemies and conquerors; language became quintessentially a national issue, and a cornerstone of Greek national identity.

A prime example of bilingual community educational institutions is the history of the Armenian schools in Thessaloniki. The first Armenian school began to operate in 1877 with the parish priest as the teacher. By 1907 the community acquired its own two-storey school building and recruited a formally trained teacher. After the Greco-Turkish War (1918-1922) the school also catered the new pressing needs of the community housing a kindergarten, primary school and orphanage. By 1923, with the ongoing flee from persecution and destitution, hence, the rising numbers of the community required the establisment of an all-female school and in 1928 a kindergarten and primary school (Hassiotis, 1997: 301). "All these permanent or temporary institutions were run, in the main, by the community, under the co-ordination of the Armenian Bishopric of Thrace and Macedonia and the various Armenian philanthropic societies, some of which were local and some of which were affiliated either with corresponding (and often under the same name) institutions run by the Armenian Diaspora or with foreign charitable organizations or missions" (Hassiotis, 1997: 298). It is important to note here, that all these private community institutions functioned simultaneously as schools and orphanages throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Before the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, i.e. in the first decade of the last century, there were 86 primary private community schools in Western Thrace. The teaching was undertaken by religious ministers, who taught the Qur'an with the aim of transmitting the principles of the Islamic religion (Baltsiotis & Tsitselikis 2001). The Treaty of Lausanne, still in force and the main agreement stipulating rights and obligations, provides for the possibility of establishing private educational institutions by the minority. Here, it's important to note an often neglected aspect of the often neglected style of composing of the said treaty allowing for an important *ambiguity* in its recognition, at times referred to as observing the norm of *reciprocity*, and politically often used in means of *retaliation*. The treaty's texts is written by accounting that and excluding the *non-Moslem* populations who fled Turkey should maintain citizenship rights upon their return in Greece and in remaining put (i.e. Greek community of Istanbul). Thus, for example, the third section entitled and pertaining to minority protection starts with "Turkey undertakes that the stipulations…" and closes with "The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey will be

similarly conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory" (Lausanne Treaty, 1923).

Despite Greece's imposed self-importance, the Treaty stipulates the rights of persons residing in the independent state of Turkey since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire with many neighbouring, but not limited at that, states where provisions were extended to safeguard adequate provisions. The issue of administering rights by *reciprocity*, i.e. when **one** does such, then the second should do that, too", meant that (a) the wording of the historical period of its production becomes legally binding even if outdated, Moslem-non-Moslem doesn't appear in international legal documents nowadays, and (b) that the 'cheek-to-cheek' principle, easily turns to an 'eye for an eye' as history gloriously has illustrated. It's no coincidence, that despite Greece's eagerness to participate in the games of the *high* league of states-nations of European Union for example, it's not a signatory party to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) undertaken by the European Council as recently as 1998, maintaining a position that all rights and obligations relevant to its National Minorities are, already, stipulated by the Treaty of Lausanne which came into effect prior to the constitutional revisions whereby transpositions, i.e. domestically legislated recasted international agreements, is a pre-requisite of their stipulations to get enforced. Indicatively, the questions of educational content and instructional language choice, as well as the issue of naming and self-identification of the community had been points of interest and sites of struggle and attestation.

Starting with the issues of establishing schools through the Lausanne Treaty for the Minority[19] as described in Article 40: "In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein". Later on in Article 41, the two countries undertake the responsibility to "grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion... are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction... through the medium of *their own language*[20]." With this provision the State retains the possibility to instruct the official language compulsory.

The schools founded for the minority initially didn't include the teaching of the Greek language and when they did, it was merely a language course (Tsioumis 2000). But the

[19] Capitalization is used to highlight Minority being recognized and singular in the Greek's state's perception, nonetheless, if not for the Greek public, or Greek residents – which could be a stretch.
[20] Emphasis added.

retained right provided in the Treaty of Lausanne, was repeated and enforced in 1936 where the character of "compulsory teaching of the Greek language" was stipulated for Muslim schools.[21] The Greek state hasn't intervened apart from the obligatory Greek language courses in the minoritarian schools' curriculum and schedule until 1957 relevant ministerial decree (Makra and Kanaria, 2010). Following, the Greco-Turkish Educational protocol of 1968 regulated by providing guidance and conditions for the instructional material and diving the academic fieldsbetween Greek and Turkish-taught in the primary education for the minority (Calliga, 2016:21). A year later, in 1969, a document issued by the Ministry of Education stated that the courses of History, Geography, Patriotism[22] would be taught in Greek, while the rest of the courses in Turkish (Baltsiotis&Tsitselikis 2001). Since Lausanne Treaty and the recognition of the Minority's right to not be assimilated, little change met with Greek Minoritarian Education, despite the local and global advancements in education and minority recognition and protection.

Debates on the composition of the Muslim minority, i.e. comprised and by what portion from ethnic Turks, Pomaks and Romani, reveal the friction of different perceptions of the purpose and processes for schooling of the Muslim minority students. Moschonas (2009) identifies three ideological groups, the Greek nationalists, the Turkish nationalists and, finally, the interculturalists; further divided to crypto-nationalists and genuine modernists. I would argue that the predominance (and ingenuity) of the nationalist viewpoint, coincides with the aim of education as a national institution to propagate the ideology of the state. But, let's further explain to what is described to be constituted of and offer, then, a different take. The Greek and Turkish nationalists respectively advocate the Muslim strudent's introduction to either majoritarian Greek ormajoritarian Turkish schooling system. Theirshared goal is to achieve an absolute state of complete identification with a national group achieved by state educational ideology. Of course, in the case of the Muslim minority of Western Thrace, their goals are antagonistic aiming at either complete assimilation or absolute exclusion in the national fabric; achieved by curricular and textbook choices of their respective states, Greece and Turkey. The intercultural – cryptonationalists cry for upgrades and intercultural consolidation in the minoritarian schools with the Greek language taught in secondary courses, as any other foreign language, but obliterate, as is common the Pomak and Romani Greek citizens, also belonging to the wider status category of Muslims in Western Thrace.

[21] Article 2 par. 7 L 132 7/25.9.1936

[22] Civic education of the era was a compound noun comprised by the words Fatherland (Πατρίδα- *Patris*) (Γνωσία- *Gnosis*), thus here rendered as 'Patriotism' to highlight its nationalistic onset.

Intercultural-modernists do not want minorities to be assimilated through Greek, thus giving value to their mother tongue (Calliga, 2016:23). For Moschonas, this last view of intercultural-modernists is ultimately the most conservative, as "they only see what they look at, which means that things should just remain so" (2009:140).

Although it's fruitful to differentiate among ethical stances and solution propositions in political debates such as the one concerning the education of the underage population belonging in the only officially recognized minority in Greece, persistently called by Greek majority as Muslim, I find that education as an institution is seen solely in its restrictive fashion. Therefore, it cannot be problematic to look at the (regulated) state education as a space of control and promotion of Greek state ideology, viewed justifiably, in school manuals and in official learning outcomes, as nationalistic. But, without obliterating the prominence of nationalistic stances (of each side), education, in its theory and pedagogical practice, is also a project of future making and, so, encompasses more plural narratives than the clear-cut, binary, dilemma proposed by the choice between progress and nationalism. This black and white partisanship serves the neoliberal imperative which equates progress to economic growth and the late capitalism's status quo where the only otherness rendered visible owes its comeuppance to the contingent prediction of financial profit. When scholarly attention is driven by quick fixes in complex issues, e.g. the four categories of either nationalist or capitalist stances existing on the debates of and for minoritarian education, what's obliterated is any other contingent future scenario outside the dominant discourses. It imitates the political narrowness of a perfect two-party system conglating the populous or normative with the real and contingent.

Another major issue, which requires a mention given to its significance on citizenship regimes, although due to the focus of this research is less relevant (outside the scope of education), is the classification of Greek citizens between On June 11, 1998 socialist-Pasok government of Kostas Semitis repealed Article 19 of the 1955 Citizenship Law (No. 3370), which stipulated that all foreigners (allogenis) who leave Greece and not intend to come back are deprived of their citizenship, (HRW, 1999). The certification of an Albanian muslim, a Turkish muslim or of a Jew as allogenis was rather easy for the Greek authorities, on the basis of the criterion of exclusion from the orthodox genos (Christopoulos, 2006:259). Thus, establishing Greek citizenship on grounds of ius sanguinus, as also seen in the example of the homecoming Greeks (Christopoulos, 2006:253&266).

Article 19 was enforced for forty-three years, by successive Greek governments "in an attempt to alter the demographic balance in Thrace in favor of ethnic Greeks. In clear

violation of the guarantee of equality before the law under Articles 1 and 2 of the Greek constitution and Article 40 of the Treaty of Lausanne, Article 19 differentiated between ethnic Greeks and non-ethnic Greeks" (HRW, 1999). The estimated affected by the invocation of their citizenship between 1955 and 1998, were approximately 60,000, over seven thousand of which were deprived of their citizenship between 1981 and 1997 (GHC, 1998), according to the then government's recordings. Much like the issue of how many third country nationals reside in Greece under which statuses prevalent to the issues of unaccompanied minors in particlar, guessing and reporting without organizing principles allows not only contestations, but leaves us stranded, dumbfounded, and helpless in the despair of not knowing how to countervene our witnessing of evil in action. That is true to a large extent in the language used in the afore citizenship debate and resounds quite accurately the production of most scholarly and expert texts within the humanitarian crisis framework.

But that isn't to say it isn't significant to read through and between the lines and sentiments to the practice of differential exclusion, and inclusion by exclusion, of the modern Greek state which stratified its citizens by discriminating, segregating and expeling those who were undesirable, undeserving, Other(-ed). The examples of how the Greek language debate consolidated and enhanced the issue between indigenous Greek-ness (homo-genis) and any other residents within the country's borders (allo-genis and aliens), has been purposely set upon the only officially recognized minority and the constant refusal of the Greek state to recognize any other others. Much like elsewhere in the proximity, Greek nationalism was based, the least principally, in the shared language and religion to shape its imagined history of past ties with Greek Antiquity (language) and Byzantium (religion). Otherness has been demonized in multiple occasions in the Greek political arena, and the outcomes of these debates heavily weighed upon the understanding, regulation and provisions, proposed for the new, global, and, undountedly, multicultural Greek terrain.

These population movements during the last two decades of the 20th century resulted to general debates on (other-language speakers) and intercultural education, a type of education practice, scientific discourse and policy initiative (Tassiou, 2020:30) which is *inclusive* in its conception. The debates resulted to the visibility of the persisiting issue of Romany community's exclusion from (national/) compulsory education, similar to their conditioning in other countries of the European sphere. This educational gap and visible issue of discrimination against other cultures led initiatives towards a more scientific approach to Minority Education, implemented on the basis of educational protocols between Greece and Turkey of 1954 and 1968 (Terzis, 2004: 42-43). Yet, *intercultural* begged the question of

identifying, classifying and recording 'which cultural'. As in Greece, politicians and academics use the term *intercultural education* in their speeches referring to both educational policy and educational practice (Gotovos, 2002:55-57) the resulting confusion about its orientation and policy provisions not limited to the theoretical stipulation of institutional reforms but in the practice of subverting violent coercion.

Often cited as the initiation of *intercultural* and *inclusive* education (Toulias, 2005; Tzortzopoulou & Kotzamani, 2008; Tassiou, 2020), the implementation of the Intercultural Policy begins with the establishment of Reception classes (1980-1981) and Preparatory Courses (1982-1983) aimed at including by excluding foreign minors in preparation for the mainstream Greek schooling whose curricula has invariably remained *Europeanized* but nationalistic. International Protection Acts (IPA), as stated earlier, contain provisions for foreign minors who are to follow compulsory education *equally* and *alongside* Greek nationals. IPA also entails provision for foreigners who under certain circumstances lack documentation but "who reside in Greece even if their legitimate residence has not been regulated yet, including unaccompanied minors" (Tassiou, 2020: 35)[23].

The practice of differential exclusion and the administration of rights in order to coerce the obligations as is the case with refugee children's education, including UAM creating the specific barriers on which I will expatiate in the rest of the thesis, shows the discrepancy between institutional provisions (theoretical ponderings) and racist and xenophobic practice (empirical corroboration). Before concluding, the issue of Greek genus, i.e. the religious and linguistic basis of Greek ethnic identity, has been a key issue on the type of education provided; remember that the Ministry of Education has been incessantly also the Ministry of Religious Affairs. For example, optional language courses in foreigner's mother tongue is provisioned but not implemented or exercise religious freedom by allowing students to not participate in church services or during the prayer in school (Tsaliki, 2012:119).

[23] The reference to unaccompanied minors in Tassiou's manuscript in the footnote serves as a textual index of UAMs position.

Chapter 3 Methodologies of Educational Action Research

(Living) Educational (Theory) Action Research for Unaccompanied Minors

Why setting the contextual limitations and the methodological decisions

if "the most humble among the [oppressors] is made to feel superior [through the oppression]"(Beauvoir 1989: 24) and the oppressed is, finally, conscious and discontent by this inferiority (Tuin 2016: 56), is this the sufficient condition for *change*?

The research that I have conducted involved the inclusion-exclusion of unaccompanied minors and investigates the limitations, conditions and challenges of being a foreign minor independently traveling and residing in Southeastern Europe. Data collection involved a two-month long field research employing the project-method approach (child-student-participant-centered) in a workshop (of a couple of dozen sessions) for unaccompanied minors (staying at an Athenian residential unit). At first glance, this research design is seemingly another ethnographic or educational action research. Rather, instead of focusing on the process of the workshop's co-ordination and its outcomes, like another educational research, or looking at the I then, proceed to portray myself as a stakeholder/ interested party in the community of the humanitarian sector where 'we' are at, while simultaneously being the teller of extraordinary incidents occurring during the co-ordination process.

This research is not replicable inasmuch as it explores the contextual limitations, and, the processual negotiations of explorations which emerge through the implementation of innovative, i.e. participant-centered pedagogy, for this specific population group. Based on seminal assumptions of action research as an approach in the *praxis* paradigm, this research is viewed in its entirety from its conception, preliminary steps to its being reported in this text, as the selected set of concrete actions in real life circumstances (O'Brien, 2001). Diverging from both action research' and project-based learning focus on problem-solving, these concrete actions taken upon and described in here, involve issues (moral dilemmas, strategic ambiguities) arised by my own performance and the cooperative reflection with the research participant. I take upon the 'plan-act-observe-reflect' guideline of action research combined with project-based learning's "comprehensive perspective focused on engaging [participants] in investigation" (Blumnfeldetal, 1991:371) to design a learning environment open to the exploration of visual arts as a narrative method.

Nonetheless, my own focus turns back at my own activity coordinating the instructional approach, without quantifying and qualifying the intervention's effect on logical, cognitive or metacognitive skills. This is so, firstly, because the aim of this research is to outline how good intentions set forth under humanitarian guise persistently include, and exclude by including, the participants' liberty to express themselves and, thus, restricts the opportunity to do so, freely and knowingly, limiting their life chances. Moreover, the non-replication meant that I couldn't draw general conclusions on the applicability neither of this type of research design nor the aptitude of the pedagogical method for the population group. Finally, I was neither preoccupied with *change* per se nor *particular* problem-solving, but in the process of reflections and reconfigurations that occurred during the workshop between me as the coordinator and the research participants.

Data Collection Techniques: Workshop Specifics

Conducting research with human subjects is regulated by a variety of protocols for ethical conduct. Pertaining to research with minors, special regulations are to be followed in respect to (a) UNICEF research with minors (based on its Declaration for the Rights of the Child) as well as (b) ethical considerations proposed by the Ethical Committee and Guidelines for Research with human subjects of Central European University. At the beginning of the field research, twenty-three (23) male-identified unaccompanied refugee minors where residing at the shelter whose full capacity is, maximum, 30 persons. Approximately a quarter of them, six (6) in total, were adults. The residents come from eight (8) different nationalities, and more ethnic groups, and were aged between 14-18 years. Their language skills varied significantly, yet, fortunately most of them had the chance to attend high-school courses, although at the time, there were obstacles in admitting the youngest unaccompanied minors to the local public junior-high school. All residents were of varied legal statuses, but they have definitely had all been through the identification and relocation schemes to (end up) in the shelter. I recorded kept teacher/ practitioner/ field notes on a daily basis, containing both descriptions of significant incidents/ events, progress on the type of work and relationship I forged with each participant and questions stemming from the two aforementioned, for our discussion in the ensuing meeting(s).All the notes were anonymized by reshuffling the syllables of the participants' names and were stored at the residential facility's classroom.

Limitations: Ethical and Technical

According to staff member from the social work office in the residential unit, the vacancies experienced are due to the informal flee of two of the youngest residents in summer

2020. This statement was further commented by the same staff member indicating that leaving the shelter to continue the journey isn't an uncommon phenomenon for unaccompanied minors *stranded* in Greek territory. *"They are free to leave if they want, but if they do they severely jeopardize their chances of coming back*" he said. Under that light, residents-unaccompanied refugee minors do not move as per family reunification, or other relocation, schemes only but do follow travel trajectories where they take upon informal routes to reach their desired destination. On a side note, I had been briefly introduced to one of these former residents during his skype chat with another resident of the unit in his new shelter in Switzerland. His precarious journey had been successful and he reached his final destination.

As indicated earlier, the living conditions of this *de facto,* in the legal sense, vulnerable group of displaced persons do not easily access the *appropriate care* facilities in place. From staying in adults and family camps in the islands and near the borders, or even being detained for months in end (see case MSS v Belgium and Greece), the residents of the facility where the field research was conducted comprise a quarter of the few thousands unaccompanied minors still residing, or stranded, in Greek territory. This kind of exceptionally well/ appropriate treatment is demonstrative of the precarity of their status and life chances that unaccompanied refugee minors incessantly face. It is, also, very important to comprehend their advantageous position, overall, in comparison to what is most commonly the case for their age, status, origin and gender group. Given their living conditions, unaccompanied minors residing at the shelter/ or (my) boys as I've been calling them, have gained access to a variety of services that surpass the *praxis* of what's available for most of the persons of their category but (under) that which is normatively, juridicopolitically administered for them. This workshop, then, is an exception aiming to compensate for their educational gap and limited access to varied leisure activities, as well as familiarization with art (deemed high and above).

Instigating their own interests within the limited space and protocols for their age, origin, gender and status, as well as complying with the Co-vid pandemic, from the second week of the field research the possibility of experimenting with performance has been, unfortunately, eliminated. Ultimately, to infer that the workshop, and research, participants have acquired an advantage concerning the administration and (respect) of their right to adequate accommodation compared to the majority of their peers in Greece, is only useful as a watershed moment of the deep, vast and complex precarity of their condition they face as a

population group day by day. What's important in an educational perspective is that they are susceptible to that discrimination.

As a group they are comprised by persons belonging to different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, creeds and races, as well as their language acquisition and their previous schooling experiences indeterminably vary (thus, their cultural, and therefore their educational as well, capital varies). Hereby, it's important to note few of the challenges, emerged and inherent, in the conceptualization and implementation of the first stage of the visual arts' workshop which through the project method is coined 'inquiry'. Project-based learning relies heavily in the composition of each group, namely the interests, skills and cognitive, mental, emotional and social capacities of each group member should be taken into consideration (Chrysafides, 2009).

The first obstacle worthy of discussion is whether a visual and/ or performing arts' workshop opposed/disrespected any one's of the potential participants beliefs based on their nationality, ethnicity, religion, creed and/ or race. As much of the process of project-based learning, aiming at experiential learning, heads to each participant personal characteristics and beliefs, the idea of implementing a visual arts workshop where human figures and portraits are represented disregards the Islamic aniconism, i.e. the prohibition of idolatry (Esposito, 2011:14-5), a notion shared by some Muslim people. Islamic objection to figurative representations resounds Byzantine iconoclasm and judaic aniconism based on "the belief that the creation of living forms is unique to God" (MOMA, n.d). Fortunately, this challenge received a quick, simple, and two-fold response. The first part of the answer to this problematic relates with the choices of décor in the shelter, two posters where young people are depicted were hang on the common rooms on each floor, and, similarly, famous people's posters decorated the interior of many dorms. Apart from that, in the very first meeting held in the common room, during the introductory activity entitled "blank paper dread", many of the participants instead of scribbling words drew human figures and portraits. Thus, visual representation[24] of living beings wasn't a prohibition, at least, not for every resident of the shelter.

Another major concern, rapidly resolved too, was the level of familiarization with activities pertaining to drama, theatre and performing arts in general. I wanted to introduce my participants to the principles of audio-visual narratives simple from *tableaux vivants* to puppetry performances. The initial lack of experience of the residents during the first two

[24]In a similar vein, residents watched movies and played video games with human-like characters, some of which were also copied during the main stage of the workshop activities.

weeks of meetings which were held simultaneously at the residence's classroom and the common rooms, could be subdued, eventually, by two (inter-related) conditions. The first one required a duration of the workshop that would be, at least, twice as long as the eighteen (18) meetings in order to scaffold through the types and contents of visual, and audial, narratives. This first condition/ limitation required much preparation on my behalf as the coordinator, but, I'd say it was feasible to attain. The second pre-requirement for that type of the workshop's implementation was the loosening of the restrictions relating to the pandemic, i.e. a situation where the participants could gesticulate, make grimaces, 'fall through' in trust exercises and in general, enhance and refine elements of the physical touch. Contrary to my most optimistic projections the exact opposite occurred after the very first week. By September 15th 2020, the residential unit was required to observe stricter rules due to the aggravated public health emergency. In effect all physical touch was prohibited, face masks should have been worn at all indoor spaces and the number of residents per common space. For details on the workshop's stages, topics and participation see Annex.

The Onlooker Through the Looking Glass

My response to the feminist call for research and academic reflexivity, transparency and accountability, this section aims to illuminate, firstly, my instructional composure, and through this (declaration) to illustrate my (perceived) critical position in regards to the population under study. (As this research starts as a lack and/ or a failure) I should start honestly: I just wanted to play with foreign kids, get to know them and have a good time together. I thought: "I had such a good time playing some times, and, in contrast, I have such a hard time finding playmates as an adult because it's well established that "when you grow old, your heart dies."[25] My willingness to play and teach provided enough reasons and justification for the undertaking of this research. Reasons were plentiful; undoubtedly marginalized, often victims of excessive violence and definitely victims of the power of *deterrence*, even their visibility in the past century (in Europe) hasn't managed to avoid, as recently as 2015, going *missing* (MacGregor, 2022). The justification, was more of a complex and practical issue, possibly, the limitations, barriers and risks in this research serve as an indication.

This endeavor is undertaken as a qualitative research project; designed to investigate/ explore the shifts, swifts and tensions of concurrent/ co-present institutions/ systems which condition the leisure time choices of workshop participants. Implementing a(n) (living)

[25] Breakfast club reference, coming to mean things to me from the same titled song from musician the Boy.

educational (theory) action research by coordinating a visual arts' workshop housed in their shelter with non-compulsory participation and no other pre-requisites was something I could conduct. I have personally and academically been, so often, dizzied with wonder and awe at the (lack of) leisure choices available (for free) and continuously being taught and instructed performative and visual arts activities. I need to highlight that I'm capable of undertaking such an endeavor both in my capacity as an educator and my experience of mobility, understanding that (the bond of) care and the (weight of relocation due to displacement) are different. "The inaugural experience of moral is (accounting) [t]he divergence [which] is always between the universal and the particular, and it becomes the condition for moral questioning" (Butler, 2005:9).

The purpose of this manuscript, though, is not to understand or assess neither my morality nor the pedagogical ethos productive of this particular educational intervention. Within the scope of this research I have elaborated on the functions in the discrepancies between theory and practice, by focusing on the emergent incidents, trials and tribulations during my educational praxis. However, my sensitivities, insecurities and vagueness have unequivocally and inescapably informed this praxis. These personality traits affect my pedagogical comportment and forge a particular engagement from the participants. My physical appearance is also significant in the type, limitations and nature of conduct for the persons involved. Let me note here that I'm a very round-headed, round-faced, round-nosed and round-eyed, curly hair, small-built on the low tail of the average height person with a worked and intentional voice, my hair, eyes and labia hued in tones of cinnamon or olive.[26] So, as much as I am insecure or anxious, I'm equally playful, experimental, lenient and expressive, even, one would stretch, dramatic.

> "In 1998, Lauryn Hill titled her first solo album The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill. She says: "You know Miseducation … you know? uhm, hmm, uhm… Everyday it means something more to me…, actually. People automatically thought, oh! my, she must have done something about the teachers and teaching thing, but that, that wasn't it. Uhm, the meaning behind it, it was really sort of, eh, of a catch and me learning that when I

[26] In Indonesia, the skin colour (or hue) I was most often ascribed to was *sawomudah* or *kuning*, i.e. the *canistel/ cupcake or egg fruit* (Pouteria campechiana) or *yellow*. *Kuning* (yellow) was written in my first official residence permit in November 2011, while my eyes were *cokelat* (chocolate-y/ brown) and hair colour*sawomatang* (Pouteria campechiana). In subsequent residential permits in Septembers 2015 and 2017, my skin colour was *putih* (white, Caucasian) and my eyes and hair colour*scokelat*. I've been often told that my skin colour of the first instance *sawomatang* is the skin colour of the Javanese aristocracy *(priyayi*, in my case, *Solo*). My best friend during my second stay in Indonesia (2015-8) from Rwanda named Olive, was ascribing me, often, *olive* skin tone as hers, and differentiated between as my *olive skin* was of the young fruits skin, and *hers* of the mature. But *olive* for Olive could be hue interpreted from the young fruit's warm green yellow colour

> thought I was my most wise, I was really not wise at all. And that in my humility, you know, and in those places that most people wouldn't expect the lesson to come from, that's where I learned so much. And, uh, you know, and, so, I turn the phrase Miseducation, you know, not because it was a miseducation per se, it was just because it was sort of contrary to what the world said this is, this is, education, you know? It was this education that came from life and experience, you know, not necessarily academic, all academic, but related to living." (Academy of Achievement, 04:03-04:23).

This thesis and research topic is timely, as the growing interest of scholars and policy makers bring unaccompanied minors and their issues in the forefront. Yet, being visibly recognized as a particularly vulnerable category has neither necessarily improved their material conditions nor the imminent threat of deportation after reaching the age of maturity. That means that my interactions with foreign boys who live in a residential house in Athens by 2020 has occurred out of some coincidence of them being recognized as such under the dominant and populous point of view. However, that doesn't mean that children on the move are a twenty-first century novelty, explaining the temporally emerged interest in them. Their invisibility until recently indicates the not all-encompassing constitution of a person. This is, in some way, a negation that existence and conscience are the same functions of a coin, or that a subject is substituted as such by its interpellation (Althusser), or that hierarchies come to serve a sole opinion and can acquire a singular interpretation.

Whether "boys have been boys" before calling them boys is a question that doesn't have, in and of itself, any particular true statement as a response. At the same time that as a pondering it isn't futile to explore through self-reflection and open dialogue, without its lack of definite answer rendering it outside of the realm of (human) curiosity and/ or meaning. This type of holistic approach on knowledge encompasses the treatment of subjective identities and experiences as "uncertain, fluid, open to interpretation, and able to be revised" (Adams, 2009; Ellis, 2009; Goodall, 2006; Holman-Jones, 2010; Wyatt, 2010 Cf in Adams & Jones, 2011:110) and in the emergent properties of their (re)production "social existence and social consciousness are seen as an… ensemble… [of] a hierarchy of determination: bodies are prior to or determinate of thought" (Camfield, 2015:298). This principle and praxis is what informed and was investigated during the workshop I conducted with unaccompanied minors of the particular residential unit which everyone called 'house', yet no one, except me, called it 'shelter' or 'home'.

Chapter 4 Being with Boys in Practice

Trust: How can you be a shoulder to cry on when you'll soon melt into thin air?

Comings and goings in and from the shelter is a process in which everyone partakes, staff, beneficiaries, volunteers, for a variety of reasons, thus making the shelter a crossroads in a constant state of flux. And, despite the fact of being able to enter and exit, contrary, thus, to strict regimes of detention and *outside* free time in other (asylums and residential) facilities, such as prisons and (refugee) camps which include geographical restrictions, a very specific coming and going was the one pertaining to *relocation*. During my field research, three new residents have arrived at the shelter from the islands and the mainland. All these newly relocated residents entered the shelter approximately two weeks since I had already started conducting the workshop. As with other residents, upon their arrival, they were cordially invited to participate and try the workshop at least once.

Eventually, only one person, a 15-year old relocation from a similar residential unit at the second largest Greek city, has opted to participate in the classes for about 12 sessions, making him Participant 3, as a usual of the workshop. Being tagged as participant 3 is due to both, ethical (non-identification safeguarding the no harm principle) reasons, as well as to demonstrate that by (at least sheer amount of time and) interactions between the student and the coordinator, I had forged a personal relationship with, and in effect responsibility to, him. Participant 3 was fluent in French language, while he faced issues expressing himself in English, where the language skills he had acquired coincided with levels A1 and 2, allowing only (epigrammatic) *essential* needs to be communicated but hindered comprehension of the instructions of each task of each activity, and explanations, descriptions and commentary of the finished works of art. In as much as I was able to accommodate, and with the help of google translate, used also in other instances, such as for persons whose language I wasn't able to speak, read or write, I have provided French language interpretation. Thus, when he participated I have been simultaneously holding the workshops in English and French.

Here, I will only note that the introduction of a second language of instruction sparked various linguistic questions and promoted a more open dialogue where participants, usuals and one-two-timers, frequently inquired also about the local, Greek, language. This issue is further elaborated at the last unit of this chapter discussing particular issues pertaining to the specific branch of 'ethics of care' that has emerged during the research.

Participant 3, apart from being partly francophone, was also a very talented individual where visual arts' were concerned. He had a good capacity of representing, almost,

realistically human figures, postures, facial chaacteristics, an established and cultivated sense of depth, and an aesthetically consistent compositional stance. Briefly put, implementing a visual arts' workshop with a person as visually artistic as he is, was a bliss and a challenge. I believe/ come to think that my previous statement has also been (all-around) obvious to him and to the other participants. To halt my tendency of favoritism and/ or to introduce more advanced visual tasks especially designed for him, I had, from the third meeting onward, obsessed with allocating time equally between all those present and moderated discussions where every single one could bring at least one thing/ theme/ habit on the table. Fortunately, despite my disciplined severity on following this time rule, this hasn't hindered the personal relationships previously fostered with the usuals and one-two-timers, neither the one, we've been delicately shaping, with participant 3. Partly, this safekeeping of the bi-subjective relationships could be attributed to the co-creation of rules, my overall lenience as a coordinator and the (intensive) availability I have endorsed prior and to, an extent, throughout the workshop.

At the same time, the use of a language which participant 3 could easily understand quickly led to an open, and more common, expression of complaints such as "Here in Athens people don't speak French" or "How will they get to know me when I just listen?" from him. These comments were answered by other members of the workshop usually and at times, it sparked more complaints on their living circumstances conditioning them presently and their future opportunities, such as "Greek people don't even speak English", "There are some that really don't like us being here", "What kind of job can you find? Better to move". My role was often to moderate the conversation if it was getting out of hand with everyone speaking at the same time and I seldom commented on those complaints and when I did I was stating possibilities, e.g. varieties of working sectors, or ambiguities, "Aren't I Greek?", or reassuring comments, "I'm very glad you are around" (and I meant it).

To better understand the circumstances of the confidential incident described here, I need to delineate my own personal intentions and story more clearly, as well as my teaching *idiosyncrasies* (flourished/ juxtaposed) by commonly received comments indicative of my characteristics, lest characteristics that, obviously, I can personall*y* perceive. So, what's my story (;) morning glory? *Mine* is simple. I needed to break out of a no-longer functional (conjugal) relationship. I chose to do a master's because I love being a student. I'm never the teacher's pet. Nor do I have any (of them) when I teach. I like more or less sides of students (and teachers), but, and, there lies my optimism, I'm open to surprises and I always find something nice (/ to appreciate) in everyone (and everything). Never am I, as an adult or at

least as long as I remember, unable to do the latter. This quality of an open optimist outlook, combined with my wallowing/ galloping imagination expressed verbally through non-conventional farfetched examples, makes me usually perceived like an oddity by others. For teachers, students, dogs and lovers, the main discourse of what I (re)present is based on 'neither this nor that', for example a decade earlier a young student confidently declared to their mother "Lydia is neither a grown-up nor a child, mom". I always hoped they'd add "*Because* Lydia's (so) keen on playing".

In a similar fashion, the BOYS repeatedly asked me "Where do you come from?". In the most populous session, counting 9 of them (unable to fit the classroom we used the corridor's desks as well), I replied with a question "Well, what does it matter?" and fished answers like "to know" but also "Why are you here?" Why was I there? At times, when I was hurriedly answering "From Athens", their puzzled looks were explained by comments on my not-so-Greek accent, and on other occasions their confusion was followed by some kind of disappointment. I wished they'd ask "Why do you care?" so I could have justifiably and in heart(y)-warming manner entitled this section as such. But, I'd like to draw back the attention to the disappointment. Accustomed as I am to tuning to emotional states, when my prediction of discontent was accurate it often lead to be seen as a confidant who could to stories of dissatisfaction, disappointment and trauma. This role of the listener/ receiver/ mediator, which during the question of my origins has recursively felt being (brought) into the surface, could not be followed by a generalized dissatisfaction with their current living conditions unless it was about Greek society (and its people) at large. It was not my decision to make. In order to conduct this workshop and research, I had agreed to keep a firm stance of not intervening neither enabling discussion concerning their complaints or injuries related to their residing (i.e. living) circumstances in this or any other unit where they had and (has been) shelter(ing) them.

I worked hard trying to dodge these types of *confessions*. The distance and my Other-ness was exemplified by my limitations. It wasn't easy, but it was plausible. When I refused to promise help, soon communication would halt. To avoid being let down, I believe for example, that 15-year old Participant 1 never tried to make me feel uncomfortable with his grievances. A newcomer asked me in the corridor to explain his relocation case to the court – I refused he never spoke of it again, and to me, just in French, just because. I did well enough to have the first month and a half without any major revelations and on the two occasions when there were revelations related to living conditions and stories of other I was asked to weigh in to. Yet, one such instance of confession delved deep into feelings of discontent all

the way into trauma, possible migration decisions and threats of (self-)harm. It was, undoubtedly, the one that hit me the most and was delivered by participant 3, two weeks before the sudden wrapping up of the workshop under public health excuses, i.e. the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic.

In the first month of participant's 3 residency at the shelter it was evident I was the closest adult he had in Athens. He was waiting for me to arrive and chat those five minutes I was preparing for the meeting's activities, eager to assist with carrying the material, inviting other residents, tidying the classroom. We have bonded over our shared love for old school hip hop, he introduced me to his favorite French rapper, and at times, participant 1,3 and I were singing along the songs he was playing as a musical background. On the mid-October meeting when we constructed a two-dimensional marionette from a previously traced full-body figure I've noticed that participant 3 (a) hasn't acquired a stable grip using scissors prolonging significantly the time required to complete the task of cutting the figure out (i.e. fine motor skills deficiency/ familiarization), as well as (b) he seemed overly overwhelmed and unable to concentrate. During this meeting there were three more participants, participant 1 and two two-timers, also making the follow-up figurine. While every other participant completed the task relatively quickly, explained what they were planning to do with the puppet, participant 3 was still struggling to cut through the upper body part. When all other participants finished and exited the classroom, I turned to participant 3 and inquired about the exercise and his current condition. He forcibly let the scissors down banging at the wooden table and said "I can't do it" to which I've responded that I'm willing to provide him with the necessary assistance if he wanted to complete the task, but that it wasn't compulsory for him to continue if he didn't feel like it maintaining, though, that he ought not to be as upset about it because we do this for fun and repeated "are you upset about the figurine?".

For reasons pertaining to the confidentiality both in terms of content and the protocols at place, I will not expound on the specificities of the conversation following my question of whether he was upset and the reasons he felt this way. Suffice to say that he hasn't been upset because of any activity related to the workshop itself but for personal reasons. It took him two questions to get to the point and a minute of staring intently at my eyes. His statement was on point and his reasons and attitude to me seemed, simultaneously, a justifiable cry for help and a (possible reason for) self-harm. An important detail is that during the conversation I was cutting out the pieces of his puppet while he was pressing the scissors' blades against his fingertips. The pair of scissors was children-friendly and could only cut paper, but, indeed, I didn't disarm him off it. Instead, I was there witnessing his harmless self-harming attempt

focusing on understanding the extent and content of the traumatic event that was communicated to me and looking back at him.I was shocked to the core with his testimony/ confession but superficially maintained a calm and collected tone adhering to his grievances by (superficially?) commiserating. Another important note is that participant's 3 confession entailed the commemoration of a specific life event on a specific date – which was just a week later. When threats of (self) harm were mentioned, I was advised to seek guidance from the social work team, especially the residential unit's psychologist, not to allow the conversation to deepen into more traumatic events and not to promise any help or give any advice. I told him all the above and gave him time to confide to the psychologist prior to the aforementioned date. He asked me not to say anything to anyone, because no one else understands and knows here in this unit, and I repeated that I cannot escape my agreement with the social work team. He wasn't as upset as he had arrived, but he requested of me to let him handle it. At the end, I left the residential unit by cursing my crushed soul out loud while random passers-by watched me kicking the curb of the road tearing.

In the following meeting, participant 3 was cheerful and stayed longer to tell me that he thanked me for not saying anything to which I firmly repeated that by our next time I will be obliged to mention that to the psychologist if he hasn't yet. I could see he was getting upset and I told him that he does look upset adding that since I'm not here all the time (the main caregiver) it is important for the persons who help and guide him through his everyday living in the residential unit to know when something is troubling him. We sung our song and cheered up a bit before closing, but I was unsure of what was the appropriate set of following actions – I could see that participant 3 was social in the shelter, but I could also tell that he wasn't close to any other person, staff or resident, in particular.

I tried to find the psychologist the same evening, but his shift was due before the workshop so I left once more fearful that if I don't say anything participant 3 was capable of inflicting (self) harm on the commemoration of the confided occasion and unable to believe that my breaching of his trust will result to a(ny) different outcome. I exited, again, cursing now my position in this whole ordeal of a situation and absolutely certain that I'd have to *tell on* participant 3 to the psychologist who wouldn't be discreet and, thus, I would lose a participant in the process. Eventually, the following Tuesday I entered the social work team's office well before the workshop, asked the psychologist to talk in private, we closed the door, filled him in the (actually) current commemoration and threats of self-harm. For the next two days, participant 3 was present, and then, this was participant's 3 last week of meetings attended. What bothers me most is that due to coronavirus pandemic, this was our previous to

last week of the workshop and this very weekend I organized our first, and final, field trip in a retrospective exhibition of a female Greek artist as the concluding activity. Participant 3 missed it. Most probably I did. I missed him on this excursion. And felt the weight of responsibility weakening my knees and heavy on my shoulders. Have I protected him by letting him down?

Binaries, hybri(d)s, compound, wor(l)ds , rules and aliens

Making the other

A key problematic that emerged during the first few sessions at the House (shelter) was how to ignite interest in the boys for the workshop, especially as project-based pedagogy requires inquiry of the (participants) interests and skill-sets. What can happen if there's no one participating? How much can different participants' interests and skill-sets diverge in this particular (about to be/ recently) formulated group? How to bridge those deviations under the same topic inquiry without neither functioning on a two-gear program nor arranging activities that can reduce the interest of any participant?

Fortunately, during the meetings I had almost always successfully reserved participants. The two meetings that, for exceptional (and not so exceptional) reasons, [27] I had no participants, the social services team volunteered to have a longer session and receive feedback on the beneficiaries' daily activities beyond the researcher's (mine) visiting times. Three participants usually orbited about during the workshop's hours, and, often, two or three more entered every once in a while, without committing fully. Note here, that although significant I haven't investigated the attitudes and reasons of those who have tried the workshop but decided not to participate. Primary concern has been to lock participants in most, if not all, meetings, and, secondarily, to attempt a congruous and cohesive flow to the workshop's topic. In that sense simply put, the project-based of the aesthetic workshop had, to my opinion and design, first ascertain there's a workshop and then, the pedagogical choice and/of the topic selection.

The first meeting took place on the ground floor living room under the guidance of one of the caregivers with few boys who were roaming the corridors, out of the rooms and out of bed, as it was often said at the shelter.[28] As briefly mentioned in the last chapter in Footnote 29, I'm a racially ambiguous individual. My queerness prevails and is established not only through my physical characteristics, but, also, in my cryptic and multisemantic

[27] 'Being in Bed/ Asleep' 'Out(door) Activities' 'Doing Chores'
[28] The three young (15) boys gang: 1. Calling me 'Man' 2. Refusing to come: Hidding, Shutting the Door

speech acts, in my rectangularly expressed gait to understate the lines of my curves.[29] That's what I jokingly call my 'lil'shortie' baggy elegance, because the layering occurs with a variety of mostly significantly oversized office (chic and *sic*) attire; a bit quirky, a bit childish, a bit androgynous, all and none of the above.

My racial ambiguity and queerness have both come up during the course of the fieldwork. The first one, as briefly indicated above, was a questioning / exploration for an ascription exercised by the workshop participants, while the latter occurred in interactions with other members of the facility, residents and staff. I think it's no coincidence that each ascription unfolded within the spaces it did. My boys (participants) were keen to hear me explain to me my accent, my face, my interest in them. They were eager to understand my comportment and my intentions in the classroom of the residential unit and my research object(ive)s. I don't know if I was ever told or felt sexualized explicitly or implicitly by the boys in the classroom – I was the adult they were the minors. But, since I have no field notes jotted on the subject, it mustn't have been a striking event. Anyway, in this explicit advancement I often respond rudely enough to not be repeated and let me rest at peace. I can and have controlled and coordinated the designed classroom into an environs where questions of love, discussed and brought up by many of us, including me, wasn't directly associated with its romantic type. Admittedly, influenced by my recent repatriation where I moved back in with my parents and their own collective shared living conditions, the discussion of love often referred to the intimacy co-created with other live-ins / housemates; or, because of the workshop of its centrality as a theme depicted in visual arts and the sentiment I have for arts and leisure activities.

My sexualization wasn't only carried out by the member of the staff in the following episode, but the boys in common rooms ascribing me my sexual orientation or misgendering me, didn't feel like flirting. It was more about being seen as an oddity/ queer presence – why was I around? Why could they come and go in the classroom? Why didn't I answer question? How many questions could I answer? Was I of any help? I intended to engage with other residents during my commuting to and fro the residential classroom. In September (2020), I often arrived twenty minutes to half an hour early, with a coffee and a cigarette in each hand I was sitting at their backyard. Many times I was accompanied by conversation with one of the residents, or I was introducing myself to the care-taker's team members, as a researcher-

[29] This type of movement is a habit I picked upon in my first staying in Indonesia (2011-2) where my 90s-catwalk-inspired gait was too prominent, observed and commented upon not to be adjusted into something that would allow me to muddle in public, feeling secure being on my own and traveling solo.

volunteer. Often, the boys with whom I talked haven't participated in the workshop. Indeed, I was fishing for participants, obviously enough, that they had to ask me about the workshop, offer a justification for not participating.[30] They also asked me where do I come from, and when I said I was born and studied in Athens, they were asking me for recommendations of neighborhood's and monuments to visit. I liked that, and wanted to find a way to take them to Acropolis.

Commuting out of the classroom, also, involved interactions, stops, introductions and conversations. The first couple of weeks it was fully intentional, trying to recruit/ entice enough attendance to make sense for it to be available. This semi-organized and planned schedule, often involved one of the two common rooms and a board or (κινητικό) play, where I gloriously participated in order to intentionally lose. Unfortunately, by mid-September the changing health protocols for the CO-vid 19 pandemic, minimized the capacity of the common spaces to up to five persons, and, thus, my way out of the classroom didn't involve further socializing or playing.

In one such instance, some two-three timers and two other boys, where the lingua franca among them was Farsi, were sitting at the common room of the first floor. They all belonged to the two ethnic groups which at the moment attended the biweekly compulsory Sexual Education classes for their age group and ethnical background, occurring just an hour before two of my workshop's sessions. One of the one-two-timers, the one who actually assisted me with language interpretation with the other two one-two-timers of the same linguistic group, stopped me while I was passing the dim-lit common room. He boldly addressed me: "Sir, is it LGBT or LBGT?" to which I responded, equally clearly: "Well, all I know of is LGBTQIA+, but I guess it can be both LGBT and LBGTdepending on the language I suppose. In Greek, for example, it's ΛΟΑΤΚΙ+."

Another resident, one of the two that weren't attending any of my workshop classes was googling both abbreviations (?), comparing his search results with the ones I was showing him in mine and kind of jokingly, while the rest were heatedly debating in their lingua franca wherefrom I could only infer the abbreviations repeated once as LGBT and the next in its LBGT forms. So, the guy who addressed me first, now said: "But, bro, it's one thing! Is it LGBT or LBGT?". I quit giggling, looked straight into his eyes and uttered "It can either lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender, or lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender, or

[30] They've often claimed by being occupied with a more, or less, compulsory activity that clashed with the workshop's time schedule, such as studying, hanging out in real life or virtually, playing (video)games with friends, going for a walk, language classes, looking into their cases, appointment with social work office staff, asylum interview appointments, to name a few indicatively.

transgender, bisexual, lesbian and gay, or however else you'd like to order it, and by the way, you know my name's Lydia, brother X!" I was used to the response I've got, "Okay, sister, bye!" – and all I could deep appropriate to do was to leave.

c. Coming to be nicknamed non-binary and lesbian: the incident at the social work office

THE INCIDENT

Before the fifth workshop' meeting I was outside the social work office waiting for a caretaker to unlock the classroom from me. A meeting was just concluded, I said hi I'm waiting outside, a social worker and the psychologist were talking, and the former said to the latter "It didn't go well. (Incomprehensible mutter) …it's almost sexual harassment…". I was outside goggle-eyed and then, the caretaker pointed at me with the keys at hand and addressed me saying "I will now unlock, right?" Both the caretaker and caregiver faced me from across the doorway on the dark corridor where I was standing with my red back-pack, a purple plastic box with colourful IKEA stamps thrusting and a (3mx0.40) paper roll. They laughed in-awkwardness and I did the same saying "Well, now, that I've eavesdropped *sexual harassment,* obviously, I want to know. Will you explain?" The social worker laughed and claimed that it isn't as important or relevant as it sounded and, thus, I can forget (about) it. I smiled condescendingly, said goodbye, and followed the caretaker upstairs to the classroom (which is my space and had a workshop on designing a human figure). The social work team's shift lasts until 19:00, so, on my way out at about 20:00, I had no one involved in the incident to ask for further clarification.

THE FOLLOW UP INCIDENT

Just before the sixth workshop meeting, I received a group message announcement declaring that currently every person's temperature is tested in the entrance of the facility, and, that wearing a mask in all the common spaces is obligatory. I entered from the front door with my mask on. The same caretaker and social worker were sitting at the office and invited me in for a short chat. As I fail to recognize, at times, the chit chat conversations and the times of formal meetings with a specific purpose, I entered replying that "Of course, I am very good, how about you? The new quarantine?". There was a response which eluded me from its moment of utterance, as my agenda was to ask "What was the talk of sexual harassment about?". Dumbfounded both, they stared at me while I continued "Well, talk of sexual harassment is significant to my field of studies, thus, it makes sense for me to inquire further what exactly was the phrase referring to. In brief, possibly, maybe, ahem…, I don't know this in Greek, I mean, why did you say "this was limitedly a sexual harassment?".

The social office staff responded that he doesn't understand what I meant but that the guys had SexEd earlier that day, as well as last week (which I knew and recorded, SEE:), and that, there are three questions about sexual(ity) issues: sexual harassment, sexual exploration and sexual orientation. "What do you want to know?" I was (of course and exploratory) interested at the exploration of issues. For example, do they have now or have they ever had openly non-binary persons residing in the shelter, whether this was the primary reasoning their asylum application and who is responsible to decide their placement in which (domes) the social work team of the shelter, the scientist in charge in their organization or EKKA. The social worker replied that they had not an NB/ NC person residing in the shelter.

I further inquired if there are persons openly belonging to the LGBTQI+ community. They both looked at each other. First, the social worker responded by saying "Not *per se* belonging to the community, but we have… have we?" looking at the caretaker who nodded and moved his head from side to side inquisitively, eventually declining to make a sound but obviously negating but staying puzzled (He didn't know I was doing my research). The social worker took upon this notion to lean forward in their chair, and they said they knew at least one person currently, possibly, maybe, *y'kn'w?* but that they had many residents (boys) who have been having relations with (other) men. Those cases were framed singularly as abusive sexual relations which, actually, shifted us to the previous point of harassment. "When I talk about harassment, I mean from coercion to abuse to **rape** (emphatically). Even right now there are residents who have survived rape."

I was shocked. The conversation continued along the lines and likes of 'if there's a participant who is a rape survivor, I'd like to know. It might be useful for the way I structure activities, especially movement activities[31]. But okay, with the new regulations, I shouldn't be doing the games at the terrace, instead, I'll do temperas today in the classroom with masks on. What you said before was rape (that I will not touch, because I'm late) and someone attracted or engaging in non-heteronormative sexual acts, right? How do you get to know this piece of information? Is it as part of their application? Counseling? Observation?"

"Well, all three of them. In some cases, it is as part of the individual beneficiaries private records, but also, many times, they come for counselling and then, of course, to assess

[31] ['*Can I <u>blindfold</u> them?*' I mean, there's the possibility of organizing GUESS WHAT? which is a game where the player is offered to hear, smell, touch and taste things while blindfolded. It's a simple game that enriches the present-moment attention and it can be titillating (intellectually/ mentally, emotionally, sensually and sexually) for many a player and features as a (characteristic of many) types of persons (/characters). I still haven't acquired permission to organize such a game. It's interesting how much while in action there's so many different conundrums that it becomes increasingly hard to surpass (and there lies the vulnerability, the world ills and all the possible complications of living as an unaccompanied minor, is making virtually the simplest thing trivial. And, so I understand how overworked and not at ease the shelter's staff must have been feeling.]

this information is part of our job descriptions." To which I replied explicitly: "I want to go back to the moment of 'sexual harassment' what was the event that phrase referred to? Or, can I know about it?"

The caretaker, less puzzled, looked at us both giggling as if welcoming the response delivered by the caregiver "It's going to be most probably an office joke, or, possibly, a gossip, or else it might be about the supervisor who travelled to…, or maybe, possibly, an actual sexual harassment." They both laughed and it was my turn to look puzzled and confused by the lack of specificity and the breadth of possib(i)l(liti)e(s and) answers. "So, indeed, I'm focused on the boys and, unfortunately, I am not very interested in office chatter unless you intend or want to include me. Can I presume? What was this 'sexual harassment' about? Are there (reported) cases in the shelter? And, who conducts such behavioral practices?[32]"

The social worker continued replying that sexual harassment as he said earlier is a prominent reality for unaccompanied minors who as persons of consecutive and informal border crossings reportedly run higher risk of such injuries. He added that, in deed and indeed, what I've overheard was not about the residents. "Then, please, let me repeat that I do not take issue with anyone else but the residents in here, even more so, the truth is only the ones who participate at my workshop. I mean, I can better organize when I am in-the-know. So, sexual harassment discussion aside, I'm interested in whether there's currently any person who's (a) member of the LGBTQI+ community in the shelter/" I have said, hoping for a direct answer (to any of my 'gender' and 'sexuality' related queries) which was unexpectedly addressed with a quick and witty come-back.

I wouldn't have predicted the following answer. Let me note here that despite having 'socialized' with caregivers and social office's staff regarding my action research, the visual arts workshop, (CEU) gender studies and the reasons behind my presence in their work environment, I did so in my best acknowledgement and understanding in hopes of establishing a friendly and charmingly welcome environment in our interactions. I have also attempted to limit more informal (in-depth and multiple) connections in order to create, also, a safer environment (adhering to my sense of respect *in practice*) and un-do, avoid encountering and forge more complex, opaque and ubiquitous disclosures that would put me

[32] 'Who conducts such behavioral practices?' is formulated with a similar intention to its paraphrasis 'who are the (reported) perpetrators?'. It is indicative of the tone and style I have chosen as apt to lead this interaction with the staff. I'd say that my tactics required to position myself in a clear-cut researcher standpoint as eloquent, polite and precise as possible, which meant I had to often restate my capacity and reach of someone in the field (or outside-looking-in). (Re)sounding (like) a heartless objective.

and anyone in the shelter in a precarious or uncomfortable situation where instances become so thick that I, for instance in this instance, wanted to quit my research.. In short, I took issue with creating fluid communication but remain unbothered and not susceptible to attempts which became more personal, i.e. instances of flirting, friendly or amorous advances. The core of this incident is the answer to my not so direct question seeking for a differently blunt response which simply was "That being said, are you interested in a particular employ?" The genderless rendering of the Greek phrase "κάποι**α** συγκεκριμέν**η** εργαζόμεν**η**" [33] doesn't sufficiently explain the naughty giggle that followed this utterance by all the interlocutors.

The question to my question played with my ascribed sexuality without prior or further inquiry; an assumption of *deviance* (desires and practices) grounded on first and formal impressions. I was alarmed, I was, indeed. I double-checked to recall every outfit I ever worn in the shelter. I was purposefully dressed modestly a strategy picked upon from my time living in Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia, deemed (appropriate) for the time spent with (marginalized) youth in an environment where my being 'a person like a woman' was overwhelmingly outnumbered. But my 'dressing modestly' is to diverge the sight from the curves and angles of the physical figure, to fit my sense of style and comportment I often wore two-three layers with a bottom part covering my knees when standing and an oversized second layer without many translucent pieces, ensembles I called 'lil'shortie' in English or 'σκάω σαν ράπερ' in Greek. Besides, my choice of clothing was practical, baggy and flowy and (all-round-covered) I could expose only the parts I was eventually comfortable with and I could engage in physical activities, a (pre)requisite of drama and theatre education (without flushing stretched out pants and seams). Such a trivial point to trivialize what you're dressed in – by doing so, you stay in appearances (*sic*).

Apart from my initial reaction and approval of my 'researcher' wardrobe, this inuendo has also (trumpled down) a re-evaluation of my non-verbal communication. Am I too nice, friendly, warm, smiley, giggly, charming, trying to hard, cracking jokes, aethereal or carnal, clumsy, cute, worried, happy, sad, confused, the frequency-distance-tone-, of my voice, the contortions of my arms and legs, my (standing pose), the air in my hair and my low-centered walk, the (interrogative/ inquiring) gaze… Did I look too smart or too helpless? Have I, finally, appeared for someone as (the object of desire)? The bluntest truth is that 'lil' shortie' the soft-spoken eccentrically preppy man(ner) in this '*rapper*' persona (version of myself) I

[33] "κάποι**α**συγκεκριμέν**η**εργαζόμεν**η**" meansanyparticular (female) employee, i.e. in Greek language the nominal phrase, adjective and noun, are gendered female, or in other words a woman, I, is asked if she is interested to another woman, the employee."

sincerely incarnated/embodied also had a quick-wit moment when restating for the second or third time that as long as something is outside my re(se)a(r)ch I wouldn't engage in it nor (re)search about it. I said "Well, if the 'sexual harassment' talk isn't about the boys, but about the staff, I really don't care unless it's me"[34].

Conclusions

This thesis draws upon the history of population movements and existential presence of displaced persons in Greek territory to map the genealogy of institutions, protections and social attitudes about the skills, abilities and qualities of aliens, and, unaccompanied minors in particular. Focusing on their right to education and access to extra-curricular activities, as well as their residence, I review and re-observe the descriptions of the risk and harm they continue to endure. The refugee youth's precarious living conditions is substantiated by a simultaneous bringing together and binding the policy worlds in the first two chapters and the lived realities of unaccompanied minors and stakeholders in the ensuing ones. Administered protections in the level of institutional provisions, nationally and internationally, blur the reality under which unaccompanied minors forge a specific relation to the persons surrounding them and with their host state. Measures of deterrence and the lack of state structures safeguarding, in practice, unaccompanied minors best interests illuminate the function of these discrepancies between theory and practice as a disciplinary technology.

Efforts "to transform institutions requires becoming conscious of how they're built" (Ahmed, 2018) because "shifts on social conditions… characterize moral inquiry… formulated or stylized by the historical ethos that prompt them" (Butler, 2005:6). As currently, the language of human rights frames conflicts and struggles (Scott, 2018), looking through the legacies of colonialities and policy worlds' ethical violence whereby anachronistic ethos imprinting "itself upon the present" (Butler, 2006:5) subjects/ subjective identities of unaccompanied minors. Through this, the deficiencies in care and protections and the attitudes, beliefs, anachronistic (social) ethos (Butler) that produce them take central stage. In fact, the discrepancy between normative and administered rights indicates the precarity of unaccompanied minors' circumstances while being in Greece, in opposition to the popular, state, and governmental rhetoric relating this precarity with Greek financial stranded-ness (Stathopoulou, 2018), non-precedence of the European humanitarian crisis, or Athens as transit.

[34]In the original Greek 'α, για κουτσομπολιά γραφείου δεν πολυενδιαφέρομαι, εκτός κι αν παρενοχληθώ εγώ'.

Unaccompanied minors residing in Athens are Other-ed in the way they're registered, processed, protected and cared for. This Other-ed-ness is made possible by their de-humanization from the initial questioning of their minority status based on age, under which they enjoy special provisions, and its ensuing process of being delayed, detained or even expelled by the time they reach the age of maturity. The precarity of their institutionalized lives reaches that level where to re-gain agency and satisfy, at least, their wish for relief they opt to take upon informal routes outside the scope (the state) to ascertain that better life which initiated their travel in the first place[35]. Research suggests a frequent tension between the young person's conception of their best interests and the requirements of the state, leading them to disengage with authorities and look to alternative resources and means to pursue their goals (Chase, 2019: 9). While, unaccompanied minors' claims to their rights come under scrutiny, their best interests come afore only to hinder further study, to keep them silenced, marginalized and out of view. This thesis is an effort of respecting their individual, cultural and social identities by mediating their voices and moving them from the margins to public view.

[35] See the example in page (___) for a young unaccompanied minor who left the shelter και κατέληξε in a Swiss residence couple of months later.

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Annex

The visual arts workshop was conducted in the months of September and October

Stage	Topic	Participants
Initial/ Inquiry Stage		
Sep 8	First tentative meeting with residents. Introductions and Board Games	14
Sep 9-10	Drawing Activity – On the Road together	6 and 8
Sep 15-17	Human figure: Collage and Sketching	5 and 7
Main Stage		
Sep 21-29	Discussing and Drawing Human Figures from everyday life experiences – Beginning of school attendance	2 – 8
Oct 1 and 6	Human figures interacting with the Environment and/ or other human figures – Activities: Storyboard and Depiction of a Group of People	3
Oct 8 and 13	Portraits – Activities: Drawing and Mixed Media (Collage)	5
Oct 20	Pose drawing with wooden model	P1, P2 & P3
Oct 22	Field Trip Preparation: Discussion about Art and its Types and about Abstract Art	5 (P1, P3)
Final Stage		
Oct 24	Field Trip to Eleni Stathopoulou's Retrospective	8
Oct 27	Final Meeting, Discussion on the Workshop and Exhibition	7