School and Social Integration of Adolescents residing in Athens

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ABSTRACT

The concept of social integration has gained prominence in the social and policy debates all over the Europe. Children of immigrants, constituting a significant percentage of modern population of European Union, go through some demanding changes in their processes of social and school integration. As the number of immigrants in Greece is growing, it is of high importance to identify, examine, and understand problems that young immigrants living in this country might have.

Our research investigates social and school integration of adolescents’ from Polish immigration families residing in Athens, Greece. By this project we wish to build and advance beyond the current research and contribute to existing knowledge in the field of social integration. The study is based on a qualitative research method relying on semi-structured, in–depth interviews with 12 young respondents from Greek and Polish high schools in Athens.

The results indicate that the level of social integration of adolescent Poles is various and depends on the school that young people attend extracurricular activities they participate in, social networks within Greek population, parents’ socioeconomic status and Greek language competency. In case of respondents from the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens observed level of integration was lower, than in the group of pupils from Greek schools.

KEY WORDS: social integration, school integration, adolescence, immigrants, social capital, bridging and bonding social capital, the Group of Polish schools at the Polish Embassy in Athens.
ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η έννοια της κοινωνικής ένταξης έχει κερδίσει εξέχουσα θέση στις κοινωνικές και πολιτικές αντιπαραθέσεις σε όλη την Ευρώπη. Τα παιδιά των μεταναστών, που αποτελούν ένα σημαντικό ποσοστό του σύγχρονου πληθυσμού της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, υφίστανται σε ορισμένες απαιτητικές αλλαγές κατά την κοινωνική και σχολική τους ένταξη. Καθώς ο αριθμός των μεταναστών στην Ελλάδα αυξάνεται, είναι υψηλής σημασίας η εντοπισμός, η εξέταση, και η κατανόηση των προβλημάτων που αντιμετωπίζουν οι νέοι μετανάστες που ζουν στη χώρα αυτή.

Η έρευνα μας διερευνά την κοινωνική και σχολική ένταξη των εφήβων που προέρχονται από πολωνικές οικογένειες μεταναστών, οι οποίες κατοικούν στην πρωτεύουσα της Ελλάδας, Αθήνα. Στην παρούσα μελέτη προσπαθούμε να οικοδομήσουμε και να προωθήσουμε την έρευνα και να συμβάλουμε στην υπάρχουσα γνώση, στον τομέα της κοινωνικής ένταξης. Η μελέτη βασίζεται σε μια ποιοτική μέθοδο έρευνας η οποία στηρίζεται σε ημι-δομημένες, λεπτομερείς συνεντεύξεις 12 νέων ερωτηθέντων από ελληνικά και πολωνικά γυμνάσια στην Αθήνα.

Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι ο βαθμός της κοινωνικής ένταξης των εφήβων Πολωνών διαφέρει από άτομο σε άτομο και εξαρτάται από: το σχολείο, το οποίο οι νέοι συμμετέχουν, τις εξωσχολικές δραστηριότητες στις οποίες συμμετέχουν, τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα στον ελληνικό πληθυσμό, την κοινωνικο-οικονομική κατάσταση των γονέων τους και την ευχέρεια τους στην χρήση της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Στην περίπτωση των ερωτηθέντων από το συγκρότημα των πολωνικών σχολείων στην πολωνική πρεσβεία στην Αθήνα, παρατηρήθηκε ότι το επίπεδο της ένταξης τους ήταν χαμηλότερο, συγκριτικά με την ομάδα των μαθητών που προέρχονταν από ελληνικά σχολεία.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: κοινωνική ένταξη, ένταξη στο σχολείο, εφηβεία, μετανάστες, κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο, γεφυρώνοντας κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο και συνδέοντας κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο, το συγκρότημα των πολωνικών σχολείων στην πολωνική πρεσβεία στην Αθήνα.
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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary migrations are becoming a more common process for people who want to improve their material living conditions and to provide better economic security for themselves and their families. During the first half of the 20th century over 100 million people migrated, voluntarily or forcibly, from one country to another (Aronowitz, 1984). In the 1980’s worldwide the refugee total was close to 16 million people (De Sherbinin & Weeg, 1980), and it was estimated that there were more migrants on earth then, both proportionally and in aggregate, than at any time in history, until now. Nowadays, the numbers of migrants has grown even more. The total number of international migrants has increased over the last 10 years from an estimated 150 million in 2000 (IOM, 2000) to 214 million people today (IOM, 2010). In other words, one out of every 33 persons in the world today is a migrant. All the migrants would constitute the fifth most populous country in the world (UN, 2009).

Geopolitical events have influenced the cultural and ethnic composition of many societies forcing development of new values and skills which have in turn affected the way in which children are socialized and learn new skills (Spinthourakis & Katsillis, 2004: 11). The presence is also shaped by the processes of globalization. The process of social, political and economic globalization, whose spread we are now witnessing, is related to the mobility of the population all over the world in every possible direction. People leave their countries for economic, political, demographic, cultural and social reasons, such as wars, political and religious discrimination, and unemployment. They seek a better life; desire to ensure a better future for their children. This trend is especially evident in the case of the Poles. Poland is a country with a rich emigration tradition: migration processes were always closely connected to the political and economic situation of the country. According to the international bibliography, Poland has been one of the Central and Eastern European areas with the largest migratory outflows for over a century (Maroufof, 2009). After the Polish accession to structures of European Union migration processes became even more dynamic, both to and from this country. Mobility of Polish citizens has always been at a high level, but what this country has been experiencing for the last decades is truly worth noting.
On the other hand, the situation in Greece is rather different: the surge of immigration to this country in recent decades has led to significantly increased numbers of immigrant children attending Greek schools. Many of these youngsters are raised in houses where Greek is not spoken at all, and parents do not know this language (Fuligni, 1997). The number of foreign students in Greek elementary schools rose from 10,634 in 1995–96 (Spinthourakis et al., 2001) to 45,598 in 1999–2000 (Giavrimis et al., 2003). During the last decade, there has been an even greater increase in the numbers of immigrant students in Greek schools noted. Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008: 46) indicated that two years ago more than 10% of the school population in Greek public schools was immigrant youth. The presence of this considerable number of foreign children, among whom we find an identifiable population of Polish children, in Greek schools justifies our interest in the presented research. The above mentioned growing tendency of Poles emigrating from their homeland and settling mainly in various countries of European Union, including Greece requires getting some insight in order to mitigate any negative effects of migrations. These movements nowadays include all the families and often children are ones that suffer the most. Children of immigrants now constitute a significant percentage of the population of the European Union. Their integration into the receiving society is a basic requirement for these youngsters to become citizens able to contribute to the advancement of their societies and to use fully benefits of the host society (Fülöp et al., 2007: 331). One of the major arenas of integration are schools, where immigrant children might have several disadvantages and where their families might also need different kinds of social support in order to participate equally in the educational system. Schools provide young people with basic knowledge that could be used for their integration into society as well as to prepare them to live in a multicultural society. Schooling is generally a major arena of achievement among pupils (comp. Rosenberg et al., 1989): with some effort it could also become a place for promoting integration.

The difficulty engendered from being a minority can have profound detrimental effects on one's psychological well-being. Immigrant minority status lowers perceptions of control over the direction of one's life. Many immigrant children and adolescents struggle to establish and redefine their relationship to the new society often without the support of the kinship or friendship systems they had at home, and sometimes even without the fulfillment of their basic needs (McCarthy, 1998). As they adjust to a new
life, new school, new language, and a new culture, many immigrant children and adolescents face enormous educational and psychosocial challenges. In addition to low economic status, these challenges include the pressure to make stressful adaptations to new, unfamiliar, evolving roles and relationships, both within their families and their social networks; high residential mobility; coping with emotional stresses due to adjustments to new social norms and a new institutional environment; traumas due to wars, family disruptions or separations and inadequate social support to compensate for broken community ties in their native countries (McCarthy, 1998: 16).

For youngsters immigration is a difficult experience and in some cases, such as in the case of adolescents that go through complicated stages of human development and face great biological, cognitive and social spheres changes, integration processes might not carry on smoothly. Youth faces a difficult task of situating themselves in regional, national, and global world. The complexity and specificity of adolescence as a developmental stage is the reason why we chose this age group for our study. Even though research on adolescents has its tradition, treating immigrant youth as the subject of research is not reflected in many sociological positions. Research into the social integration of adolescents may bring about some interesting information and shed new light on elements of this process. In our study we utilize some of the existing findings from the subject literature and examine whether or not they are relevant in the context of second generation of Polish immigrants living in Athens.

It is commonly believed that countries culturally uniform are more closed and their habitants are less ready to accept representatives of other cultures or nations (Kuscer, 2004). Growing up and living in Greece could be a difficult process for children of Polish immigrants not only due to the homogeneous character of Greek society, but also because these youngsters are caught between pressures to assimilate into Greek society and pressures to keep and preserve their culture of origin. This struggle is what makes the proposed research so relevant, but at the same time demanding.

The current state of research in relation to our research problem (What is the level of social and school integration of Poles aged between 17-18 years in the Greek society) confirms the need of investigation on integration of Polish adolescents in Greece. After a broad scan followed by a focused review of literature that was
undertaken in order to fix on our research problem and theoretical framework, we realised that never before had the matter of integration of Polish adolescents’ in Greece been investigated. Even though there are numerous studies that are of great value to the proposed research they do not answer our main question. We understand that the existing literature fails to deal adequately with our research problem, which made us realise how relevant it is to carry out the proposed research. A serious shortcoming of the extensive body of literature on social integrations is, as we have already mentioned, that it does not come much to terms with the young generations. It is partly for this reason that we decided to study presented topic. Another thing is that as the number of immigrants in Greece is growing, it is of high importance to identify, examine, and understand problems that young immigrants living in this country might have with their social and psychological adjustment after immigration. We aim to contribute to the knowledge base about factors that influence the social integration of immigrant adolescents. Gaining knowledge about this phenomenon will also provide insights into the opportunities for its promotion. By answering question about integration processes and current situation of Polish adolescents in Greece we will surely build and advance beyond the current research and contribute to existing knowledge.

The following study is based on a multicultural view of social integration of immigrants. Within this framework, this phenomenon means the full socio-economic participation of immigrants in the destination country without their having to give up their language and cultural identity although with an expectation of adoption of certain values (European Commission, 2003). The emphasis will be placed on the current situation of Polish immigrants’ children in Athens. One of our interests was investigating the legal status of the Group of Polish schools at the Polish Embassy in Athens (Zespół Szkół im. Zygmunta Mineyki przy Ambasadzie RP w Atenach) as well as the role this school plays in the overall process of social integration of its pupils. We shall also investigate the social integration of Poles attending Greek schools in order to compare them to the above mentioned group and check the social integration in both cases.

The relevance of investigating the aforementioned issues is of a great value to bilateral relations between Poland and Greece, both at the political and social levels, and even more so in terms of Polish adolescents residing in Athens. The researcher has a particular motivation for posing this study as she is a Polish immigrant herself and has
an awareness of the problems the Polish minority encounters in Greece. We think that all of this explains our interest in social integration of Polish adolescents living in Athens and that both the complexity and inconsistency of their situation due to the significant life transition they face, justifies the choice of the group age and, at the same time, the importance of social research in this field.

Our study consists of three parts: theoretical, methodological and empirical. Its general aim focuses on a series of measures to address the level of social and school integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens as well as what foster this process for children with immigrant background.

The theoretical part which comes first presents the most important aspects of the notion of social integration, explains this concept with its dimensions and discusses the phenomenon of school integration. There is also a subsection on social capital, where this phenomenon is explained and some ideas about its application into the present study are mentioned. In addition, the theoretical part includes a brief literature review on social integration. Moreover, the first chapter contains information on Polish migrations, where these movements, both to Greece and in wider, historical context, are presented. It also sets the context of our research, which introduces the Group of Polish schools at the Polish Embassy in Athens and names the Greek high schools that Polish interviewees who participated in following research attended. We present the legal reference, aims, curriculum and other details concerning the Polish school (history, current stage, who teaches there, etc.). Lastly, in accordance to the subjects of our research, we discuss adolescence as a transitional stage of human development.

The methodological part of our study is composed of research objectives, presentation of research questions, hypotheses to be tested, method and technique as well as the sample and procedure chosen for undertaking the proposed research. There is also a part outlining the limitations of the methodology applied in our study and one concerning methods used for analysis of its results.

Finally, the empirical part of our study is composed of findings, results’ discussion with its implications and conclusion of the entire research.
1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. INTEGRATION

Increasing public interest in migration and the phenomenon of social integration of immigrants that are markers of modern times generated the rise of the theoretical debate on these subjects that is taking place in most of European countries. The children of immigrants now constitute a significant percentage of the population of the European Union. Their integration into the receiving society is a basic requirement for them to become citizens that will be able to contribute to the advancement of their societies and to use fully the benefits of the host society (Fülöp et al., 2007).

The notion of integration itself is an extremely important and broad concept that is used in many different fields: sociology, economy, biology, mathematics, computer and organizational sciences. Nevertheless, no matter in what field it is used, it is generally connected to concepts of unity, harmony and normative consensus (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000: 3). Social integration is a broad phenomenon which captures educational and economic outcomes as well as more subtle dimensions such as the composition of people with whom immigrants live, work, and form families (Åslund et al., 2009). The case of sociology altogether with other social sciences shows that even within one discipline there can be various understandings of a particular phenomenon. In sociology there is no universal agreement on what is meant by social integration, not to mention different concepts of its dimensions and models.

In the following chapter we shall briefly present the different understandings of the integration concept as well as state which one is the key description used in presented study. Moreover we wish to present a literature review on social integration in order to understand what has been known until now about it and what needs deeper investigation for more and detailed knowledge. We wish to analyze why the concept of social integration is of such importance in modern sociology. After that, we will explain the necessity and the interest of our research on social integration of Polish adolescents in Athens. The chapter will be finished with detailed explanation of concept of school
integration with its dimensions and theories, which is of crucial importance to our research.

1.1.1 Social integration: definitions

Sociological theory has dealt with the concept of integration. The case of sociology in concert with other social sciences shows that even within one discipline there can be various understandings of a particular phenomenon. As we have already stated, in sociology there is no universal agreement on what is meant by social integration, not to mention different concepts of its dimensions and models. Various authors explain the notion of integration as situation, phenomenon, process, relations, or even degree. This concept is sometimes referred to as *umbrella concept* as it covers a broad area, ranging from assimilation to pluralism (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000: 3).

Following Lockwood’s ideas, the notions of system integration and social integration have been developed (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Social integration refers to the principles by which individuals or actors are related to one another in a society, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. System integration, on the other hand, refers to the relationships between parts of a society or social system – it is the result of the anonymous functioning of institutions, organizations and mechanisms – the state, the legal system, markets, corporate actors or finance (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). After Lockwood, the differentiation between social and system integration was discussed by other prominent sociologists. Anthony Giddens (1979: 76) defined integration as

(...) degree of interdependence of action, or ‘systemness’ that is involved in any mode of system reproduction. Integration can be defined therefore as regularized ties, interchanges or reciprocity of practices between either actors or collectivities.

Giddens’ differentiation of social and system integration originates in understanding the first one as correlation between actors and the latter one as correlation between groups or collectivities. Furthermore Giddens emphasizes the great relevance of social integration that according to him *is fundamental to the systemness of society as a whole* (Giddens, 1979: 77).
Jürgen Habermas, a German sociologist and philosopher, representative of critical theory tradition (Frankfurt school), put at a centre of his theory of modernity the explication of a twofold concept of society that combines action and system theory. Social and system integration correspond to these paradigms. Mechanisms of social integration refer to orientations of actors that constitute societal order of values, norms and communicative processes. On the other hand, mechanisms of system integration: market exchange and power, transcend the orientations of actors and integrate contexts of action through functional networks. Habermas’ central idea of social integration points, in conjunction with communicative action, to the concept of *lifeworld*. System integration refers, in contrast, to the concept of a boundary-maintaining system that connects consequences of social action functionally (Ritzer, 2005: 351).

As we have already mentioned, the notion of integration can be described from many different angles, depending on the particular need. Very often this concept is viewed as a long-term process of strengthening relationships within a social system, and of introducing new actors and groups into the system and its institutions (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Lasso and Soto, (2005: 4) refer to Falci and McNeely (2009: 2032) that defined social integration as the *degree to which an individual is connected to other individuals in a network*. According to them, social integration is multidimensional and can be measured in different ways: as the number of ties, types of ties, and frequency of contact. The concept of integration has also been applied to many types of relationships and social activities, including church attendance, membership in social groups and organizations, relationships with other individuals as well as the size of these groups (Lasso & Soto, 2005: 4).

Another two definitions of integration is given by Karklins (1998), a Latvian political scientist and politician, professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Chicago. The first one refers to the cultural aspect of integration. Karklins stated that typically integration *refers to a gradual merging of cultures, an increasing sameness of political attitudes and behavior, and a decrease of legal and institutional barriers to interaction* (1998: 284). This author’s second definition of integration describes this concept simply as the absence of disintegration and refers less to change in a certain direction than to a reasonable degree of socio-political stability and societal consensus.
Integration is also described as a long–term and complex process running in many dimensions that affects both: immigrants and host society. In the case of relations between host society – immigrants, integration is usually understood as a process of *incorporation of a new element into the existing social system*, whereby such incorporation should take place in a way that the extended system continues to function harmoniously and efficiently (Koryś, 2003). As Berry (2003: 220) suggested, integration always entails a common task that is to be carried out by both: the immigrants and the society of settlement. Thus, there needs to be agreement between both groups that integration is an acceptable way to engage in intercultural relations.

Definitions of integration can be found in sociology textbooks and general publications on social theory. According to Spencer and Inkeles (1993: 477) integration is a situation of equality *achieved by reducing the separation between ethnic groups and encouraging them to participate in the same activities*. An interesting definition of integration is given by Haralambos and Holborn (1995). They refer to Parson’s understanding of this phenomenon as *adjustment of conflict* that is concerned with coordination *and mutual adjustment of the parts of the social system*. An institution that meets this kind of need is law that defines and settles relations between individuals and institutions reducing at the same time the potential for conflicts (Haralambos & Holborn, 1995: 873).

Integration is also defined as a situation of organizing, uniting and harmonizing the various elements that create social community relating to the sphere of norms and values, activities and communications between individuals and social groups. Social integration is a condition for existence, acts and activities of each social group or collectivity (Koryś, 2003). Social integration is conceptualized as a learning and socialization process that takes place under certain conditions (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 9). This concept is also understood as *simultaneous ethnic retention and adaptation to new society* (Phinney et al., 2001: 502). Heckmann and Schnapper (2003: 10) define the concept of integration as the inclusion of new populations into existing social structures of the immigration country. According to the Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) integration, in a sociological context, refers to stable, cooperative relations within a clearly defined social system and the integration of immigrants is primarily a process: if this process succeeds, the society can be called integrated.
To sum up, as we could see there are numerous ways of understanding the concept of social integration: it can be inclusionary action, implying equal opportunities and rights for all human beings. In this case, becoming more integrated improves life chances. To others, however, increasing integration can have a negative connotation, conjuring up the image of an unwanted imposition of uniformity. And, to still others, the term does not necessarily imply either a positive or a negative state, but a way of describing the established patterns of human relations in any given society (World Summit for Social Development, 1994: 3).

In our opinion, the notion of integration refers to the mutual relationship of an individual, in our case immigrant adolescent with the host society. The consequences of this relationship concern both sides: the host society forces changes but at the same time undergoes some of them itself in the process of integration. We agree with definition of Bosswick and Heckmann (2006: 9), which implies that social integration is a learning and socialization process that takes place under certain conditions. Thus, for our study we adopt Falci and McNeely’s (2009: 2032) definition, which seems to be the closest to our research problem: social integration is the degree to which an individual is connected to other individuals in a network, with the individual being a particular Polish teenager, other individuals - Greek citizens and a network being Greek society.

1.1.2 Literature review on social integration of young immigrants

The purpose of this section is to present a review existing research on the social integration of immigrants, and especially their youngest cohorts. This overview of the literature was undertaken in order to help us situate the current state of research about immigrant children social integration. An additional goal of this review is to support the introduction for consideration of a theoretical framework which would facilitate the conceptualization of the process of integration among immigrant children, their particular needs, and how these might best be met. A broad scan followed by focused review of literature that were undertaken in order to fix on the research topic and
research problem brought us to the realization that regardless of the lack of sources concerning integration of Polish adolescents’ in Greece, there are many publications that investigate matters similar to the proposed one, which helps us understand certain phenomena or courses that occur in society, as well as plan and develop the best approach for investigating the problem of Polish adolescents’ social integration.

Migrations are nowadays a worldwide phenomenon whereby masses of people leave their countries and familiar cultural environments to settle in new societies, transforming themselves and those who receive them (Karpiński, 2009; Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003). Raising public awareness around the importance of migration generated interest towards various aspects of this problem. That is why such notions as adaptation, integration, bilingualism, etc. have crucial importance in the social research of the modern times. Large and the constantly increasing numbers of migrations all over the world, encouraged by globalization processes, prompt many researchers to direct their attention to the problems of social integration of immigrants. Studies concerning this problem deal with a variety of issues, including socioeconomic, ecological and political systems, school, religion, family, friendships, etc. Migrations are complex and challenging processes: the literature in this field suggests that efforts made by individuals to uproot themselves, settle and adjust to their new home is a complicated procedure that often involves stress (van Geel & Vedder, 2009; Karpiński, 2009; Lasso & Soto, 2005; Giavrimis et al., 2003; McCarthy, 1998). The decision to emigrate is difficult enough, but often its hardness is compounded by language barriers and entry into a system that has values which are quite different from those of one’s native country. Literature suggests that rapid economic and social changes have created new difficulties for the integration of immigrants and their descendents, often attenuating the process itself. Among the reasons for weakening social integration are the decrease in economic activity, unemployment, poverty and poor housing conditions, as well as a growing number of disturbing phenomena ranging from drug-addiction to criminality, social injustice and prejudice, etc. (Böhnke, 2005; OECD, 1998: 7; Ferge, 1989). Children and adolescents, both native and foreign-born (Pantin et al., 2003; Lasso & Soto, 2005; Stodolska, 2008; Ying & Han, 2006; Zhou, 1997a), face disadvantages in their social integration at school and elsewhere. The review of literature gave evidence to suggest that residential mobility appears to have some initial adverse affect on the social adjustment. Children who moved were generally found to be more withdrawn and less well accepted by their peers (Aronowitz, 1984). The general pattern present in the
literature is that immigrant children are more often characterized by behavioral disorders and, in adolescence, by identity conflicts. According to Lasso and Soto (2005: 19), the differences in social integration between native and foreign-born children in terms of social isolation and friendship strength result from individual characteristics, specifically race, age, and years spent in the new society.

Migrations are complex and challenging processes especially for immigrant adolescents, who do not yet have full emotional and cognitive development. Recent research confirms that immigration results in enormous stress also for children (van Geel & Vedder, 2009; Nikitorowicz, 2000; Kao, 1999; McCarthy, 1998). Children of immigrants face multiple challenges in their new environment related to adjustments to new social norms and a new institutional environment, various traumas, family disruptions or separations; and inadequate social support to compensate for broken community ties in their native countries (Stodolska, 2008). The literature suggests that, as they adjust to a new life, new school, new language, and a new culture, immigrant children face unique challenges such as discrimination, learning a new language, integrating into a new school system, fitting into their new group of peers and poverty. How they manage all these is crucial to their success or failure to integrate in the larger society.

The rising numbers of studies on the youngest members of societies present a variety of notions concerning immigrant offspring, such as “contemporary immigrant children”, “second generation”, "new second-generation", “one-and-a-half generation”. The last expression is a term coined by Ruben Rumbaut that characterizes the immigrant children who have arrived in a particular country at a very young age and were raised in the country of settlement (Zhou, 1997a). Until recently, the bulk of research on young immigrants has focused on the "new second-generation”, combining first generation, one-and-a-half generation, and children of immigrants under one investigation (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Rumbaut, 1994; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Studies in the area of young immigrants can be broadly divided into two groups: those conducted from the sociological perspective and those taking more of a psychological or socio-psychological approach to the issue (Stodolska, 2008: 198). Sociology-centered research generally measures the level of integration among young immigrants and compares it with other factors, for example integration of their parents,
educational performance, interaction with mainstream peers and/or with the entire school community, etc. (Algan et al., 2010; Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009; Messing, 2008, Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006; Lasso & Soto, 2005; Ringel et al., 2005). This line of enquiry examines how various aspects of social class, ethnic background, residential location, and adherence to traditional values affected their process integration (Stodolska, 2008). Studies conducted from the psychological and socio-psychological perspective equate integration with the psychological well-being of young immigrants (Xu et al., 2010; Virta et al., 2004; Phinney et al, 2001; Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2000; Berry, 1997). Psychological well-being in this research is often conceptualized as lack of depressive symptoms, high levels of self-esteem, positive feelings and expectations, general happiness, excitement, and satisfaction with life. Such studies examine whether young newcomers experience higher rates of social, emotional, and behavioral adjustment problems than the native-born population and what factors contribute to these differences. It seems that social integration is an important part of social well-being of immigrant children. Still, not much is known about it. Researchers agree that specifically in the case of youth social integration with peers is of chief importance in understanding the social wellbeing of adolescents. Lasso and Soto (2005) believe it is because during this time, youth increasingly establish autonomy from their parents while becoming more involved with same age peers. Research suggests that, in adolescents’ social integration, friends are a critical source of healthy emotional, psychological, social, and academic adjustment (Lasso & Soto, 2005).

Recent studies help shed light on the linkage between education and social integration. Education is seen as a relevant for both: the promotion of empowerment and inclusion, and the measurement of its achievement (Hannah, 2008; Liebkind et al., 2004). Empowerment in this context is understood as the act of conferring legality of all the subjects of the education process.

Education plays a crucial role in process of social integration being a key site in which both the host and incoming populations learn with, and about, one another (Hannah, 2008; Fuligni, 1998; Chen et al., 1997; Zhou, 1997a). The strategies and suggestions often identify and prescribe the need for education about immigrant cultures and the realities of their situation for the members of mainstream society. Studies also point out that education of immigrants, regardless their age, is of great importance for their adaptation to the mainstream society. There are many articles about the
contribution that education and training make in empowering migrants in the process of social integration (e.g., Hannah, 2008).

There is a small number of studies that investigate the young immigrants’ school integration (Messing, 2008; Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006; Levitt et al., 2004; Madison, 1978). Studies on school integration tend to suggest that many immigrant students do not have as much difficulty with school integration as might be expected. Success in school as one of the most important indications of adapting to society is dependent on both: the cognitive ability and motivation of individual children, but also on the economic and social resources available to them through their families (Fulgni, 1998; Chen et al., 1997; Zhou, 1997a).

In relation to the literature we reviewed, it seems obvious that researchers must pay even more attention to the situation for childhood migrants and the children of immigrants and their social integration. According to Zhou (1997a), until recently, the attention of the majority of researchers has focused on adult immigrants and neglected child immigrants and immigrant offspring. This tendency created a large gap between the strategic importance of these children and the knowledge about their conditions, including school and social integration. Nowadays, more and more research is concerned with the youngest members of societies, which is an important and advantageous change (Åslund, 2009; Levitt et al., 2004; Papoulia – Tzelepi et al., 2003; Zhou, 1997a).

Linguistic adaptation is among the greatest challenges for the new second generation of immigrants. The issue of language, then, is one that must be addressed in any examination of the social integration of immigrant children. The association between local language usage and integration was investigated by many researchers (Orellana, 2008). It is a generally accepted view that the ability to speak the language of the receiving society plays an important part in the process of integration because it is a precondition for social participation. Literature in the field of social integration suggests that good knowledge of the language of receiving society facilitates the immigrants' social integration into different spheres of the larger community (Veglery, 1988; Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006; Taft, 1977). New immigrants and their children that are facing the implications that the lack of proficiency in mainstream language may engender, which is often strengthen by the problem of linguistic isolation and disadvantages associated with minority status, find it difficult to
cope in new milieu. It is believed that a number of barriers exist that can prevent or hinder adult migrants’ second language acquisition, some of the most commonly acknowledged being migrants’ educational background, gender, cultural and religious beliefs, and income level.

Within the studies on social integration of immigrants there are some works that present us with a history on immigrant integration in the world and Europe, as well as steps towards immigrant integration and integration policies in various European countries (Entzinger, 2007; Heckmann, & Schnapper, 2003; De Lucia, 2004). Nevertheless, theoretical debate on integration that is taking place in most of European countries has not been significantly reflected in Polish literature on the migration and integration process (Slany & Malek, 2006; Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2007). Among the concepts used in the discussion on this phenomenon tend to include connections, networks and social capital (Karpiński, 2009; Slany & Malek, 2006).

Older research (Blau, 1960) focused on social integration as a process in which individuals tried to become a member of a particular group. It was believed that social integration prevails in a group if bonds of attraction unite its members. People attempt at being attractive to the group. Another perspective focused on how a person is attracted to a specific group. Social bonds that unite members into a more or less cohesive social structures were believed to be what distinguishes a group from an aggregate of individuals (Blau, 1960). Blau’s theory of bonds of social attraction did not spread much within the theory of social integration, still many researchers referred to attraction as an important aspect in the process of integration.

Literature on social integration indicates that European societies have experienced large scale immigration since the end of World War II (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003: 9). The period before the 1970’s was characterized by assimilationist politics towards native and immigrant ethnic minorities in the majority of countries in Western Europe (the exception was for example Germany). State governments’ aim was to acquire a high degree of cultural unity. That is why at that time minorities were subjected to a harsh assimilationist regime, they were forced to learn and use national languages. Afterwards the policy of the western world took a multiculturalists and integrational approach rejecting assimilation at the same time (especially in Sweden, Great Britain, the Netherlands; also in Canada and Australia,) (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000: 1). According to Vermeulen and Penninx, in many European countries, where the
integrational policies also started to be adopted, historical changes from assimilation and multiculturalism started to have their broad consequences in national policies. The world “multiculturalism” was used for the first time by Trudeau, in Canada, in 1971 to describe national policy towards immigrants as well as other minorities (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000: 1). Nowadays, European societies are trying to solve the problem of inclusion of immigrants into the social structures. Thus, the process of immigrants’ integration is also a challenge to the established patterns of nation-building, as well as to welfare state policies. In the research on social integration we can find many studies that present integration policies and intervention programmes towards immigrants in different societies, countries and continents. These studies have been determined by the particular national history and traditions of welfare state institutions as well as practices of the economic and educational institutions. Integration policies are related to social order, sense of nationhood and to societal definition of immigration situation (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003: 12). Various studies recommend improvements to immigrant services to include for example, the increase of the service capacity of local settlement programs, improvements to immigrant housing services, improvements to public service accessibility, improvements to healthcare accessibility, better provision of language training, more accessible childcare programming, better host programming, and speedier credential recognition processes, etc. (Ma, 2010). Most studies in this field recommend diverse methods by which immigrant services can help the newcomer to find a career, an accredited profession, a house, or a community. Recent studies in the field of social integration have also focused on programmes and services for immigrant youth (e.g., Van Ngo, 2009).

European models of integration processes as an interest of governmental and local policies, differ not only across countries, but also cities, depending on times and different immigrant groups (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006; Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003; OECD, 1998;). As was noticed by Portes (2003), immigrants from urban areas who were escaping a situation of violence at home tend to seek rapid integration in the host society and avoid active involvement in the one they left behind. Conversely, immigrants from small towns and rural areas whose country of origin was at peace were significantly more likely to engage in transnational political and civic action in support of their home communities. Literature suggests that when it comes to social integration
of immigrants, the surroundings and situation from which one emigrates also have importance.

As we have mentioned in the previous subsection, in alignment with the variety of definitions of the integration concept come its different forms, dimensions and models. Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) stated that due to different European traditions and immigrant policies we can distinguish three models of integration:

1. Assimilation (France)
2. The partial exclusion (Germany)
3. Multicultural (Sweden)

According to authors, this division shows how wide the notion of integration is and because of this fact they call it an *umbrella concept*.

In the study of Bosswick and Heckmann (2006: 3) we find Esser’s (2000) proposal for four basic forms of social integration: acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. According to Esser, acculturation (also referred to as socialization) means a process by which an individual acquires the knowledge, cultural standards and competencies needed to interact successfully in a society. The greatest influence on this process comes from the significant others, people we are emotionally connected with (Turner, 1998). At the beginning these others are parents and close relatives, but with time, many other people take important positions: peers, teachers, close friends, husbands and wife, employers, etc. Acculturation is a precondition for placement - a process in which an individual acquires a position in society: in the educational or economic systems, in the professions, or as a citizen, altogether with rights associated with particular positions and the opportunity to establish social relations to win cultural, social and economic capital. Another form of integration – interaction – takes place when individuals form relationships and networks: friendships, romantic relationships or marriages, or more general membership of social groups. The last form, identification has both cognitive and emotional aspects and refers to a process of individual’s identification with a social system, as part of a collective body. According to Esser, integration of immigrants into a host society should be understood as a special case of social integration, to which the concepts of placement, acculturation, interaction and identification can be applied. Other literature (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003) has suggested that these four forms of integration can be conceptualized as structural
integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identification integration. According to these authors, these concepts are basic dimensions of integration and are also appropriate for operationalization in empirical research and when developing indicators.

Similar differentiation is given by Koryś (2003). According to her, there are four following dimensions of integration:

A) Structural dimension, namely the acquisition of basic rights and access to valued social position of immigrants and their children

B) Cultural dimension, namely cognitive process of changing the culture, behavior and attitudes of individuals

C) The social dimension or personal social relations immigrants create into the host society and membership in formal and informal social groups.

D) Dimension of identification, a sense of belonging and identification with the host society.

When it comes to the time span needed for immigrant integration a couple of possible outcomes for immigrant offspring could be noted in the literature. The first one is that with time, usually after two to three generations in the host society, the descendants of immigrants are indistinguishable from the rest of society in their behaviors and socioeconomic characteristics (assimilation model) (Boyd, 2002; Zhou, 1997b; Gordon, 1978). Central to this perspective is the assumption that there is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture and to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of society (Zhou, 1997b). Gordon (1978) believed that ethnic minorities would, with time, lose all their distinctive characteristics, eventually intermarrying with the majority population and entering its institutions on a primary-group level. The second outcome, segmented assimilation, occurs when inter-generational socioeconomic improvements are accompanied by deliberate preservation of ethnic membership and values and with continued economic attachment to ethnic communities (Boyd, 2002; Zhou, 1997b; Portes & Zhou, 1993). The third, truncated assimilation model, foresees socioeconomic disadvantages, particularly for groups that are visibly distinctive from the mainstream society and whose parental and community-based resources are low (Boyd, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1993).
The literature shows that, for some social investigators, integration was closely connected to involvement in different spheres of mainstream society (Karpiński, 2009; Veglery, 1988; Gordon, 1978). Immigrants' relations outside their own ethnic group to include members of the receiving society are considered an important feature of the newcomers' adaptation and orientation toward the new country (Veglery, 1988). Then again, lack of participation in the institutional and social activities of the receiving society, is viewed by some researchers as an indicator of the maintenance of a separate social identity and the absence of integration. Possessing access to institutions, goods and services on the same basis as nationals is suggested to be an essential element for successful immigrants’ social integration. Recent research describes integration as a process that occurs mainly at the local level. That is why the frequency and quality of personal interactions and contacts between immigrants and mainstream population in their neighborhood or district is one of key elements of effective social integration. In order to indicate the extension of the immigrants' institutional and associational participation in the main spheres of social system of receiving society Eisenstaedt named integration "institutional dispersion" (Veglery, 1988). Other researchers emphasized integration on the primary group level as the entrance of immigrants into social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society (e.g., Gordon, 1978). Gordon (1978: 169) even introduced a definition for this large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level. He named it structural assimilation.

When deliberating about social integration we shall understand immigration as a long-term phenomenon, which, through different generations and phases, can reach a full social citizenship based on mutual respect between different cultures. In this sense immigrants have the actual right to participate and actively contribute to social life, in a state of equality with nationals (Beqaj & Pieracci, 2006). According to Koryś (2003), the key determinants of successful immigrant integration with the host society are represented by the linguistic skills and employment in occupations corresponding to the immigrant’s qualifications, gaining financial independence and permanent residence, participation in political life and the absence of conflicts with the law. Transferring this to adolescents’ context we may attempt to state that key determinants of their successful integration should be language competency, attending to school and socializing with peers, as well as lack of conflict behavior.
Among the broad body of research on social integration are studies that cope with the religious integration of immigrants (Bramadat & Fisher, 2010; Council of Europe, 1999; Veglery, 1988). Anna Veglery (1988) undertook a research on the religious integration of Greek immigrants in New York City. An additional focus of her research was formal and informal participation of immigrants in religious institutions of New York’s society, such as their church membership and church attendance. Long-term church membership was used as a measure of religious participation in the Greek community. Veglery concluded that diversity of the Greek Orthodox churches in New York and the rather flexible policies of the official church about membership had a deterring effect on Greek immigrants' joining or acquainting themselves with other churches. This conclusion corresponds with findings of other studies which show an increased participation in the Greek Orthodox Church by second and third generation Greeks (Scourby, 1980).

There are few studies that focus on social integration and military conflicts. Social integration has been considered by some researchers as a function of external conflicts (Cohen, 1988). The sociological significance of conflict has in principle never been disputed. According to Cohen, (1988), sociological literature since Durkheim has suggested that major popular wars tend to increase the social cohesion of their societies. One of the oldest hypotheses of classical sociology presented in works of George Simmel and Lewis Coser postulates that, under certain conditions, conflict with an outside enemy will increase social integration and cohesion. George Simmel thought that social conflict brought communities closer together and was able to solidify loosely structured groups. An example of research confirming this thesis is that of Aronson and Horowitz (1971) where they showed the connection between conflict and social integration in Israel. Increased salience of the conflict is likely to lower emigration rates via social mechanisms that enhance social cohesion and integration (Cohen, 1988). Long-lasting conflicts may influence measures of social integration in dissimilar ways. Cohen’s research showed that obligatory military service increases emigration; but, on the other hand, a shared notion of the necessity and importance of conflict decreases the rates of emigration.

When it comes to the concept of integration there is a large body of knowledge concerning EU policy towards social integration of immigrants that gives a view of different kinds of immigration policies towards the youngest European generation (e.g.,
There are also many other reports that give insight into the problem of emigration, among them the report of United Nations Research Institute for Social Development *Social Integration: Approaches and Issues* (1994).

In the body of research on social integration of immigrants there are also articles that present the perspective of women and men on this process (e.g., Slany & Malek, 2006; Kępińska, 2004; Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2007), others discuss integration of new female migrants in labor markets (Vaiou, 2006; Slany & Malek, 2006). Research on social integration in the past few years has been characterized by gradually stronger connections to gender studies (Slany & Malek, 2006; Riaño et al., 2006). Research in this field focuses on the dual influence of emigration – on the one hand resulting in the greater emancipation of women, but on the other being an aspect of ‘double oppression’, that is the concentration on ‘us’ (family) instead of ‘me’ (Slany & Malek, 2006). This results in fewer employment opportunities for women and a lack of guarantee of an advance on the social ladder. Research highlighting gender aspects of migration are often analyzed from the perspective of the theory of trauma (Kępińska, 2004). Most literature in this area is mainly focused on issues regarding negative aspects of women immigrants as uneducated individuals for whom migration is the only way to improve their material quality of life and that of their families, as victims of exploitation and as poorly integrated. Nevertheless, there are few studies cited that actually demonstrate the inadequacy of such generalizations that present immigrant women as very diverse in terms of their place of origin, their educational level, the standard of living in their country of origin, their urban or rural backgrounds, their religious background, their reasons for and experiences of migration, etc. Researchers in the field of social integration point out the lack of in-depth statistical data in present research (e.g., Slany & Malek, 2006; Kępińska, 2004; Koryś 2003).

Summarizing the above presentation of literature on social integration of immigrants that was available to us, we must admit that social integration ranks among the most pressing issues faced by modern countries and this tendency is reflected in scientific research. The problem of social integration is central in contemporary academic discussions. The current interest in the problem of social integration is motivated by the changes that modern world experience. Mobility, globalization, bilingualism, integration, are all broadly discussed in recent social research. However, knowledge
regarding social integration, particularly with respect to immigrants’ integration and mechanisms that activate their social participation, is far from complete. Integration is much more complex than learning the language and social norms of the host society and this should be reflected in the research literature more broadly. Integration has to do with comfort, inclusion, participation and a sense of belonging.

1.1.1 The concept of school integration: dimensions and theories

Immigration is a significant life transition that requires both: large-scale adaptation to new conditions and eventually integration. Adults experience difficulties with this transition, but the situation of children and adolescents is even more complex and inconsistent. The literature on immigration indicates that this experience is likely to differ according to age/grade upon arrival, gender, length of residency, country of settlement, family background, school experience and ethnicity levels (Levitt et al., 2004; McCarthy, 1998; Gibson, 1987). From a neo-Vygotskian perspective, children’s intellectual development is socially and culturally based, so what happens in the home, at school, and in the local community is crucial to understanding the learning processes and school performance of all children, and this also includes immigrant children. Settings mentioned earlier are so important, because they mirror characteristics of the larger society (Trueba, 1988: 270).

Attending school means attaining knowledge and skills that may be capitalized upon in future, for example in the labor market. Thus, it is a crucial first step toward successful adaptation to mainstream society for immigrant children and the children of immigrants (Zhou, 1997a). Socio-cultural adaptation that occurs in the context of schools has a profound impact on overall academic achievement and engagement and also affects the development of peer relationships (Kull, 2008). Positive school adaptation might be seen as an indicator of positive integration of immigrant children. That is why adaptation to school takes an important part during discussion of immigrant children school integration. Levels of adaptation among young immigrants are generally
measured by educational attainment-academic orientation, aspiration, and performance. Moreover, school and other educational institutions assume a highly relevant place in the process of integration. (Zhou, 1997a).

While discussing the subject of school adaptation Brizuela and Garcia-Sellers, (1999: 346) stated that its comprehensive perspective considers the child, family, and school and concentrates on different variables such as cognitive development, socialization, cultural and political milieu, as well as family and teacher expectations. Thus, school adaptation is conceptualized as a complex and triangular process which not only includes different factors, but is embedded within a greater social, cultural, and political context (Brizuela & Garcia-Sellers, 1999). On the other hand, school adaptation can be also described as the feeling of enjoyment and belonging to school, and relationships with other students (Murray-Harvey et al., 2005). In this context students’ feelings about school in terms of how much they enjoy school life are important, as is getting along with other students, and even how proud they are of belonging to their school. Still, Murray-Harvey et al. (2005) stress the relevance of family, peers, and teachers support. According to these authors, poor support predicts poor school adaptation. Other research confirms the strong effect that parents have. Pupils’ academic performance was proved to be influenced by their parents’ level of education and occupations, parents’ attitude towards books and school, the expectations and plans they have for their children’s future, and the kind of language mainly used at home, but also it is conditioned by the background in which the pupil is brought up and lives (Balboni & Pedrabissi, 1998).

Schools, besides being the context in which adaptation processes occur, are at the same time places where mainstream cultural norms and values are introduced and reinforced (McCarthy, 1998: 10). These educational institutions are indispensable to including children of foreign nationals in the new environment and in supporting them in achieving social advancement. School is a setting which transmits norms and values necessary for social cohesion (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009). Immigrant children have unique needs, and schools should address these needs proactively. Moreover, school environment, with its norms, values, and support offered there, plays an important role in facilitating language acquisition and adaptation in the broader sense (McCarthy, 1998). School context altogether with classroom setting and curriculum are essential in the overall adaptation of immigrant children, because they contribute to children’s abilities to establish meaningful and culturally appropriate relationships and to
internalize mainstream cultural values (Trueba, 1988: 292). Thus, for some children, and not only immigrant ones, adaptation to the behavioral, social-emotional, academic or developmental norms of school environment can be difficult.

For Bourdieu school is an institution that permanently brings dysfunction into the structure of secondary habitus, which is formed based on the educational system, in relation to primary habitus formed within the family as well as local and regional groups (Boudieu & Passeron, 2006). Szacki (2002) believes that this dysfunction is especially dangerous in case of national and ethnic minority groups because it leads to the process of uprooting and alienation of indigenous, basic values, creating fear and destroying creative abilities.

For several years in the education there has evolved a trend of integration that requires treating students as subjects in learning process, taking into account their individual situation, abilities and needs (Szucka, 2003). The teacher is a spokesperson for interests and needs of children, and education cannot be reduced solely to fulfilling the cognitive needs, but also recognizes the importance of psychological needs, such as safety, belonging, acceptance, etc. According to Szucka (2003) such thinking results in the transition from the education system based on a homogeneous population of students, with one existing curriculum and very personalized assessment system into a system that considers the heterogeneity of students, is characterized by differentiation of the curriculum and the flexibility in assessing and grouping students. Needs and interests of students are the criterion for differentiation.

When it comes to the concept of school integration the literature draws attention to the diversity of definitions and concepts as well as related classifications concerning it. In the previous chapter we discussed the problem with breadth of the notion integration and stated how this concept is understood in our study. Now, we would like to turn our attention to the definition of the notion of school integration. Generally, in the subject literature the concept of school integration is associated either with the placement of students with disabilities in regular schools and organizational changes related to it, etc. (e.g., Daley, 1999, Padeliadu & Lampropoulou, 1997; Copeland, 1981) or with the phenomenon of overcoming racial segregation in schools (Kahlenberg, 2008; Moody, 2001; Greene & Mellow, 1998). The third and, unfortunately, narrowest understanding of school integration is connected to immigrant children and the way
they adopt to new school environment (e.g., Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006; Messing, 2008; Rist, 1976).

The fundamental assumption of the integration pedagogy is comprehensive, holistic education, and optimal child development. The basic idea of integration education is to recognize the individuality of each child and see this as a positive value (Szucka, 2003). Implementing this assumption requires far-reaching reform of the teaching conditions, changes in the methodology of teaching and, above all, changes in the current way of thinking and working with children. Identifying and addressing the specific educational needs in the ranges of school integration must cover all children - those with disorders and developmental impairments, average and talented ones as well as children of immigrants.

Integration brings clear advantages not only for children that differ from the rest of the class, but for all students and teachers participating in teaching process, inspiring them to broaden professional skills and private horizons. Through contact with the diversity and by crossing homogeneous environment integration creates opportunities for development for anyone who is involved in it. Integration of school children can foster better relations, dialogue, and understanding across various ethnic groups. Moreover, school integration facilitates social integration. The realities of school integration are complex and difficult to conceptualize even at the adult level (Madison, 1978). The formal education system (schools, universities, vocational training) aims at providing young people with a basic knowledge to be used for their integration into society as well as preparing them to live in a multicultural milieu. Unfortunately, in many cases, the formal education system fails to fulfill all the learning needs of young people due to various reasons (European Commission, 2003).

Even though there are a number of variables that promote integration or are indispensable for integrated education, there is no single formula for good practice when it comes to integrating children of ethnic minority background into schools (Messing, 2008). What helps is a professionally prepared and empathetic teacher: no programme, project or pedagogical method can replace or even compensate for this. There are some innovative methods and techniques that can serve to promote the integration of children with language, cultural or social differences, just to mention a few, co-operative learning, drama, differentiated teaching and project-based learning.
(Messing, 2008: 471). Still, the time children spend at school is not enough, so it is of a major importance that schools extend their pursuits beyond activity settings that happen during school hours and in the school building. According to Trueba, (1988, after: Tharp and Gallimore, 1988: 283):

“activity setting is a unit of analysis that transcends individuals and provides a meaningful way to integrate culture, local contexts and individual function”.

Thus the classroom, but also playground, cafeteria, auditorium, thus actually encompassing the entire school setting, during and after teaching, are formed by activity settings. All these places could be used to expand integration. As Rosenberg et al. (1989) believed, schooling is generally a major arena of achievement among adolescents. With some effort it could easily become a place for promoting integration.

Giavrimis et al. (2003) stated that immigrant students need to deal with various difficulties in schools that arise from the cultural differences between the host society and the society of origin, such as learning a new language, integrating into a new school system, and fitting into new group of peers. This appears to be one of the reasons why many countries are experiencing difficulties in education and the integration of children from immigrant families (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009). It might be that many of the problems that ethnic minority students experience in the schools reflect the problems in the wider society. According to Gibson (1987), all minority students encounter some problems at school, and yet some groups of minority students still manage to do well at school. Barriers to immigrant children social integration in the school environment are relevant issues. The greatest barrier for children from other cultures in the process of integration and inclusion in education is lack or poor language proficiency (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009); teachers underline that language is the main reason for school disadvantage of immigrant children (Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006).

Children that do not speak the mainstream language, and therefore are unable to communicate with their native peers and cannot fully integrate into school environment. Other factors that influence school integration are parents’ and school support, social and educational status of their families, age and gender, nationality, etc. (OECD, 2006). Among the most common difficulties that immigrant children face in the process of school integration are also peer group isolation, inadequate preparation of teachers and schools for the education of foreign children, lack of information and insufficient knowledge about the needs of children of immigrants (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009).
School success seems to be among the factors positively influencing school integration and vice versa. However, research on emigrant children is not consistent when it comes to school success. Some authors state that even though many students are successful, drop-out rates are high and school success for minority students appear to be rather low (e.g., Levitt et al., 2004; Cluster "Access and Social inclusion in Lifelong Learning", 2006). This lower performance is often related to lower socio-economic conditions, and, therefore, to weaker motivation and expectations from families. Other researchers, however, believe that students with immigrant parents, including children who themselves are foreign-born, tend to receive grades in school that are equal to or even higher than those of students whose parents were born in particular country (Fuligni, 1998, after: Kao & Tienda, 1995; Gibson, 1987). Immigrant students seem to use education as the venue to upgrade their socioeconomic position and believe that if they work hard enough they can succeed at school (Gibson, 1987). It was found that academic achievement predicted ethnic minority children's social competence and peer acceptance (Chen et al., 1997: 518). Furthermore, it is suggested that children from immigrant families demonstrate a remarkable level of general adaptation often higher than their native schoolmates (Fuligni, 1998).

Children who do poorly at school may experience difficulties in obtaining positive status and respect among peers and develop negative self-perceptions of self-worth (Chen et al., 1997: 519) which then influences school integration. Not only immigrant adolescents, but all who do not enjoy positive, supportive relationships with peers and adults are at risk for problems at school (Liebkind et al., 2004), including problems with school integration.

Thus, school success of immigrant children becomes an important aspect. Rosenberg et al. (1989: 1001) suggested that academic success is generally valued in the society, so those who do well in school should receive more favorable reflected appraisals from significant others, e.g., native peers. School success is also strongly connected with positive adaptation to the school milieu and, according to Zhou (1997a) it is one of the most important indications of adapting to society. School marks, therefore, become public, visible, overt indicator of school success: high marks in school should yield positive social comparisons (Rosenberg et al., 1989).

To sum up, even though the problem of immigration became one of the most relevant in the modern societies, and all its aspects are under scrutiny, still little is known about the adaptation process that immigrant children have to face as well as
about educational, and psychosocial consequences that emerge as they learn a new culture, new community, and often, a new language (McCarthy, 1998) in their process of social integration. Studies show that most children of immigrants fare in their new country quite well and it is often translated into their school performance. As we have already stated, positive school adaptation is an indicator of positive integration of immigrant children and that is why adaptation to school takes an important part during discussion of immigrant children school integration.

Taking into consideration immigrant children’s peculiar situation, the issue of school integration seems to be very important and complex, and it deserves some deep investigation. School has the power and tools to promote positive inter-group contacts within which diverse groups can interact, learn from one another and develop positive attitudes towards one another (Papoulià – Tzelepi et al., 2003). Children’s feelings and attitudes, both positive and negative, about school have long-term consequences: poor school integration, therefore, often leads do negative and long-term outcomes regarding broader context of society.

In correlation to the theory of school integration that was briefly presented above, which states that school success results in better school integration and vice versa, what then facilitates social integration, we seek to find out if it is true in case of Polish pupils from Athens. Research on immigrant children is not consistent when it comes to school success, so we would like to investigate the relation of success with school integration of Polish students in Greece.

It was already mentioned that the situation of immigrant children at school can mirror characteristics of the larger society. So, strong or weak school integration can be an indicator of general integration, or lack of it, into mainstream community. Moreover, many of the problems that ethnic minority students experience in the schools reflect the problems in the wider society. We have also acknowledged that positive school integration might be seen as an indicator of positive integration of immigrant children. All these aspects suggest that by investigating school integration we might get important insight into the general integration of Polish immigrant adolescents in Greek society. This is supported by the above mentioned theories according to which children’s intellectual development is socially and culturally based: what happens at school might be crucial to understanding the integration processes.

It has already been said that school is a setting which transmits norms and values necessary for social cohesion. This is the case of school integration through
socialization, which is the second objective of school system next to transmitting knowledge. Thus, our interest in school integration is grounded in the character of these educational institutions that are indispensable in including children of foreign nationals in the new environment and in supporting them in achieving social advancement. School environment, with its norms, values, and support, plays an important role in facilitating language acquisition and adaptation in the broader sense. It can be regarded as a starting point of future social integration. Schools, moreover, provide young people with basic knowledge to be used for their integration into society as well as prepare them to live in multicultural society. Schooling is generally a major arena of achievement among adolescents. With some effort it could easily become a place for promoting integration. All of this explains our interest in school integration and that complexity and inconsistency of immigrant adolescents situation due to the significant life transition they face, justifies the importance of social research in this field.

1.2 PHENOMENON OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this subsection we will focus on the notion of social capital, the possession of which seems to be relevant to the social position in a given society, and how it is relevant in discussion about Polish youngsters in Greece and their social integration.

Social capital is a set of norms and values shared by members of a group, such as truthfulness, honesty, principle reciprocate, trust, etc. This kind of capital is also a network of connections and dependencies, which together form a structure that enables or facilitates the functioning of individuals that belong to one group. It describes circumstances in which individuals can use membership in groups and networks to secure benefits (Sobel, 2002). Social capital is also a powerful form of learning as it provides a range of social settings in which one can observe, practice and develop various skills (Field, 2005). It is believed that the notion of social capital was introduced in a systematic manner into the sociological literature in 1970’s by Pierre Bourdieu, and then utilized by James Coleman and Robert Putnam. These three names are referred to
as the *intellectual triumvirate of social capital* (Law & Mooney, 2006). Still, they are associated with different schools to understand and define this concept. Even though all of them believed that social capital is a resource, they stated different functions for it: Coleman refers to social capital as to resources available to individuals and families to achieve social mobility; Putnam saw it as foundation for civil society important for economic growth and establishing democratic institutions; Bourdieu believed that social capital is about power and inequalities and how they are reproduced in social networks (Dwyer et al., 2006).

In his theory Pierre Bourdieu discussed the various types of capital: economic, social (places and relations in social groups), cultural (skills, customs, habits, styles), and symbolic (the ability to use symbols to validate other types of capital). These forms of capital can transform one into another, but in a limited way. The “capital” of individuals is primarily their habitus, a synthetic expression of all the resources at its disposal. Bourdieu (1986: 51) stated that social capital “is an attribute of an individual in a social context. One can acquire social capital through purposeful actions and can transform social capital into conventional economic gains”. For Bourdieu, social capital is a collective asset shared by members of defined group, with clear boundaries, obligations of exchange, and mutual recognition: he sees social capital as a production of the group’s members (Lin, 2001: 22). Later, Bourdieu wrote that: *Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Thus, we could say that social capital has two components: a resource connected with group membership and social networks. Moreover, Bourdieu believed that the volume of the social capital of an individual depends on the size of the network of connections he/she can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital possessed in his/her own right by each of those to whom he/she is connected (Bourdieu, 1986). It is suggested that Bourdieu’s concept is linked to his theoretical ideas on class and the reproduction of power relations (e.g., Siisiäinen, 2000; Lin, 2001; Walseth, 2008; Morrice, 2007). His notion of social capital was inseparable from economic and cultural capital to reproduce the social relations between classes and maintain the social hierarchy (Morrice, 2007). It is socially powerful to construct social capital that depends on the normality of practices of inequality and social closure. The social closures provided by certain kinds of
institutional educational structures, such as select schools, enable families and kinship networks to reassemble and reassert their social power. Bourdieu’s conception of social capital can be thus regarded as an axis of unequal power resources (Law & Mooney, 2006). In Bourdieu’s theory the lack of familiarity with the tacit rules, norms, expectations and traditions associated with the new systems in which immigrants live means that they are disadvantaged from the outset: the *habitus* they occupy ensures that they will feel like ‘fish out of water’ when trying to access and integrate into mainstream education or work systems (Morrice, 2007: 166, after: Bourdieu, 1977). We could transfer this view to the situation of children of Polish immigrants in Athens. This underprivileged group is not socially powerful, thus it does not have a full access to mainstream social capital. Another thing is the Polish school. Due to its unique character as a Polish institution in Greek society, in some way it leads to inequality as it keeps Polish students in Polish reality, creates and strengthens networks among Poles, regardless of the fact that they function in Greek society that they should integrate into. If we think about social integration, the networks that Polish adolescents create should not be limited to Polish community, but involve both: Polish and Greek communities. According to Siisiäinen (2000), Bourdieu believed that membership in groups and involvement in the social networks developing within these and in the social relations arising from the membership could be used in efforts to improve the social position of actors in a variety of different fields. Taggart and Kao (2003) believed that immigrant parents are marginal members of host society due to their disadvantage resulting from their native language and different social customs. This is why children of immigrants and minority families are likely to have less social capital (Taggart & Kao, 2003). Because Polish adolescents have limited access to some of the social networks in Greek society, we could assume that their social position in this milieu is thus weak. The existence and importance of migrant networks have been documented in migratory systems throughout the world (Massey & Aysa, 2005). Zhou and Bankston’s (1994) findings indicate that strong positive immigrant cultural orientations can serve as a form of social capital. Analyzing ethnicity as social capital is not unilateral as one could see ethnicity as both a positive and/or a negative form of social capital (Dwyer et al., 2006). Immigrant children may react to their disadvantaged status with different strategies. One of them is relying on social capital available in their own ethnic community to actively fight for acceptance by the larger society (Zhou, 1997a).
Another part of the intellectual triumvirate of social capital - Coleman - believed that social capital is rather intangible because it exists in the structure of relations between individuals. He wrote that “it is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – within the structure” (Coleman, 1988: 98). In his theory, Coleman based social capital in the setting of families and surrounding communities and stressed their impact on the development of young people. He discussed three forms of social capital: a) obligations and expectations (e.g., doing favors for and receiving favors from other people), b) informational channels (e.g., sharing useful information that may inform some future action), c) norms and effective sanctions (e.g., the establishment of community values and shared standards of behavior) (Coleman, 1988). Coleman identifies social capital as a resource that has value for a young person’s development and that reside both: within the family (it inheres in the structure of intergenerational relationships, especially between parents and children) and outside, in the community (relations outside the family which come together to create a dense social structure of norms, trust and obligations) (Coleman, 1988: 113). This sociologist also underlined the importance of social capital for educations of youngsters (Coleman, 1988: 115). In later works, Coleman has defined social capital of children’s development as “the norms, the social networks, and the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the child’s growing up” (Coleman, 1990: 334). According to Dwyer et al. (2006: 5), Coleman’s findings suggest that “economic disadvantage can be compensated by a strong form of social capital in the form of family norms, values and networks, as well as a broader set of community values and networks”. Adopting this idea to the situation of Polish adolescents in Athens we could state, that their disadvantaged situation might be equalized by the social capital they get from their families and communities.

For Robert Putnam social capital consists of three main components: moral obligations and norms, social values (especially trust) and social networks (especially voluntary associations) (Putnam et al., 1993). Each of these features has its particularity when children and young people are concerned (Tomanovic, 2005). In later works Putnam (Putnam, 2000: 22–24) distinguished between and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital means relationships between members of one social group, such as friends, close family members, neighbors and work colleagues. Bridging social
capital refers to networks between people who might be different from one another, e.g., more distant acquaintances from other circles, groups or social classes, people belonging to different communities, or people belonging to another ethnic group. When we discuss these two social capitals we should remember that they are not “either/or” categories, but rather that many groups bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others (Walseth, 2008). Putnam stated that ‘bonding is good for “getting by”, but bridging is crucial for “getting ahead”’ (Walseth, 2008, after: Putnam, 2000: 23). Additionally, bridging social capital seems to contribute to societal integration, while bonding social capital might be exclusive and can produce strong out-group antagonism. When studying the case of adolescents with an immigrant background their accumulation of both: bridging and bonding social capital could be taken into account. Adapting Putnam’s theory to case of Polish adolescents in Greece could tell us which capital is in their case the dominant one. We think that bridging social capital can be regarded as pointer of social integration, so it would be interesting to investigate how much of it Polish adolescents acquire and how does it influence their social integration. Research on social capital of adolescents might focus on various indicators of bridging social capital. Active participation in civil society (e.g., in voluntary organizations such as membership of social clubs, memberships in Trade Unions, etc.) is regarded as one of the most common indicator of bridging social capital, as it helps build social networks and to develop and enforce social norms (Wallace & Pichler, 2007; Harper & Kelly, 2003). Civic participation is defined as individual involvement in local and national affairs, and perceptions of ability to influence those (Harper & Kelly, 2003). It would be interesting to check the civic participation in case of Polish adolescents in Athens. Social participation is defined as involvement in, and volunteering for various organized groups. Social participation could be measured by:

- number of cultural, leisure, social groups belonged to and frequency and intensity of involvement
- volunteering, frequency and intensity of involvement
- religious activity

Voluntary work is an important indicator of people’s willingness to undertake activity that benefits others and the wider community (Harper & Kelly, 2003).
Among other indicators of bridging social capital in case of Polish adolescents living in Greece, there is a notion of *generalized trust*, e.g., trust individuals have in others, those they know and do not know, as well as trust in formal institutions. Trust is seen as being closely linked to social capital, either as a direct part of it or as an outcome (Harper & Kelly, 2003). The bonding social capital of Polish adolescents in Greece, also important for presented research, could be measured in relation to such pointer as social networks or social support. In case of social networks research could focus on three different measures of social network capital: frequency of contact with friends, work colleagues and neighbors. Wallace and Pichler (2007), define social support as a concrete indication of the strength of bonding social capital. It refers to the extent to which people give or provide services of different kinds within informal networks, or at a neighborhood level. Social networks and social support could be measured on the basis of:

- frequency of seeing/speaking to relatives/friends/neighbors
- extent of virtual networks and frequency of contact
- number of close friends/relatives who live nearby
- exchange of help

Based on Putnam’s notion of social capital we could find out how social networks (e.g., friendship relations) influence children’s sense of belonging to communities and heir social integration. Another thing is a mutual relationship between bonding and bridging social capital within the group of Polish adolescents. As Halpern (2005: 261) refers, there is a study from Amsterdam that compares different immigrant groups. It found that groups with more associations of a bonding nature had also stronger bridging ties to the larger community and were better integrated into the social and political life of the Netherlands. Sociologist Alejandro Portes predicted that too strong ties of social capital, in particular in its bonding form, may have several negative consequences including the use of coercion by the group, limiting the freedom of individuals operating within particular network of social capital or an exclusion of persons not belonging to the group. The negative aspects of both bonding and bridging capitals could have even greater results in case of Polish adolescents living outside Poland than ones that live in the country or their Greek peers. In case of bonding capital exclusion of persons not belonging to the group (e.g., the group of Poles in Athens), could lead to even greater feelings of rejection and loneliness. It could be due to the fact
that in exile there are not too many groups that one could belong to. Moreover, living in foreign society may intensify these perceptions and have impact on adolescents’ adaptation. When it comes to bridging capital, exclusion from the mainstream networks may also influence adolescents’ general well-being and their social integration.

According to Siisiäinen (2000), Putnam's idea of social capital deals with collective values and societal integration, whereas Bourdieu's approach is made from the point of view of actors engaged in struggle in pursuit of their interests. Similar idea about Putnam’s work we can find in Walseth (2008) and O’Brien and Ó Fathaigh (2004) researches. Walseth suggested that Putnam’s work on social capital is one of the theoretical approaches to the study of social integration. She also believed that Putnam’s idea of building social capital and social networks is important for communities and democracies, as well as for the individual’s sense of belonging (Walseth, 2008). We agree that the case of social capital is important when talking about immigration, and understanding this concept might be helpful when discussing the social integration of Polish adolescents in Athens. Putman believed that participation in various organizations builds social capital what in its turn strengthens integration. According to Adkins (2005), Putnam thought of social capital as a sort of social glue that holds societies together creating a collective ‘we’ and collective goods in modern societies.

As shown in scientific research, children's social networks are generally informal (Tomanovic, 2005). Their uniqueness lies in the fact that they are mostly based on friendship, but they can be also based in smaller scale on family members and neighbors. Similar case considers adolescents: majority of their social networks is still informal, based on friends and acquaintances. Adolescents might also participate in, as Putnam (1993) named them, voluntary networks, such as sports and other after school activities. Moreover, adolescents can be involved in formal community networks or take part in any actions linked to local authorities.

It is believed that the social capital that children posses in their social networks of friends is bonding one (Tomanovic, 2005). When it comes to adolescents, and especially foreign adolescents that live in multicultural community of foreigners, they cumulate also bridging social capital. At their schools and after them they meet and make friends with peers from different countries and have a chance to learn about their customs, traditions, and habits.
To sum up, we could most broadly describe the social capital as the norms and networks that facilitate a variety of social transactions and help individuals and groups to fulfill mutually held goals (Schafft & Brown, 2003). Although differences arise among users of the term in relation to a precise definition, there is broad agreement that trust, norms (of reciprocity) and social sanctions are at the core of the concept. Social capital is also strongly connected to power: a person’s social capital can provide them with networks of advantage linking them to skills, ideas and knowledge which they can then use to their own advantage (Morrice, 2007). There are different forms of social capital: family, weekend school, people met on commuter train and buses, college classmates, neighborhood association one belong to, civic organization one is member of, internet chat group, etc. Adding up all these different forms creates a single, sensible summary of the social capital. We could divide the forms of social capital into formal: e.g., actions linked to authorities, parents’ organizations, and informal (Putnam, 2004: 7-10): people playing football, gathering in one pub, family dinners.

Bourdieu’s concept of social capital emphasizes the conflicts and the power function, e.g., in social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests. Moreover, it becomes a resource in the social struggles that take place in different social arenas or fields (Siisiäinen, 2000). Both Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) believed that people gain access to social capital through membership in networks and social institutions and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their position in society (Hirschmann et al., 1999).

Social capital is a form of capital that could both raise social cohesion and fight with social exclusion. Bourdieu understands of social capital as a way of reproducing the social relations between classes and maintaining the social hierarchy, together with his notion of *habitus* have implications for immigrants. We can apply Bourdieu’s, but also Putnam’s works to research the ways in which social capital keeps and strengthens the marginalization of ethnic minorities. In case of Poles in Athens, these newcomers in Greek society do not have the inherited relationships, practices and values (compare: Morrice, 2007). Putnam and Coleman provide a framework for regarding ethnicity as a social capital; an ethnic group might have shared networks, norms and trust which might enable participants to act to pursue shared objectives (Dwyer et al., 2006). As we have already said, Coleman’s findings suggest that economic disadvantage can be compensated by a strong form of ethnic social capital. Disadvantaged situation of Polish
adolescents in Athens might be equalized by the social capital they get from their families and communities. Participation in groups in networks seems to be important for overall adaptation and integration processes of immigrants in mainstream society. The importance of groups and networks in the lives of individuals could be seen in the works of Durkheim. Durkheim often used his statement that social reality is for a person always found reality. A person doesn’t create the language he speaks, but learns it from a group. He does not create methods of work he uses, but takes it from surroundings, does not invent religion he practices, but acquires it in the process of being brought up from the community. So, in other words, he adjusts to the rules from his society or social group (Szacki, 2002: 379). In many respects, Putnam’s ideas relate back to Durkheim’s view of trust, reciprocity and interdependence as functional necessities for social stability and social order (Hulse & Stone, 2007).

2. ADOLESCENCE AS TRANSITIONAL STAGE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Adolescence is a transitional stage of physical and mental human development that involves biological, social, and psychological changes. Research on this thematic has its tradition in social sciences. Every study on that special period cannot be undergone without particular knowledge about changes occurring during this time. Adolescence is a highly complex stage and that is why research concerning it, such as ours, needs some insight into its most relevant characteristics. Otherwise, specific phenomena could not be fully understood or explained. That is why in the following chapter we focus on the adolescence as significant transitional stage of human development, describe briefly its main characteristics and try to relate some of them to the process of social integration. Information enclosed in this unit is essential for conducting proposed research as well as for comprehensive understanding of its final conclusions.
The word *adolescence* comes from Latin: *adolescere* and means *to grow into adulthood* (Steinberg, 1996: 3). Adolescence is defined as a period characterized by turmoil, including emotional upheaval, conflict with parents, alienation, and identity crisis (Cicchetti, & Toth, 1996). The problems and characteristics of adolescents were discussed as early as two thousand years ago by Greek philosophers like Aristotle, Socrates and Plato (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003). In 4th century B.C. Socrates wrote about the young people: “They have execrable manners, flaunt authority, have no respect for their elders. What kind of awful creatures will they become when they grow up?” (Milson, 1972: 1). Since then, the question of youngsters has been an important theme for many scholars working in the fields of sociology, biology, psychology, and others.

One of the issues concerning adolescence is deciding when does it begin and end, as different theories propose various markers. Steinberg (1996: 5) gives some examples of the ways in which adolescence has been distinguished from childhood and adulthood. Some of the boundaries are as follows:

a) biological – start: onset of puberty; end: becoming capable of sexual reproduction,

b) emotional – start: beginning of detachment from parents; end: attainment of separate sense of identity

c) cognitive – start: emergence of more advanced reasoning abilities; end: consolidation of advanced reasoning abilities,

d) interpersonal – start: beginning of a shift in interest from parental to peer relations; end: development of capacity for intimacy with peers,

e) social – start: beginning of training for adult work, family and citizen roles; end: full attainment of adult status and privileges.

Adolescence may span a ten-year period, and due to numerous changes and psychological and social growth that take place in that period social scientists working on adolescence usually differentiate among (Steinberg, 1996: 6):

1. early adolescence (approx. 11-14)
2. middle adolescence (approx. 15-18)
3. late adolescence (approx. 18-21) – youth.
According to Steinberg (1996), there are three features of adolescent development that give this period its significance: onset of puberty (biological transitions), emergence of more advanced thinking abilities (cognitive transitions) and transition into new roles in society (social transitions). These changes occur universally, in every society.

1. Biological transformations - Puberty involves changes in young person’s physical appearance and the attainment of reproductive capability. The body changes and so does the way in which adolescent feels about these changes. Relations in family and adolescents’ friendships are diversified by newly appearing impulses and concerns.

2. Cognitive transformations. One of the most important changes is the appearance of more sophisticated thinking abilities (improved thinking about hypothetical situations and abstract concepts that tends to become multidimensional, rather than limited to a single issue) that affect the way adolescents think about themselves, their relationships, and the society. During adolescence individuals begin thinking more often about the process of thinking itself, or metacognition. As a result, adolescents may display increased introspection and self-consciousness. Moreover, adolescents are more likely than children to see things as relative, rather than absolute.

3. Social transformations - include a change in social status: changes in rights, privileges, and responsibilities. Changes in social status allow young people enter new roles and engage in new activities (e.g., marriage, work) that largely alter their self-image and relationships with others: at home, at school and within peer groups.

Even though the fundamental changes of adolescence are universal, they occur in a given social context that varies from individual to individual and across space and time (Steinberg, 1996: 11). Social development includes personality, learning to respond emotionally, and mastering interpersonal relations. Cognitive development is determined by social interactions and it can be described as mental processes that are instrumental in gaining new knowledge, which assist us in becoming aware of our environment (Kuscer, 2004: 155). It covers all processes used for thinking, decision making and learning, and includes perception, memory, language, imagination, judgment. Cognitive development depends on genetic dispositions as well as on number
of environmental factors, e.g., education (both: formal - at schools, or informal – acquired in the family, among friends, and through different experiences life brings about).

Hormonal changes at the period of adolescence influence subjective experiences of emotions. The overt changes to physical appearance brought on by puberty are likely to have private effects on an adolescent’s body image. Physical development also affects the adolescent’s social environment as changing appearance brings about changing expectations and behaviors in others (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276). Psychological changes at puberty are based on, and derive their power from, physical (i.e. biological) changes that alter still infantile sexuality (Wise, 2004: 69). According to Steinberg (1996: 12), psychological development during adolescence involves five sets of developmental issues:

1. Identity = self-discovery and self-understanding. Erikson (1968) believed that a major task for adolescents is the development of identity. This period is often a time of trying on different personalities in an attempt to discover one’s true self. Adolescents’ quest for identity is a quest not only for a personal sense of self, but also for recognition from others and from society that one is a special and unique individual. Inability on the part of adolescents to develop identity may result in role confusion (Virta et al., 2004). The combination of physical, cognitive, and social changes that occur during the period of adolescence altogether with important life choices to be made (e.g., occupation, life partner) spur what Erik Erikson called an identity crisis (Identity Formation in Adolescence, 2002). Hence, the word “crisis,” should be rather understood as a turning point in young people’s lives.

2. Autonomy = a healthy sense of independence. The process of adolescent trials to establish himself as independent, self-governing individual in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of others, is long and difficult, not only for individual, but also for people around him. There are three sorts of concerns that are of special importance to developing adolescents:

   a) becoming less emotionally dependant from parents,

   b) becoming able to make independent decisions
c) establishing a personal code of values and morals.

3. Intimacy = close and caring relationships with others. Adolescence involves relevant changes in the individuals’ capacity to be intimate with others, especially with peers. In this period friendship shifts from sharing interests and activities into relations based on openness, honesty, loyalty and confidence. Dating starts to be very important, and as a consequence, so does the capacity to form a trusting and loving relationship.

4. Sexuality = expressing sexual feelings and enjoying physical contact with others. Sexual activities, an important aspect of development, begin at this period. Relevance of these acts lay in transformations of the nature of relationships between adolescents and their peers and in rising for the young people a range of difficult concerns, such as efforts to incorporate sexuality into a still-developing sense of self, the need to resolve questions about sexual values and morals, and coming into terms with the sorts of relationships into which one might be not yet prepared to enter.

5. Achievement = being a successful and competent member of society. Achievement transformations include changes in individuals’ educational and vocational behavior and plans. Decisions that are made at this period are important and may have long-term consequences. Many of these decisions depend on adolescents’ achievements in school, on evaluation of their own competencies and capabilities, on their aspirations and expectations for the future, as well as on the direction and advice they receive from parents, teachers and friends.

Adams and Berzonsky (2003) agree that developmental patterns and processes occurring during the period of adolescence include autonomy and identity development. However, they believe that cognitive, moral and emotional developments during adolescence are of great importance as well. Wise (2004: 69) states that essential parts of adolescence are: emotional growth, major restricting of the personality and adolescents states of mind.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is uneven, often disharmonious process of biological maturation, complicated by sociocultural factors. This transition is characterized by many inevitable, related problems (Wolman, 1998). Coping skills, developed in childhood, may be considerably strained by the multiple new stresses
encountered at adolescence (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276). The risks facing adolescents is attributable to both: biological and developmental changes as well as to more external social and situational challenges (Cicchetti & Toth, 1996). Drops in self-esteem at adolescence, low perceived competence in academic, peer-social, and behavioral domains, low levels of perceived support from peers and parents, as well as poor body image have been linked to depressed mood in adolescence (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 278). According to Cotterell (1996: 75), there is a rather big cost of distressed and impaired relationship or adolescents’ experiences of loneliness. The reason for these negative experiences might be, for example, consuming concern with being accepted by others of the same age, high sensitivity and disappointment when one seems to be ignored. Some forms of loneliness are the consequences of active social exclusion and ostracism (Cotterell, 1996: 75). However, adolescents also experience situational loneliness, arising from emotionally traumatic experiences, such as separation abandonment, bereavement or life in exile. Adolescents must expand their emotional competencies in order to succeed in soothing themselves when in distress and to modulate their emotional expression in accord with their new social environments (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276). It is notable that in the realm of negative affect, important gender differences exist. While rates of depressed mood increase overall with the onset of adolescence, this elevation is significantly greater for girls than boys: in general, girls are more likely than boys to manifest the factors associated with depressed mood: they exhibit poorer mood and more feelings of hopelessness (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276).

Nurmi (1993: 169) suggests that youngsters develop during the process of setting personal goals that adolescence is by comparing their individual motives with age-graded developmental tasks and role transitions. In order to realize their goals, they construct plans by considering different institutional opportunities in relevant domains such as school, work, peer relationships, and society in a broader context. Biological and related cognitive development during adolescence creates new competencies for life planning and challenges for developing a new construction of the self. Adolescents’ decisions and ways of coping with major contextual demands crucially influence their later lives either enhancing or restricting their options and opportunities (Petersen, Crouter, & Wilson, 1988). These decisions play an important part in identity formation (Nurmi, 1993: 170).
A normal transition through adolescence involves some measure of disturbance, both of inner feelings and attitudes within oneself, and also in relation to others. These changes occur in adolescence as part of a process of detachment from parents and family (Wise, 2004: 68). As adolescents attempt to carve out an identity distinct from both younger world being left behind and older world still out of range, they develop distinctive standards of clothing, hairstyles, language and music (Henslin, 1998: 75). Adolescents are not children anymore, nor are they what they will be in the future. Most of them are torn by inner conflicts exacerbated by a decline in parental authority (Wolman, 1998). During adolescence young people begin seeing their parents' values as excessively relative. Adolescents discover that parents can often be wrong in their opinions, that their views can be inconsistent and that they often endorse beliefs and values that are contrary to other parents’ views (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 67). A basic assumption of most theories of adolescence reflects the belief that the initial parent-child bond begins to loosen as the child matures physically and grows into puberty and adolescence. Simultaneously, their own age group – especially friends and peers – becomes increasingly influential and seems to contribute significantly to the process of their development. Another step in parent–adolescent relations is often a conflict situation, which, according to Harker (2001) can be often connected to problem behavior, poor school performance, low self-esteem, and depression among adolescents. Still, family remains to have important influence over the development of adolescents’ identities, autonomy, and achievement. Regardless of the family’s structure or composition (one or two parents, natural or reconstructed, employed mother or unemployed father), having positive and warm family relationships stands out as one of the most relevant predictors and correlates of healthy psychosocial growth during the adolescent years. Several scholars have comprehensively reviewed the role of parents in normative adolescent development (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 60). According to Nurmi (1993: 182) a number of studies have shown that changes within the family have a crucial impact on adolescent development. Some of events within a family, such as marital disruption and household moves influence on adolescents’ education. Pulkkinen (1982) showed that the greater the number of changes in the family and simultaneous changes in particular the greater the likelihood of personal and social problems for adolescent members. New research on divorce indicates that although most youngsters ultimately adapt to the parental divorce, certain adjustments or behavior problems (e.g., academic problems, increased drug or alcohol use, difficulties in romantic relationships)
may occur or reoccur in adolescence (Steinberg, 1996:145). Another issue is remarriages. According to Steinberg (1996: 147) adolescents suffer each time their family situation changes. Therefore, young people growing up in stepfamilies may be at even greater risk than their peers in single-parent, divorced homes. Comparing to their male friends, girls show more difficulties in adjusting to remarriages.

One of the most important institutions in adolescents’ lives is school. To fully understand how school influences development, one needs to understand change at both the individual and the institutional level (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 141). Students’ experiences within schools can vary widely according to the track they are in, the peer group they belong to, and the extracurricular activities in which they participate (Steinberg, 1996: 247). Staying in school is preferable in terms of cognitive development, but also a psychosocial development of adolescents. Schools are places where students do not only learn the academic material, but also learn about themselves, their relationships with others, and society (Steinberg, 1996: 246-247). Thus, important thing is that adolescents do not view schools solely in terms of its academic agenda, but as the main setting for socializing. The school transitions (e.g., to high school, college, university) are typical for adolescence and are often followed by changes in other domains of life, such as peer relationships (Nurmi, 1993: 177). These kinds of transition bring the stress of a novel environment and new social hierarchies. At this age students frequently move from a smaller to a larger school with more complex schedules and less personal attention. Adolescents may have to separate from friends and leave other supportive relationships. All of these elements constitute significant potential stressor (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276). It is difficult to generalize about the role of schools in adolescent development, since different students (richer, native, etc.) may have markedly different experiences within the same school. Steinberg (1996: 248) suggests that the best answer to the question: “How do schools affect adolescent development?” would be another question: “Which schools, which adolescent, and in what respect?” The structure of a school: its size, tracking policy, curricula, provides different intellectual and psychosocial opportunities for students who occupy different places within that structure.

As we have already mentioned, biological maturation during early adolescence pushes youngsters into new types of peer relationships as well as novel role pattern (Nurmi, 1993: 177). The context of adolescence includes families, peer groups, schools,
work and leisure settings. Personal relationships characteristic for this period involve (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003).

✓ dating and romantic experiences
✓ friendships, cliques and crowds
✓ relationships within the family
✓ relations outside the family

Understanding the nature of friendship and peer relations is of central importance for adolescence. Together with family, friends are the primary bonding materials in community. Moreover, friendships made in adolescence often endure into adult life (Cotterell, 1996: 21). According to Cotterell (1996), friendship is not an optional extra in adolescence but a crucial to achieving many developmental tasks. There is a personal urge to socialize in that period. Identification with one’s peer group gives adolescents a feeling of security and power. It makes them perceive themselves as a socionomous individual who take part in setting the rules established by peer group (Wolman, 1998: 27). Adolescents consider the time they spend with peers to be among the most enjoyable parts of the day (Steinberg, 1996: 211) and that is why the amount of time individuals spend in the exclusive company of their peers is increasing with age. Moreover, during adolescence increasingly more time is spent with the opposite-sex peers. All these transformations are connected to biological, cognitive and social transitions of adolescence (Steinberg, 1996: 190). In the realm of identity, peers provide the sorts of models and feedback that adolescents cannot get from adults (Steinberg, 1996: 210).

According to Steinberg (1996), it is likely that poorly adjusted individuals experience difficulty making friends. Adolescents who are rejected by their peers are at risk for a wide variety of psychological and behavioral problems: e.g., academic failure, conduct problems, and depression (Steinberg, 1996: 209). Personal factors like need for approval, internalized standards, and self-control moderate the effect that peer pressure for deviancy will have on adolescents (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003).

Adolescence is a demanding developmental period for all young people. For immigrant youth, this hard time is compounded by complex linguistic, acculturative, psychological, and economic difficulties (Van Ngo, 2009: 84). Even though all young people face new experiences, regardless of their immigrant status, but immigrants’
children confront more and different challenges, often present in their intercultural status. (Berry et al., 2006: 218). Children of immigrants face multiple problems in their host society, just to mention learning a new language, integrating into a new school system or even discrimination. According to Aronowitz (1984) immigrant children suffer more often from behavioral disorders and, in adolescence, identity conflicts. Due to the fact that immigrant adolescents function within the contexts of their home, school and community environments the context of resettlement for them is not monolithic, but rather concerns series of smaller life spheres (Birman et al., 2002). Xu et al. (2010), believed that for foreign-born adolescents, family support is the key factor that has a protective effect on them and support their development, much stronger than in case of their host friends. All parents, regardless their culture, cherish values and practices of their society. Ethnic groups are often motivated to keep aspects of their native cultures rather than to assimilate into mainstream society (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Immigrant parents hand down values and traditions of their culture of origin and try, often hard, to retain them in host environment teaching children about their significance. Often parents’ values are different from ones held by the society of residence (Berry et al., 2006: 167) and this might be the reason for adolescents’ confusion. According to Aronovitz (1984), literature suggests that the experience of migration and culture change may exacerbate normal developmental crises for immigrant adolescents. For migrating youngsters, who must contend with stressors posed by moving and cultural transitions in addition to the normative developmental changes of adolescence, adaptive processes of immigration may be particularly difficult (Motti-Stefanidi, 2009: 46). Young immigrants are faced with the new physical, social, and cultural environment of the host country and they have to rebuild their social networks (Stodolska, 2008). They may experience difficulties in forming cross-ethnic friendships, over-reliance on support from peers with similar cultural backgrounds, alienation and isolation, and limited access to positive role models and mentors (Van Ngo, 2009: 85). Discrimination by their mainstream peers constitute an important problem that affects adaptation as discriminatory behaviors lead to segregation in and after school, divisions within class, alienation of recent immigrants, and creation of ethnically enclosed groups of students. Moreover, a significant number of children of immigrant families are growing up in households impacted by a range of socioeconomic issues such as cultural and language barriers, unemployment or underemployment, social isolation, illiteracy, discrimination, and limited civic participation (Van Ngo, 2009: 85). Immigrant youth
must learn how to navigate two cultures, moving across the multiple worlds created by family and ethnic group, schools, peers, and community (Motti-Stefanidi, 2009: 46).

An aspect of identity that is important to adolescents with immigrant backgrounds is *ethnic minority identity* (Virta et al., 2004). Adolescents’ own ethnic group offers social support required to lessen the negative effects of discrimination they may experience. Still, with a time engagement in own ethnic group could create a vicious circle increasing discrimination that could eventually lead to escalation of separation or marginalization of the immigrant adolescents (Berry et al., 2006: 165).

To sum up, for generations western culture has viewed adolescence as a developmental phase of human life, a period of emotional upheaval and turmoil (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276, after: Arnett, 1999). Historically, development from childhood into adolescence has been thought to include an increase in the intensity of emotions, the experience and expression of emotional liability or “mood swings”. Adolescence is a time of growing up, moving from childhood’s immaturity to the maturity of adulthood. It is a period of numerous transitions: biological, psychological, social, and economic ones. Adolescent life course consists of a complex sequence of transitions and related decisions the later ones being strongly influenced by the earlier ones (Nurmi, 1993: 184). Adolescents face a difficult task of characterizing themselves toward regional, national, and global world. They face variety of possible choices offered by culture (Nikitorowicz, 2000). During the period of adolescence there is variability in outcome, so this stage can be conceptualized as a period of heightened risk, as well as a time that embodies opportunities for growth and positive development (Cicchetti, & Toth, 1996). Higher risk for emotional and behavioral difficulties exists for adolescents who go through the predictable, normative events of pubertal onset and school transitions and simultaneously experience other changes like family disruption, relocation to a new community, etc. (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003: 276).

Adolescence is a time of change, of unpredictable and powerful reactions and responses. No other transition in life is as demanding. This development stage is shaped both by biological unfolding and by societal and cultural norms and expectations. It is a time when there is a new awareness of body, a new sense of the personal, experiences of new impulses, and increased awareness of inner feelings and a great capacity of reflection. Its aspects are determined by biochemical processes common to all human beings. Adolescents’ social world is highly complex: there is a changing relationship to
groups, to other people including parents, relatives and peers, to authority figures and institutional structures, and a wider sense of society. Experience in the peer groups, one of the most relevant characteristics of that period, has an important influence on adolescents’ self-image and is vital for development and expression of autonomy. Today’s adolescents are exposed to a changing sociocultural environment superimposed upon the biological process of change (Wolman, 1998). Rising rates of divorce, increases in maternal employment, a changing economy, all have strongly altered the world in which adolescents live (Steinberg, 1996). Moreover, the composition and the role of the family have changed dramatically in the recent times (Spinthouraki & Katsillis, 2004: 11). Accelerating geographic mobility which often ends in immigration that is also characteristic for contemporaneity is difficult experience for these young people. Specific character of this developmental stage makes its investigation highly relevant and at the same time explains our interest in this age group.

3. POLISH MIGRATIONS

According to De Lucia (2004), term migration defines temporary or definitive movements of living beings from one territory to another. Even though these movements are motivated by various factors, they all are essentially connected to life demands: lack of resources or of living space; the outbreak of political, religious or racial conflicts, etc. Historical, political and economic changes, such as wars, physical disasters, unemployment, etc., make people leave their homes and force them to survive often in a completely different sociocultural environment. Nowadays, decision about migrating is no longer caused only by push-factors, such as unemployment, low wages, raising costs of living in particular country, but also by pull factors: ones that encourage people to change their country of residence, e.g., high wages, possibility to upgrade qualifications etc.

Migrations have been of vital necessity to human populations at least since the beginning of agricultural activity and they made possible populating of the whole planet. The first great migratory flow, probably, occurred in Africa about one million
years ago (De Lucia, 2004). Since then, migrations gradually became more and more popular among people that wished, or were forced, to change their place of stay. At present, international migration has reached historically unprecedented levels, and since the levels of global mobility show little evidence of decreasing, it is set to remain at high levels for the foreseeable future (Zetter et al., 2003). Nowadays, migration has become a contentious political issue, rising higher on the political and media agendas of major destination countries (Hannah, 2008). Thus, economic, political and social significance of these international movements should be recognized by international bodies and national governments so as to find new, most suitable and most coordinated policies to facilitate social integration. The worldwide phenomenon of immigration creates major challenges not only to migrating individuals, but also to host countries that must adapt to a multicultural reality. That is why research on migrations and its influence on different aspects of social and personal lives are of such importance. Hannah (2008) believes that education plays a crucial role in the integration process, being a key site in which both the host and incoming populations learn with, and about, one another. The issue of education of immigrants is important and complex, and it deserves deep investigation (Cluster Access and social inclusion in lifelong learning, 2006). Significant role of education in migration context has already been acknowledged in many researches, but there are still numerous issues connected to it that need investigation. For example, Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz et al., (1999) have stated that it is commonly believed that countries culturally uniform are more hermetic and their habitants are less ready to accept representatives of other cultures or nations. Greece as a type of culturally uniform country and with constantly increasing numbers of immigrants becomes an attractive background of social research on migrations and its effects.

3.1 Brief history of Polish emigration

Poland is traditionally considered to be an emigrant land, therefore a place, where the amount of movement outside the borders is bigger than arrivals. According to the international bibliography, Poland has been one of the Central and Eastern European areas with the largest migratory outflows for over a century (Maroufof, 2009).
Migration processes were always closely connected to the political and economic situation of country. Nevertheless, the reasons for leaving could be numerous, and mainly dependent on individual stories.

Polish people were travelling and settling all across the Europe since the dawn of their country. In the Middle Ages, when first universities started to emerge in Europe, Poles became their active students and after getting a degree in Prague, Paris, Bologna, Padua, or Montpellier many of them decided to stay in those cities and start their scientific career there (Kapuscik, 1997). In the following centuries Polish noble class found traveling around the Europe very popular. Their voyages had mainly educational or recreational character, but often ended in permanent emigration. It is very difficult to estimate amount of those departures, as in that period there were no statistics. Another sign of emigration specific for the end of 16th and beginning of 17th century were escapes of peasants outside the borders, mainly to Turkey, Prussia and The Habsburg Monarchy. Significant seems to be also religious emigration of 17th century: due to changes in policy of tolerance caused by wars, and mainly Polish-Sweden War, half of Arians had to leave Polish state (Kozlowski, 1984). Furthermore, political emigrations were also common: the biggest one started after The Bar Confederation - 1768–1772 (towards: Turkey, German States, Austria, and France).

The first major exodus of Poles started in the end of 18th century after the lost of independence in 1795 for nearly 125 years (partitions in 1772, 1793 and 1795 were the reason for Polish land being included into the territory of Russia, Prussia and Austria). This migration was compulsory. After the tree main uprisings: “November” (1830-1831), “Krakow” (1846) and “January” (1863-1864) many political activists emigrated fleeing from tsar repressive measures. The departure that started after the loss of “November Uprising”, called Great Emigration resulted in about 6 000 Poles (mainly Polish political elites), living in exile. Emigrants were mostly going to European countries, such as: France, Great Britain, Belgium, German states, Italy, Turkey, Switzerland; as well as overseas: to USA.

In the middle of 19th century economic emigration exceeded and soon overgrown political one, changing into an exodus between the last decade of 19th century and 1914. Polish people were going to Saxony (and other German States), France, Turkey, United States of America, Algeria, Belgium, Switzerland, Great Britain and Italy. Between 1870-ties and 1914 from Polish territory of Russian partition emigrated 1.3-1.4 millions
Poles, mainly from rural areas. About 75% of them went to Northern America, 10% to Southern America, and the rest to different European countries. From Polish territory of Austrian partition till 1914 emigrated approx. 1.1 million people. 80% of them moved to USA and the rest to countries ruled by Habsburgs. The amount of Poles that emigrated from Prussian partition between 1870-1914 is estimated at about 1.2 million, 450,000 – 600,000 of which appeared in overseas emigration mainly to USA, and the rest left for Germany (The Ruhr Area). It is important to mention, that those data are indicative as they are often based on divergent estimations (Kozlowski 1984).

Between 19th and 20th century Poles were again emigrating due to both: political situation and economic reasons. This period was dominated by so-called emigration *for bread* – it had mainly economic character. For instance, big amounts of Poles were going to Russian Empire to work as university professors, lawyers and scientists. Only in Petersburg at the beginning of 19th century lived approximately 20,000 Poles. An example of economic emigration from Austrian partition of that time: between 1890 and 1910 2 millions Poles left for Australia, USA, Canada and Brazil (Pilch, 1984).

The fact that by 1914 from Polish territory left about 3.5 millions Poles and another 650,000 was going for seasonal emigration, puts Poland in the first place in Europe among countries with the highest level of migration (Pilch, 1984) of that times. In that period many prominent Poles, extolling the name of Poland by various achievements, chose emigration. Among them such a prominent features as: Maria Sklodowska – Curie, Ignacy Domejko, Bronslaw and Ernest Malinowski.

The outbreak of First World War caused another wave of exodus: approximately 2 million Poles left their homeland. The mobility of Poles during the First and the Second World War was of a special sort. It was appearing as evacuation, refuge, resettlements and impressments, recruitment for compulsory work and conviction for concentration camps.

Economic migrations (mainly seasonal and periodic – approx. 1 million people) dominated interwar period. Some more than 2 million Poles emigrated at that time. We can single out two periods of emigration between 1918 and 1939:
A) 20-ties: economic emigration to France, Belgium, Denmark, USA, Argentina, Canada, Palestine, Brazil (approx. 1.5 million)

B) 30-ties: the level of emigration decreased rapidly – emigrated about 950 000

Poles: 40% oversea (mainly USA) and 60% to European countries.

The outbreak of the Second World War began another exodus in Polish history. Among countries reached by Poles were: France: 25-30 000, USA - 14 000, Palestine – 12 000, Belgium – 11 000, India – 11 000, Great Britain – 5-8 000, Norway – 6 000, Italy – 3 000, Iran – 3 000, Switzerland – 2 000, Holland – 2 000, Japan – 2 000, China – 1 000, Mexico – more than 1 000, Sweden – 1 000, New Zealand – 0.8, 000, Spain – between 5 and 1500, Eastern Africa – 18,6-21 000 (Pilch, 1984).

Never before did Poles emigrate in such a scale. During that period refugees were placed in Reich, and countries occupied by it: USSR, Rumania, Hungary. Poles were escaping from there to other countries in Europe. Into the amount of emigrants during the Second World War are also included:

a) deportees for compulsory work in Reich – 2.8 millions;

b) population translocated from eastern territory of The Second Polish Republic – about 1.2 million;

c) Polish captives and prisoners on the territory of Germany and Austria – more than 200 000;

d) Poles sent to Germany with a germanization aim - more than 236 000.

During the years of war and just after its end to USA emigrated 140 000 of Poles, to Canada - 100 000, to Brazil 33 000 and to Argentine – approx. 20 000. In that period about 1.2 millions Poles were staying in USSR’s territory (Łuczak, 1984: 451-454).

There were also numerous groups of Poles who were living on the "wrong" side of the border before World War II. After the war they ended up in Soviet Union. Now these people live still in today’s Lithuania, Belarus or Ukraine. There were also large groups of Poles sent to Siberia or Kazakhstan during the Second World War. It is very difficult even now to calculate the exact number of peoples who were sent to the East, but the numbers are estimated into millions.

Altogether, it is estimated that during The Second World War about 5 million people left Poland. Some of refugees (e.g., 90% deportees for compulsory work in
Reich) came back after the end of war. Still, more than 4 millions Poles remained outside Polish borders.

Period following The World War II characterized huge relocations and repatriations, and it can be divided into two groups: direct emigration (individual decisions: 1945-1950 approx. 500 – 600 000 Poles) and indirect emigration (people occurred outside new borders: since 1950 - 3 million).

The year 1955 was a breakthrough in the history of Polish emigration. Polish Central Statistical Office (GUS – Główny Urząd Statystyczny) started to carry on exact statistic of movements. Between 1955 and 1980 emigrated 817 800 Poles mainly to Germany France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, America, Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Palestine (Pilch, 1984). Other sources are giving higher amounts of emigration. According to Kaczmarchzyk and Tyrowicz (2007) only between 1971 and 1980 to Western European countries left more than 4,2 millions Poles. 80-ties were not only the period of slow derestriction, but also political and economical recession and bad social moods that led to high emigration tendency. The results were obvious: it is estimated that between 1980 and 1989 altogether 2,2-2,35 million people emigrated from Poland (Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2007). Till 1989, due to political reasons, international migrations were strictly controlled. In that period leaving Poland meant permanent emigration. The phenomenon of this emigration movement was that the most of it made well educated people – 20 000 engineers, almost 9 000 teachers and academic lecturers. In 80-ties every year emigrated about 25% of graduates with diplomas in higher education (Duszczyk & Wiśniewski, 2007). In 1989 more Polish masters left their country than finished studies (Bunda, 2006). Generally, emigration from 60 to 80-ties was dominated by people in middle – age with higher education, politically aware, as living Polish territory was a sort of rebellion against communistic power and reaction to worsen situation in the country. There were many internees, oppositionists and their families among this emigration. After 1989, the permanent emigration from Poland has been decreasing and replaced with various forms of short-term mobility, often described as incomplete migration. The main destination countries for long-term emigration remained the same: Germany, US and Canada (Weinar, 2007). In that period many Poles decided to leave Poland without permission – they declared to go on short trips and never came back. By the end of Polish People’s Republic
approximately 1.1 million of Poles left abroad this way. The most of them was going to Germany.

90-ties were a period when permanent emigration was excited by temporary economic one. Departures to European countries became easier after 1989, when visas to enter Eastern European countries were not needed anymore. Emigration tendencies continued through the first years of 21th century.

Polish accession to structures of European Union on the 1st of May 2004 became a turning point in the history of Polish emigration. Since that day Great Britain, Ireland and Sweden opened their labour markets for Polish citizens. In May 2006, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Finland followed them. The new labor markets’ appearance resulted in emigration of thousands and millions of Poles. It was estimated that by the end of 2006 outside polish borders remained approximately 1 million 950 thousand of Poles, and more than 1 million 600 thousands in Europe. Polish General Statistic Bureau estimated, that emigrants in Europe went to Great Britain (approx. 580 000), Germany (approx. 480 000), Ireland (approx. 120 000 – a record, as the number of Poles comparing to 2002 raised 50 times), Italy (85 000), and Holland (55 000). The majority of Polish emigrants remain in the European Union’s Member States - 1 million 550 thousands in 2006 and this number has doubled since Poland’s accession to EU’s structures. This new emigration very soon changed into exodus that exceeded the 80-ties’ one. Between the 1’st of May 2004, and February 2007 some 3 million Poles stayed abroad. Characteristic for this emigration were young, well educated people, most often graduates from universities (Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2008).

Due to the miscellaneous character of modern migration processes (permanent migration, departures for seasonal work, or cycling migration), it is very difficult to estimate the exact amount of emigration. Nowadays, globalization has changed the word migration into travel for many Poles. According to different calculations, nowadays up to 20 million Poles and Polish descendants live abroad (Urban-Klaehn, 2003) with the largest group in the US. Polish Diaspora is the fifth one in the world (after Irish, Jews, Ormians and Albanians), and placed mainly in USA (about 10 millions), Germany (1.6 million), Brazil and France (1 million), and Canada (650 000) (Bunda, 2006).
Comparing to other nationalities, Poles in exile are well-organized minority. They create allohtonic society - one opened to civilization changes that shows big activity in the new place of settlement, but is rather not interested in local tradition, rules and social live. Polish emigrants and their descendants create Polish organizations that reside abroad often want to cultivate their Polish identity. Still, Polish emigrants are open to any civilization educational re formations. Slowly Poles in exile are resigning from narrow-specializations that are adjusted to needs of labor market along with personal predispositions. Big percentage of Polonia participates in out-of-school educations (e.g., various courses, trainings, correspondent education) that are organized mainly by public and religious institutions, or even by sub-cultural circles (Chodubski, 2003). However, Poles in exile are focusing mainly on satisfaction of material needs. One of the characteristics of Polish emigration is that it is very close to Catholic Church. Poles tend to participate actively in the life of Church, as it is probably one of the things that keep them close to homeland. Polish emigration seems to be a well-organized group of people with the same backgrounds, problems and needs (Lazaridis & Romaniszyn, 1998). Nevertheless, there are many conflicts rising among it, one of them is educational models. Part of emigration (supported by Polish teachers that cannot find a job in exile) wants to create in the new settlement countries Polish kindergartens, primary, secondary and high schools, or at least Polish classes in the schools of habitat countries. Opponents are claiming that Polish schools are hindering adaptation and integration of children in settlement countries and strengthening isolation in country that they live and will work in the future. Education is a fragile problem for illegal emigrants. In their situation it is very difficult to sent children to schools of habitat country. Often, the only solution is education provided by Diaspora. However, in many cases this is only a substitute of education, and very often a poor one (Chodubski, 2003).

To sum up, Poland has been an emigration country for few centuries now. People would leave Poland for two main reasons – political engagement in the struggle for independence and economic needs. The first type of emigration was prominent since 1795 to 1918 and since 1939 to 1989 and it involved upper strata of the society. The second type has been present throughout the centuries until today. Emigration from Poland used to be predominantly of long-term or permanent character. Polish nation in his violent and complicated history was forced to live its homeland many times.
Numerous wars and conflicts that became an inevitable part of Polish citizens’ lives resulted in more or less 20 million of Poles living outside their country today. Still, it is important to remember, that Polish people often emigrated willingly, in the search of better lives for them and their children. Nowadays, when economic situation in Poland is stable, and when Poland is slowly changing from emigration to immigration country, many, especially young Poles, still move to other, mainly European countries. Young generation of well-educated people, often specialists in particular professions (doctors, nurses, programmers, accountants) leaves Poland not because they have to, but because they choose to. This free choice of modern Polish emigration is a characteristic of globalization process and at the same time an indicator that differentiates current emigration from the entire history of Polish resettlements.

Poles are a mobile population in the European context. Since the end of the Iron Curtain across Europe in 1989, hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens have taken advantage of their freedom to travel, not least for economic migration purposes, to several western and southern European countries (Cyrus, 2006). They thus seem to constitute one of the most mobile nations among the EU member states and within Central Eastern Europe at large (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006).

3.2 Polish immigration in Greece

Modern Greece was always rather a country of emigration, similar to the rest of South Mediterranean countries (Siadima, 2001: 3). During the last 20 years the situation has changed and Greece is nowadays both: emigration and immigration country (Baldwin-Edwards & Apostolatou, 2008) and country’s status has changed from a transit, into a host country (Voutira and Kokozila, 2008: 50). Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2006: 3) even describe sudden flaw of immigrants into Greece at early 1990’s as dramatic and sudden increase of immigrant influx that in their opinion was a new and unexpected phenomenon for both the government and the population. Currently, for Greek media and public opinion formers, migration is a key concept at the centre of attention (Voutira & Kokozila, 2008). It is undeniable that immigrants constitute a substantial number of the population residing in this country. They support the Greek
economy and substitute for the lack of flexibility in the labor market (Siadima, 2001: 29-30). Among most important pull factor is the nature of the economy in Greece: large informal economy altogether with small family businesses which are very prominent in Greece require cheap, unskilled or semi-skilled labor force. Moreover, large numbers of young Greeks consider working in menial jobs degrading. Therefore immigrants willing to do these jobs relatively easily find employment (Siadima, 2001: 7).

Poles were and are coming to Greece mainly in the search of work and better living conditions than those they had in Poland. Lazaridis and Romaniszyn (1998) note that Poles migrated in search of higher standards of living. They saw migration as part of their path of personal development (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006:1). Still, others (e.g., Maroufot, 2009) claim that geographical distance and cultural as well as religious differences rather restrain Polish people from settling in Greece.

On the other hand, it has been mentioned (e.g., by Triandafyllidou & Gropas, Romaniszyn, 1996) that among pull factors, especially appealing to Polish people is the curiosity and attraction towards the country itself, with its climate, culture and tradition.

In the history of Polish emigration in Greece there are some prominent people that extolled the name of Poland and Greece by various achievements. The brightest example is probably Andreas Georgios Papandreou, Greek economist and politician that served three times as Prime Minister of Greece. He was a son of Sofia Mineyko of Polish origin.

As we have already mentioned in previous subsection, Poles are very mobile nation. Rotation of Polish citizens has always been big: Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2006: 14) believe that Poles constitute one of the most mobile populations among the EU member states and within Central Eastern Europe. Greece has never been one of the main destinations for Polish immigrants, as they prefer to settle in rich, northern European countries like Germany, Ireland, United Kingdom, Holland, and Scandinavia. However, Poles are among the ten largest immigrant groups, in terms of population size, residing in Greece (Maroufot, 2009).

The phases of migration from Poland to Greece are related to factors linked to the circumstances in Poland and their impact on the migratory flows from Poland as well as Greece’s migratory policies (Maroufot, 2009). The history of Polish immigration in Greece is rather old. Some Poles were settling in Greece in the immediate post war period or later, mainly due to marriage to a Greek citizen.
Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006: 14, after: Romaniszyn 1996: 327-8). Siadima (2001: 3) indicates that during the 1970’s and 1980’s, Greece had a few Polish immigrants. The first huge flow of Polish immigrants came to Greece about 30 years ago after the imposition of Martial Law in Poland (1981). Romaniszyn (1996) mentions that Polish political immigrants who left country after the imposition of Martial Law preceded the economical ones that emigrated in Greece at the beginning of the 1990’s. Throughout the 1980s, there had also been quite a large number of Polish refugees and illegal migrants, but they were largely ignored as a socio-political issue (Baldwin-Edwards & Apostolatou, 2008). 80’s was a period of radical regime changes in Poland, when thousands of Poles were forced or decided to leave their country due to political reasons. Polish migration of that period to Greece, and elsewhere, can be considered as typical postcommunist migration (Maroufof, 2009: 3). To leave Poland these immigrants had to issue a tourist visa and they were given a residence permit in Greece, as political refugees (Siadima, 2001: 11-12). During this phase the emigrants who followed the Solidarity refugees came to Greece as false tourists, in order to be able to travel outside Poland and then stayed in the country as false refugees (Maroufof, 2009: 6). Greece was for them mostly a transit-country on their way to USA, Canada or Australia. Between 1980 and 1990 almost 9.000 Polish citizens applied for asylum in Greece, with a pick during the years 1987 and 1988 (Maroufof, 2009: 4). Between 1987 and 1991 more than 200 thousands Poles were in Greece, most of them in Athens. A lot of them once coming to Greece decided to stay there for longer. Majority of those Poles still lives in Greece. These people mostly found work in construction or harvesting – in case of men – in and the service sector - for women. Their number is difficult to estimate. However, some argue that there were from 30,000 up to 100,000 Polish people in Greece (Lazaridis & Romaniszyn 1998: 12). During the period of their stay in Greece, they managed to create infrastructure for the economic emigrants that followed (Maroufof, 2009: 4). The next phase of Polish immigration to Greece began with the collapse of the Communist regime in Poland in 1989, after which the Polish citizens were free to exit their country. Poles were free to leave Poland, thus at the same time Greece tighten migratory law that mostly focused on stricter control both in the borders and within the country. Legal entrance and settlement of foreigners with the purpose of working in Greece became nearly impossible. Estimates of the Polish undocumented immigrant population residing in Greece in the early to mid 1990s differ widely, depending on the sources. Quality Athens daily Kathimerini and the priest of the Roman
Catholic church noted 30,000 workers (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006: 15, after: Panoi 1993: 8); while others: Petrinioti (1993: 18) and Chtouris and Psimmenos (1997: 18) estimated the number of Poles at about 100,000 (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006: 15).

Following phase of Polish migration to Greece was characterized by the year 1995 when Polish citizens where not required to possess a visa in order to stay in Greece for a period up to three months. Next phase was connected to the regularization programs (since 1998). The situation of the Polish immigrants in Greece got better: more than 8,500 Poles acquired a residence permit through the first regularization program (Maroufof, 2009).

The last phase of Polish immigration to Greece started with insertion of Poland into the European Union structures, even though Poland’s accession to the EU does not appear to have changed significantly the Poles’ labor market position in Greece (working in informal economy with lower wages than Greek workers). As European citizens, Poles who reside in Greece can now vote in the European Election as well as the municipal elections. However, their participation seems to be particularly low: in June 2009 less than 450 Poles registered to vote in Greece for the last European Elections (Maroufof, 2009: 17). This might be related to a similar behavior of the Poles who remain in Poland; only 13% planned to vote in the European Parliament elections according to the Eurobarometer20 (Pszczółkowska, 2009).

About ten years ago Polish workers constituted the third largest group of undocumented immigrants in Athens (Siadima, 2001). According to data from the census of the National Statistical Service of Greece for 2001, almost 13,000 Polish citizens resided in Greece with 80% concentrated in Attica; another area with a relatively high concentration of Poles was the Peloponnese (6.3%), followed by Central Macedonia (2.78%), Southern Aegean (2.73%) and Crete (2.07%) (Maroufof, 2009: 7). In 2003 the Greek ambassador in Poland estimated that the number of Poles in Greece was 40 to 50,000 people (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006: 15). Based on data provided by the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Polish citizens who resided in Greece holding a valid residence permit in April 2008 were less than 8,000. Data provided by IKA showed that in June 2008 the majority (60%) of Poles registered with the specific insurance organization resided in Attica, followed by 11% residing in Southern Aegean (Maroufof, 2009: 7-8). Over the years, the majority of Polish emigration belonged to the most productive age groups: 20 to 50 years old, both men and women.
Today it is impossible to estimate precisely the amount of Polish emigrants in Europe, including Greece. It is said however, that there is some more than 20 thousands Poles in this country, mainly in Athens (information from Polish consul). No one, not even Polish Embassy in Greece or Greek authorities, have ever exactly estimated the amount of Polish minority members in Greece, mainly due to the fact that majority of them stayed in Greece illegally.

Polish immigrants in Greece seem to be among organised minorities in this country (Lazaridis & Romaniszyn, 1998). According to website of Embassy of the Polish Democracy in Athens (http://www.ateny.polemb.net/), there are a lot of independent Polish and Polish-Greek organisations that aim at strengthening relations inside Polish community as well as relation between Poles and Greeks. Among them are: the Polish Science and Technique Association in Greece, the “Friendship and Cooperation” Greek-Polish Association, the Club of Polish Engineers and Technicians in Greece, the Independent Association of Polish Women Emigrants. Last mentioned organisation created a Centre of Professional and Artistic Education that started courses of Greek, Polish and English languages, as well as computer courses. There is also a kindergarten created by this Association that prepares children for attending both Greek and Polish schools. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2006: 18) add to the list of the most prominent immigrant associations Solidarity of Polish Workers in Greece, Association of Sciences and Arts of Poles in Greece, Independent Movement of Polish Immigrant Women, The “F. Chopin” Greek – Polish Association, The Association of Poles in Dodekanez, the Children and Youth Aid Association "Wszystkie Dzieci są Nasze".

One of the most meritorious Polish institutions in Greece is the “Polish Club” created in 1977, which included various cultural activities including lessons in English and Greek. There are also Polish newspapers: Polish press was started by the Solidarity immigrants in the mid 1980s with the collaboration of Greek journalists and syndicalists and initially treated about issues concerning immigrants. Nevertheless, with time the themes have started to change and nowadays in Polish press printed in Greece one can find current information about Polish, European and world’s situation. Among Polish titles we can find: “Kurier Ateński” (the first one), “Polonia” and “Informator Polonijny”. “Kurier Ateński”, a 32-page weekly, is being published since 1988. Modern “Kurier Ateński” for example discusses issues from politics, the main issues concerning migrants, work and residence permits, reports on the market, foreigners’
rights, but also pleasing news. There are events organized by the Polish community in Athens, musical performances at the Polish school in Holargos, cultural events, holiday suggestions and sport (Polyxeni, 2005).

As we have already mentioned, Polish population in Greece is mostly concentrated in Attica, with the cultural centre in Michail Voda Street, in the center of Athens. Polish Catholic Church of Christ Savior (Χριστιανέος Σωτήρος) is located there, as well as many Polish shops, restaurants, associations, travel agencies, employment agencies, advisors, lawyers, doctors, money transfer services such as Moneygram or Western Union as well as a large informal network of private services such as baby sitting, beauticians, hair dressers, one-person firms repairing domestic appliances, etc. Polish people can find there a small substitute of their country and fulfill majority of their needs in native language.

The Catholic Church of Christ Savior plays an important part in Poles’ lives in Greece. The Church and the Sunday congregation catered for the spiritual need to pray but also for the social and economic need to meet up with fellow Poles, chat and exchange information about jobs, goods for sale, houses for rent and similar issues (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2006: 17). It is a meeting place for Poles where they can socialize and exchange information from ones on employment offers to ones about day care for the Polish children (Romaniszyn, 1996). The church also offers integrational events: festivals, trips which enclose Poles with Greek society.

The huge importance for Poles in Greece has the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens (Zespół Szkół im. Zygmunta Mineyki przy Ambasadzie RP w Atenach) - one of the biggest Polish schools outside Poland. It includes primary school, junior high school and high school. All lessons are in Polish language. There are two branches of this school outside Athens: one in Thessalonica and one in Fyra, Santorini. Polish school in Athens was founded on July the 3rd, 1997 formally as a union of two Polish schools that were functioning earlier. Nowadays about 1200 children are attending this school. 90% of students were born in Athens, and only 10% are children from Poland that came to Greece mostly to join their parents who were working in this country for years (The Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens: http://www.atenyzs.pl/).
According to Lazaridis and Romaniszyn, (1998: 12) Polish workers in Greece have a relatively high level of specialization and education. As we have already mentioned, men are mainly specialized in construction (Baldwin-Edwards & Apostolatou, 2008) and this is their typical job. Poles in Greece are used in profitable and expanding market of service sector including hotel work, catering, entertainment, etc. (Siadima, 2001). When it comes to educational level of the Polish immigrants in Greece it is said to be higher not only than that of Greece’s total foreign population, but also than its general population. According to the data of the Labor Force Survey for the 2nd quarter of 2008 86% of Poles living in Greece were graduates of secondary education, or higher, while the corresponding percentage for the country’s total population was 66% (Maroufof, 2009: 11). Still we should remember that these numbers consider Poles that work in Greece legally.

Peculiarity of Polish immigrants lies in the fact that these people finding themselves in an alien country, with difficulties in the language and the customs, and even religion, create a social niche were they inform themselves about the homeland, socialize and create a microcosm on the periphery of the Greek society. They create for themselves a protected environment of solidarity and friendship, a social network that assists them in the search for employment - formal community formed in the big city center of Athens, in case of emergency and constitutes the milieu where all the socializing is done. (Siadima, 2001: 16). The majority of Polish immigrants tend to live with friends and relatives of the same nationality which is cheaper and more convenient for them. Lazaridis & Romaniszyn (1998) call this phenomenon invisible community. They believe that Polish networks should not be understood as an ethnic enclave or as a community seeking to preserve its cultural or ethnic identity. They seem rather to be functional in catering for the cultural, social and economic needs of their customers, the undocumented Poles in Athens. These networks have a pivotal role in partly rendering Polish immigrants autonomous from Greek society but also, to a certain extent, they act as places of contact between Poles and Greeks. Another characteristic of Polish immigration in Greece is its “family” character. Data of the National Statistical Service of Greece offer interesting information on “mixed marriages”, which seem to be more frequent among Polish women than Polish men; the parents of 36% of the children born between 2004 and 2006 (more than a thousand children who had at least one Polish
parent) were both Poles, 32% had Polish mothers and Greek fathers while only 7% of the children had a Polish father and a Greek mother (Maroufof, 2009: 10).

Current bilateral relations between Poland and Greece are excellent on the political and social levels. Economic ties are strengthening each year. More Greek companies invest in Poland and the other way round. Relations between Poland and Greece are also promoted partly thanks to the Polish community in Greece. The Polish Embassy in Greece organises events, which are designed to bring closer Polish and Greek communities, every year (Embassy of the Polish Democracy in Athens http://www.ateny.polemb.net/). The Greek Diaspora in Poland comprises some 3,000 individuals, half of whom are residents of Wroclaw in south-west Poland. That is also where the Association of Greeks in Poland is based, although it has branches in the major Polish towns (Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/Europe/Relationships+with+EU+Member+States/Poland/). Greek-related cultural bodies include the Association of Friends of Greece, the Modern Greek Studies Department of the University of Warsaw and the Adam Mickiewicz Institute.

Relations between Greece and Poland, partners in the EU and allies in NATO, are showing renewed momentum following Poland’s accession to the EU, thus providing fresh prospects for further growth. Greece has always fully supported Poland's accession to the European Union (Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/en-US/Policy/Geographic+Regions/Europe/Relationships+with+EU+Member+States/Poland/).
3.3 Setting the context: schools in Athens attended by Polish immigrant children

Two years ago more than 10% of the school population in Greek public schools was immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008: 46). We assume that this number has not changed that much since then, and immigrant children still constitute considerable percentage within the Greek pupils. Among the immigrant pupils Polish ones create minority. They attend schools in different parts of Greece, but still most of them live and go to school in Athens. The schools Polish students attend to, with exception for special case of Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens that will be discussed later in this chapter, are “regular” Greek public primary, secondary and high schools. Polish students follow the Greek national curriculum in Greek language.

The number of Polish students attending Greek schools is uncertain. We have contacted Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Athens in order to get some certain data, but we only learnt that there are from 20 000 up to 50 000 Polish people, and there were no estimations about the number of children attending Greek schools.

The world is constantly moving forward, and education is said to be driving force behind this progress. Social, economic and political situation in the world for years has been fundamentally affecting functioning of Polish education abroad, especially in Europe. The latest emigration to the West resulted in emergence of new centers of Polonia in many countries, as well as in the revival of the old Polish communities, expressed through the creation of new schools, weekend schools and Polish language courses by various organizations and institutions. In this research notion Polonia refers to the Polish diaspora and to people of Polish origin who live outside Poland. Polish immigrants deal with education of their children in various ways: send them to schools in parishes or weekend courses, teach at homes (often with help of grandparents), or send to “regular” Polish schools, like the one in Athens that we are going to describe below.

The first attempts to start Polish education in Greece were done in the mid 80s, as from the beginning of 80’s huge wave of Polish economic and political emigration to Greece started (Knopek, 1997). In 1985 the Greek Archbishop’s Curia and the Catholic
Church gave one of their classrooms for educational purposes. In 1986 first Polish nursery in Athens was registered in the Polish Educational Society in London. In 1988 the first Polish school in Athens has been developed on the initiative of Fr. Stanislaus Mol. It took the name of Romek Strzalkowski School and initially functioned under the aegis of the Roman-Catholic community. The patron of the facility - Romek Strzalkowski – was a thirteen-year-old student that died in June 1956 during riots in the streets of Poznan, Poland. At the beginning school certificates were ecclesial ones, but later they started to be signed by the Polish Educational Society in London.

In 1994 a second, Polish language school, was created at the Greek-Polish Association that was named George Szajnowicz School. Besides this school, in September 1994 another Polish school came up in Athens, one in the ranges of Jerzy Ivanow Greek-Polish Society. About 200 children started lesson in this school (Knopek, 1997). It was illegal educational institution, not registered by Greek authorities, just like George Szajnowicz School. The reason for emergence of these schools was that only one institution existing was not able to admit more than 500 children that needed to start or continue education. Both schools were supplement and correlative. Society “Wspolnota” together with Polish Ministry of Education equipped these schools with books and curriculum. Embassy gave both institutions books from its library. Both schools regularly cooperated with Consulting Point at Polish Embassy in Greece. Consultation Point was a body where children from Polish diplomatic families were thought Polish language, as well as history and geography of Poland.

The existence of three separate educational institutions was not favorable to the integration of Polish community; it disrupted the work of teachers, and negatively affected the educational process. Moreover, the beginning of 90’s brought some serious problems into Polish educational institutions in Greece. One of the greatest was the recognition, or rather lack of it, by Polish educational authorities of certificates and diplomas that Polish children were given when finishing education in Athens. The efforts to create one facility which would meet the expectations of students, parents and teachers were risen. On the 3rd July 1997 Polish Minister of National Education issued a regulation which created Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens (Zespół Szkół im. Zygmunta Mineyki przy Ambasadzie RP w Atenach). Polish Ministry of Education found the Polish school of Athens following the repeated demands of students, parents and teachers and with the mediation of the Polish Church also because
the preexistent Polish schools in Greece did not have the capacity to provide their students with a certificate accepted by the Polish authorities and consequently their students did not have access to the Polish postsecondary education (Maroufof, 2009: 15). The only solution was to change existing schools into branches of one of the schools in Warsaw. In this way children were being awarded with diplomas recognized by Polish Ministry of Education. Special commission was being sent from Warsaw to Athens at the end of every school year in order to check the improvements of pupils and their level of knowledge.

The first building of the Polish school in Athens was located in Michail Voda Street, but after a short period of time the school was transferred into another building in the city centre, in Patision Street. During the first years of its existence, Polish school in Athens took care of all the elementary needs of educational institution: library and day-care room were opened, and there were more classes so children did not have to have lessons in three shifts as they did at the beginning. Even though, the major problem of these types of schools was the lack of space. There was nowhere to organize a gym, there was no court outside, where children could spend their breaks. With time, Polish School started to run a kindergarten, primary and secondary education (lyceum). There was a psychological counseling service where a specialist was advising parents and children when needed. During the entire activity of this school there were between 220 and 440 pupils yearly (Knopek, 1997). Except from lessons, there were organized some activity groups: school choir, computer, painting and dancing clubs and scout society. There were foreign languages being thought at this school: English and French, as well as Greek for keen pupils. Except education for the youngest Polish immigrants, there were also evening courses of western languages for grownups. Among many problems of this school was that its most pupils were children of illegal immigrants. Nevertheless, with time, efforts of children, parents, teachers as well as Polish Embassy in Athens managed to overcome all issues. After the earthquake of 1999 school was relocated to Cholargos (Maroufof, 2009: 15) – new building with a courtyard.

Today, the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is one of the biggest Polish schools outside Poland. It includes primary school, junior high school and high school both on regular and supplementary (weekend school for Polish children attending Greek high schools) basis. All lessons are in Polish language. There are also departments of this school in Thessalonica and in Fyra, the capital of Santorini. The
branch in Santorini was essentially initiative of one mother, who first taught their children alone at home, and later started to teach friends’ kids and eventually run a small nursery on the premises provided by local parish.

Tasks related to the organization of education of Polish children living abroad coordinates The Group of Schools for Polish Citizens Temporarily Living Abroad, with headquarters in Warsaw. The group is funded from the Polish state budget from the part, which is administered by the Minister responsible for the education and upbringing. Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is financed in the same way. The legal basis for this school is made up with laws, regulations and notices of the Polish Ministry of National Education and Sport. Legal basis on which School functions create:

- Constitution of the Republic of Poland
- Act on Polish educational system.
- Act “Teacher’s Charter”
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Polish state prevention of pro-family programme

Since 1997, The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens operates on regulations same for all public schools in Poland. This public school implements entire curriculum for a full program of the Polish school, which is the same as curriculum implemented by schools in Poland. Polish School in Athens teaches all obligatory subjects thought in the country, both on a daily, as well as a complementary system and distance education. Taking into account the children’s country of residence, enriched program of Greek language lessons is also introduced in order to work for the advantage of children. This is the only difference between the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens and Polish public schools: lessons of Greek language do not occur in primary and secondary schools in Poland. Complementary curriculum for children attending Greek schools includes Polish language, history and geography of Poland, religion and social studies. It is run each Saturday. In addition, distance learning is implemented for children living outside Athens. All graduates of primary, junior and high school get appropriate diplomas that are translated if one wants to continue education in Greek school. They also get certificates in Greek language that state what
school they have finished, but do not have any legal rights. Graduates of Polish high school pass their final exams in Poland, Warsaw. Passing them allows students to study both: in Poland and Greece according to each state’s regulations and requirements. Top seniors are able to obtain scholarships at Polish universities.

School implements the general curriculum at all educational levels from Monday to Friday enabling children of Polish immigrants to follow the Polish primary and secondary curriculum adding Greek language courses. This network and institutional development is not common to most other immigrant communities in Greece.

The school admits first of all children of Polish citizens temporarily residing abroad, delegated or sent to work temporarily, and then, according to vacancies left, other Polish children. Polish primary school accepts children from the age of 7, and at the age of 6, if they have positive opinion from psychologist about their school maturity. It is the age at which children are accepted to primary schools in Poland. Junior high school accepts graduates of primary school. High school students are admitted if they complete junior high school and on the basis of average marks obtained at completion of this school, or after the high school entrance exams (for students that finished junior high school in Poland) with accordance to Decree of the Minister of National Education of 20 February 2004 about conditions and procedures of admission of pupils to public kindergartens and schools and transition from one to the other types of schools. The full curriculum is carried out five days a week in two shifts (due to the number of children and relatively small size of the school). The start and complementation of for the school year as well as holiday, winter and summer breaks are set by the director of the School in consultation with the Teachers Council, taking into consideration the organization of the school year in Greece. Directors collaborate with the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs of Greece, keep documentation related to obtaining and updating teaching rights that concern teaching staff, and are required by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs of Greece. He or she also maintains regular contact with the Board of Education in Greece as well as with the Greek school education authorities and schools in Greece.

Greek State recognizes the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens as a foreign school with all the rights that responsibilities that foreign schools in the
Greek territory posses. These kinds of schools work on the basis of work permit, law for foreign schools no 1931 (Άδεηα λειτουργίας, νόμος ξένων σχολείων, 1931). Thus, if pupils of this school want to study at Greek university, they must meet admission requirements common for all foreigners: present Secondary School-leaving Certificate equivalent to the Apolytirio Lykeiou or confirmation of the number of completed years of secondary schooling in Greece or abroad. They must have a residence permits, a medical check-up is required before registration and a certificate which proves their knowledge of the Greek language (Greek Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs http://www.ypepth.gr/en_ec_home.htm).

Every year director of Polish school applies to the Greek Ministry of Education for the permission to run the school. It is connected with paying a yearly charge and presenting all necessary legal documents required by the Greek State. Every teacher yearly applies in the Greek Ministry of Education for a work permit that allows him to teach in private schools in territory of Greece. These teachers are mostly Poles (with exception for Greek language teacher) that live in Greece either permanently or temporarily. They do need to have any special permission from Polish State to teach abroad, but are chosen by the headmaster of Polish school in Athens. Only the headmaster is selected through national contest in Poland held by Polish Ministry of Education. The most suitable candidate is delegated to work in Athens.

Objectives and tasks of primary school:

The main aim is to enable the implementation of compulsory education and to provide general education for children of Polish citizens temporarily residing abroad.

Objectives and tasks of junior high school and high school:

The overriding aim is to enable the implementation of compulsory education and to provide general education for children of Polish citizens temporarily residing abroad as well as upbringing, preparation for active participation in society and help in making decisions regarding children future education.

One of the secondary aims of the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is that graduates at the level of communication are able to understand and speak more than one language as well as communicate freely in their country of residence. That is why attention is paid to the lessons of Greek language. Moreover, children
attending this school are thought to care for the good name of Polish nation in Greek environment. School statutes declares that within the framework of its activities Polish school cooperates with socio-cultural associations, educational institutions, youth organizations, cultural and religious institutions, working in the country and abroad, aimed at enabling students to maintain a sense of national identity, linguistic and religious identity and develop social skills, as well as racial, ethnic and religious tolerance. In earlier mentioned document it is said that school, allows students to maintain a sense of national, ethnic, and linguistic identity by preparation for life in the family, community and Polish country in a spirit of cultural communication and the development of patriotism. School organizes meetings with representatives of culture and art from Poland and Greece. In order to strengthen Polish – Greek tights it also organizes meetings with representatives of secondary schools and junior high schools. It implements the curriculum that broadens and promotes among pupils awareness of the Mediterranean region in which they live. It also organizes school competitions related to spreading Greek and Polish cultures. In order to enable the implementation of curricula and to support self-education of students and teachers, School runs the library. It is created by Group of Schools for Polish Citizens’ Children Temporarily Living Abroad which yearly supplements its books collection according to the needs. School also runs the reading room. For children and adolescents who due to developmental, family, or other reasons need help and support, there is a school psychologist who works with Greek institutions providing specialist advice and support to children and parents. School cooperates closely with Greek and Polish counseling and psycho-educational institutions supporting education.

On March 3rd 2003, the school gained its new patron - Zygmunt Mineyko. Preparations to change school name into Mineyki School began in the 2002/2003 school year, and Zygmunt Mineyko was chosen for the patron due to the fact that his biography combines stories of two countries: Poland and Greece.

Currently among all the schools operating outside of Poland the one based in Athens is the biggest. The number of pupils in the school year 2009-2010 was 1358: 709 pupils from daily (‘regular’) system and 649 from complementary system (lessons only on Saturday) in the regular system there were 44 pupils in the high school division: 28 in 1’st and 2’nd classes, and 16 in the 3’rd class. In the complementary system there were 19 students of high school: 15 in the 1’st and 2’nd class and 4 in the 3’rd. In the
school year 2010-2011 595 pupils were signed in for regular system of Polish school and 610 for complementary one (information from 1st of October, 2010).

One of the school’s problems is related to the Greek language courses, given that the level of knowledge of the Greek language varies within the student population and is related to the time they have spent in the country (Marouf, 2009: 16). In addition, the Polish school organizes and participates in many extracurricular activities: spelling contests, theatrical performances, sport competitions. These activities give the opportunity to its pupils to come to contact with children of the same age that study in Greek schools. According to Marouf (2009) Polish school of Athens is now considered by the teachers and students of the area of Cholargos not as a foreign school but as another school of the area.

It is important to take into account that school in exile, like the one in Athens, does not only stand for center of education, but also a sort of shelter where children are being taken care of when parents are working. For its children Polish School seems to guarantee high level of pedagogical assistance and constant care.
METHODOLOGY

1. Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study was to determine the level of social and school integration of Polish adolescents aged 17-18 years old residing in Athens and attending the Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens and Greek high schools in this city, namely: 9th Vocational Lyceum in Athens (9ο ΕΠΑ.Λ. Αθηνών), 1st High School of Rafina (1ο Ενιαίο Λύκειο Ραφήνας), 2nd High School of Glyfada (1ο Γενικό Λύκειο Γλυφάδας), 1st Lyceum of Palaio Faliro (1ο Ενιαίο Λύκειο Παλαιού Φαλήρου), 28th Lyceum in Athens (28ο Γενικό Λύκειο Αθηνών) and 5th Lyceum of Korydallo (5ο Γενικό Λύκειο Κορυδαλλού). Additional objective was to find out factors influencing the process of social integration of Polish adolescents.

Presented research was designed to examine social and school integration of Polish adolescents in Athens, Greece - students of Polish and Greek high schools. We aimed at determining factors that could be relevant in their integration process (e.g., situation at school, friends and acquaintances, family, etc). We were more concerned about uncovering knowledge on how Polish youth thinks and feels about the circumstances in which these young people find themselves, than in making judgments about whether those thoughts and feelings are valid. We wanted to investigate what plays crucial role in adolescents’ integration in order to understand social position of this group of Polish minority that lives in Greece.

When it comes to the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens the interest was placed at this particular school as it is the largest Polish school of this type in Greece and the whole Europe, and the majority of Polish emigrants’ children that live in Athens attend it. We chose to discuss also integration process of students attending Greek high schools, as we assumed that the comparison of both groups will create a new, interesting perspective for investigation.
By this research we hope to contribute to the existing knowledge base needed to provide new insight into the problem of social integration as a response to a changing European situation. Investigation of current immigrants’ situation could later help to find out steps that can be taken to mitigate any negative issues and plan actions that might be undertaken within civil society or through policy changes at the provincial, national and international levels. The significance of this research area is of a great value regarding the sake of Polish adolescents that will become respectful Europe citizens in the future. Young immigrant generation’s well-being, which is believed to be positively determined by strong social integration, seems to be among the most important issues that every European society handles.

At the present level of knowledge we can find many researches concerning migrations, bilingualism and multiculturalism, as those issues are becoming more and more important in the changing Europe and world. There are many statistic data that evaluate mobility in every country of Europe yearly. However, this study wants to go further. It is planned not to point the numbers, but to understand the integration process of Polish adolescents into Greek society. There has never been done a similar research. We hope that our study will help all the people interested in social integration at each level: state policy-makers, school administrators, teachers, parents and immigrant youth itself.

2. Research question:

Empirical research is driven by research questions which guide investigators’ thinking and are of great value for organizing entire research study (Punch, 2005: 33). Our main research question was formed after the identification of research area and topic and developing questions within these, going deductively from general to specific matters. It is as follows:

What is the level of social and school integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens?
3. **Hypotheses**

Hypothesis is often defined as predicted answer to a research question (Punch, 2005: 38). In search of the answer for research question and using operational concept from theoretical framework we have elaborated main hypothesis of presented study, which is:

1. **Polish adolescents from Greek high schools integrate better in Greek society than Polish adolescents from Polish high school.**

   Additionally, while working on theoretical framework and during the literature review undergone for this study some secondary hypotheses emerged:

   1.1 **Better school performance results in better school integration.**
   1.2 **Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school.**
   1.3 **Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future.**
   1.4 **Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration.**
   1.5 **The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital.**

   Basing on the data received from our study we shall test the accuracy of proposed hypotheses and check whether they are can be proved.

4. **Sample**

   The size of the sample in qualitative research is determined by the optimum number necessary to enable valid inferences to be made about the population (Marshall, 1996: 522). We assumed that our sample must be big enough to assure that we would hear most or all of the perceptions that might be important for presented research. Thus, we decided that the research sample would consist of 12 Polish pupils, 6 boys and 6 girls from the last grade of Polish (3 boys and 3 girls) and Greek (3 boys and 3 girls) high
schools. Adolescents represent mainly the second generation of immigrants (born in Greece: 8 respondents), and one-and-half generation of immigrants that came to Greece either as very young children (2-6 years old: 3 interviewees) or teenagers (only one girl from Greek high school). The interviewees’ selection process was not random, but intended to ensure that population to be interrogated meets our selection criteria, such as age (17-18 years old), gender (equal numbers of boys and girls), type of school, grades (equal number pupils with good and bad results) and place of residence (Athens). Respondents were selected with the help of key informants: director and children from Polish high school, who contacted us with Polish pupils attending Greek high schools that met selection criteria. All participants lived in Athens and attended schools there (named in previous subunit). Half of the group, so students from Greek high schools, was sampled through their status as pupils attending Polish school on weekends where they participated in lessons of Polish language, history and knowledge about modern Polish society. This was the easiest and most convenient way for us to approach Polish pupils, as there was no information about which Greek schools Polish students attend to.

5. Method

The main research problem was investigated on the basis of qualitative perspective. Qualitative perspective emphasizes phenomenological view, in which reality inheres in the perceptions of individuals (Glatthorn & Joyner, 2005: 40). Studies deriving from this perspective focus on meaning and understanding, taking place in naturally occurring situations (McMillan, 1996). For this proposed work we decided to use qualitative, inductive approach. Qualitative researches are used to gain an in-depth insight into matters that affect human behavior. These studies refer to the why and how of decision making, by studying people's culture, value systems, attitudes, behaviors, concerns, emotions, motivations, aspirations, and feelings as well as to organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena and interaction between nations (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The general purposes for using an inductive approach is to establish clear links between the evaluation or research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data, as well as to develop a framework of the underlying
structure of experiences or processes that were evident in the raw data (Thomas, 2006). The general inductive approach provides an easily used and systematic set of procedures for analyzing qualitative data that can produce reliable and valid findings and qualitative, inductive approach provides a simple, straightforward mean for deriving findings in the context of focused evaluation questions (Thomas, 2006).

6. Technique

Choosing the right techniques used to collect data with respect of the research problem was important to whole planned work. As to the research technique that was used in proposed study, we chose semi-structured, in-depth interviews with adolescents. Interviews are normally conducted to ascertain perception of groups or individual. We wanted to get the opinion of Polish adolescents about integration concerning issues. Literature suggests that semi-structured interviews are less intrusive and conducted with a fairly open framework which allows for focused, conversational, two-way communication. This technique is used to collect qualitative data by setting up a situation (the interview) that gives respondents the time and scope to talk about their opinions on a particular subject. The objective is to understand the respondents’ points of view rather than make generalizations about behavior. In our opinion, it was the right technique to be chosen for investigating Polish adolescents feeling about their position in Greek society.

To go into something “in depth” my indicate simply getting more detailed knowledge about it, or, more specifically, getting a sense of how something apparently straightforward is actually more complicated, in other words getting deep understanding of how little we know about a certain phenomenon (Wengraf, 2001: 6). The in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that gives place for a person to person discussion designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participants’ perspective (Zaharia Rodica et al., 2008: 1279). It can lead to increased insight into people’s thoughts, feelings, and behavior on important issues. The strength of in-depth interview comes from the fact that through it one may learn about the details of people’s experience from their point of view, and also see how these individual experiences interact with social
and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live as well as allow discovering the interconnections among people who live in the shared context (Seidman, 1998: 130). Due to its unstructured nature, this type of interview permits the interviewer to encourage respondent to talk at length about the topic of interest. It generally aims to ask questions to explain the reasons underlying a problem or practice in a target group.

The use of semi-structured interviews and qualitative approaches seemed appropriate to elicit adolescents’ thinking and feeling about social integration experiences in the peer group as well as in wider, social context.

Measures of the interview:

a) Demographic Measures (axis 1) - the demographic part of interview ascertained each adolescent’s age, gender, and length of residence in Greece, migratory plans and parental education and occupation. All participants were asked the same set of questions:

- How old are you?
- How long have you been living in Greece?
- What is your parents’ education? (mother, father)
- What is your parents’ occupation? (mother, father)

Family measures (axis 2) – we wished to find out whether parents were divorced or not, and if respondents’ families lived together as well as to what school do they siblings attend to, e.g.,:

- Tell me about your family (further questions: Do you live with both your parents and all brothers and sisters? How often do you see those members that do not live with you?, etc.)

b) Personal integration measures (axis 3) – we wanted to find out more about adolescents’ personal lives in order to state what might strengthen integration processes (e.g.,):

- Could you tell me about your personal life?
- Do you have boyfriend, girlfriend? How did you meet him/her?, etc.
Tell me about the music do you listen and TV you watch? (Greek or Polish)

c) Social integration measures (axis 4) – contacts and networks and activities: inside the school (participation in: school government, trips, sport, clubs; with whom respondents spent their breaks, with whom they sat in one desk) or outside school (with whom spent time after school, participation in activities: sports, clubs, religious groups, etc.), Polish, Greek contacts, e.g.,:

- Tell me about activities in which you participate inside the school.
- Tell me about activities in which you participate outside the school.
- Can you tell me how do you spend your free time?
- Could you tell me about your friends and acquaintances?

d) School adaptation measures (axis 5) - we compared the final grades of 2009-2010 school year and checked participation in school activities in the school records to confirm truthfulness of respondents’ answers. Moreover, during interviews we asked respondents to share their feelings about school adaptation, e.g.,:

- How would you describe your beginnings at new school?
- What does your situation at school look like now?

Additionally, some probes were used when needed. These include:

- Would you give me an example?
- Can you elaborate on that idea?
- Would you explain that further?
- I’m not sure I understand what you’re saying.
- What do you mean?
- Could you please explain it?
- How did it make you feel?
- Is there anything else that you would like to add?
The correspondence between research axes and hypothesis is showed in below table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>axis 1</th>
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<th>axis 3</th>
<th>axis 4</th>
<th>axis 5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hypothesis 1</td>
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<td>hypothesis 1.1</td>
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<td>hypothesis 1.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>hypothesis 1.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>hypothesis 1.4</td>
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<td>hypothesis 1.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table. 1 Correspondence between research axes and hypothesis.

7. **Procedure**

The first step on our way to conduct interviews with Polish pupils was contacting the director of the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens, Mrs. Marzanna Geisler. She helped us find the group of pupils we wished to interrogate and offered a private location where we could conduct interviews. We got access to the pupils' parents’ phone numbers from school records and called them in order to ask for permission to interrogate their children, as most of them were not yet of age. We got consent from all the parents.

As we visited school in the last weeks of school year, and the lessons were rather loose, we were interrogating pupils during the school day. Director informed every teacher about our presence and its aim and no one of the school staff opposed to releasing pupils from their lessons. We visited school 6 times in June 2010: 2 initial times at the beginning of the month to discuss the aims of our research and all important details with Mrs. Geisler, and 4 more times at the end of the month to conduct interviews. Each day we spend 4-5 hours (with breaks) talking to students. Respondents
from the group attending Greek schools were interrogated during their Saturday’s lesson at Polish school (2 Saturdays). Academic grades, important for our research, were obtained at the end of the school year from centralized school records after getting permission from pupils’ parents. This procedure was the same for both groups of interviewees: pupils from Polish and Greek high schools.

Qualitative, inductive approach was used and the analysis was based on a research study that employed semi-structured, in-depth interviews with adolescents. All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed in their full length. Notes were kept during the interviews on everything relevant to the topic of investigation, as well as on other contextual factors. Students had a choice in which language (Polish or Greek) they want to answer. Still, majority of questions were asked in Polish and their answers were later translated back into English. Each face-to-face interview lasted from 30 minutes to one hour. One of the challenges was to preserve anonymity of the participants as was suggested by respondents. We have changed the names of interrogated pupils because some of them feared that their answers, sometimes not complimentary, could cause them problems at school or in their peer groups.

8. Limitations of the study and avenues for future research

It is important to acknowledge number of methodological limitations present in this study. They generally come from the fact that each research cannot be accomplished without certain limits. Thus, it was author’s choice to focus on the factors influencing social integration of Polish adolescents in Athens that were expected to give the answer about the level of social integration in this population. In order to fully concentrate on designed matter we had to skip some dimensions mentioned in theoretical part of this study.

First of all, even though various studies recommend improvements to immigrant services as important aspect to be researched, we omitted this theme in our study, because, in our opinion, it does not consider directly proposed research. Another thing was about school adaptation conceptualized as a complex and triangular
process which not only includes different factors, but is embedded within a greater social, cultural, and political context. In the following study we focus mainly on the social context of social adaptation and only partly discuss cultural and political ones. We shall test the missing contexts in the future researches.

Subsequently, although among most common difficulties that are mentioned in subject literature, which immigrant children face in their process of school integration are named inadequate preparation of teachers and schools for the education of foreign children and lack of information and insufficient knowledge about the needs of children of immigrants (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2009), we do not research the case of teachers and school staff in our study, as for now we decided to focus on adolescents and their needs. Nevertheless, we will consider these matters in future research.

Coleman (1988) based social capital in the setting of families and surrounding communities and stressed their impact on the development of young people. He discussed three forms of social capital: a) obligations and expectations (e.g., doing favors for and receiving favors from other people), b) informational channels (e.g., sharing useful information that may inform some future action), c) norms and effective sanctions (e.g., the establishment of community values and shared standards of behavior). Nevertheless, in our study we do not focus on these forms of social capital, as that phenomenon is not the main concern of our research. Instead, we mention the most important dimensions of social capital that, in our opinion, might be relevant for presented research, such as social interaction and identification.

When it comes to trust, norms (of reciprocity) and social sanctions that are at the core of the social capital concept, we decided to omit this thematic and leave it for future research. Bourdieu’s concept of social capital emphasizes the conflicts and the power function, e.g., in social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests. We discuss this subject theme partly, but again leave the issues of conflict and power function for future research. Similarly, we decided not to discuss the notion of generalized trust, in following research. Another limitation of this study is that we do not measure social networks and social support on the basis of frequency of seeing/speaking to relatives /friends/neighbors, extent of
virtual networks and frequency of contact, number of close friends/relatives who live nearby, exchange of help, as it seemed to detailed approach for our research. Instead, we discuss issues of social networks and support more generally, focusing on their kinds and influence they have on social integration of Polish adolescents.

Above mentioned limitations of the study that are result of the subjective choice of the study’s author are at the same time avenues for future research. The phenomenon of social integration is such a broad concept with variety of approaches and dimensions that it would be impossible to discuss all of them in one research. Alternatively, we choose to focus on certain aspects leaving the rest for the future, planned research.

9. Analysis

The analysis of collected data was performed by employing constant comparative method. Many qualitative analytic strategies rely on this general approach which was originally developed for use in the grounded theory methodology of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The constant comparative method (CCM) together with theoretical sampling constitutes the core of qualitative analysis in the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss and in other types of qualitative research (Boeije, 2002). CCM evolved out of the sociological theory of symbolic interactionism. This strategy involves taking one piece of data (one interview, one statement, one theme) and then going through it in the search of key issues, recurrent events, or activities, which become categories for focus. Each piece of data is moreover compared with all other pieces that may be similar or different in order to develop conceptualizations of the possible relations between various pieces of data. In this strategy, researchers work with the data to discover basic social processes and relationships. It engages sampling, coding, and stating core categories.

The analysis was carried out through multiple readings and interpretations of the interviews transcripts. Going through this raw data several times and comparing one interview to another as well as one statement to another, when relevant, we were able to
find out categories common for all of them. We generally found out two kinds of categories: the upper-level, so more general ones that were derived from the research’s aims and the lower-level or specific categories that were indentified from multiple readings of the raw data. Within each category we searched for subtopics, including contradictory points of view and new insights. We selected appropriate quotations that convey the essence of a category. The categories might have been combined or linked under a primary category when the meanings were similar.
RESULTS

1. FINDINGS

Analyzing the data gathered from interviews with Polish adolescents we constructed crosstabs that simplified the process of regrouping findings and eventually helped us verify research hypothesis. These crosstabs were prepared based on the Table 1 (“Correspondence between research axes and hypothesis”) from the mythological part of presented thesis. We have prepared one table for each respondent. Following, we present one example crosstab (the rest can be find in “Anex”).

Table 2. Student’s profile: IGOR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDENT’S PROFILE</th>
<th>IGOR, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>14 years in Greece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic Measures</strong></td>
<td><strong>Family measures</strong></td>
<td><strong>Personal integration measures</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td></td>
<td>He did not have girlfriend at the time of our interview, but said in the past he wants out with some Poles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>Igor plans to study in Poland, because he think studies there are on higher level and give more opportunities for work. Afterwards he wants to work in Poland. His mother has finished a high school and now works as domestic help, father has finished vocational school and works on construction site.</td>
<td>Igor lives with both his parents and 2 brothers: 18 and 8 years old that attend Polish school in Athens. His parents plan to go back to Poland, but older brother wants to study in Greece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>I watch only Greek TV because we do not have anything else. When it comes to music Igor does not listen either to Polish or to Greek one.</td>
<td>He did not mention any extracurricular activities outside (or inside) his school. In his free time he reads books, does math (his hobby) or meet with Polish friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
With regards to the factors influencing social and school integration of Polish adolescents in Athens five main themes were found. All of them eventually helped us determine the level of social integration of Polish youth residing in the capital of Greece. Firstly, from what we have learned during the interviewees we can assume that kind of school pupils attend plays an important role. Second, respondents spoke about extracurricular activities they participate in (outside and in their schools). Thirdly, interviewees discussed their peer relationships and other social networks, which seem to have crucial importance for integration of immigrant adolescents and at the same time indicate its state (strong or weak social integration). Fourthly, we can presume that parents’ socioeconomic status influence social integration of Polish adolescents. Lastly, the Greek language competence plays a crucial part in the processes of social and school integration.

DEMOGRAPHICS

It has been already said that the demographic part of interview was prepared to ascertain each adolescent’s age, gender, and length of residence in Greece, migratory plans and parental education and occupation.

ADOLESCENT’S AGE AND GENDER

For our study we decided to choose equal amount of males and females, all at the same age: 17-18 years old. Thus, among the interviewees from Polish high school there were 3 boys: Andrzej, 18 years old; Damian, 17; and Marek, 17 and 3 girls: Agnieszka, 17; Joanna, 17 and Paulina, 17. The group of respondents from Greek high school similarly consisted of 3 girls: Kasia, 18; Aneta, 17; Kamila, 17 and 3 boys: Adam, 17; Konrad, 17 and Igor, 17 years old.
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN GREECE

Majority of our respondents (8: 4 from Polish high school and 4 from Greek schools) live in Greece since the day they were born. Adolescents from Polish school: Agnieszka, 17 came to Greece 11 years ago and Damian, 17 lives in Greece 15 years now. Interviewees from Greek high schools: Kamila – lives in Greece the shortest, only 7 years and Igor came to Greece 14 years ago.

MIGRATORY PLANS

Our findings indicate that majority of pupils from Polish school plan to move to Poland one day in the future, they believe it is better for them to go to Polish school. Likewise, those children that plan to stay in Greece understand it is better for them to attend to Greek school.

Kamila, 17: It turned out that my mom has plans to stay here permanently. And so I think it is better to go to the Greek school, because if we stay here permanently, Greek school is preparation to study here, etc.

Plans for the future for all interviewed pupils were connected to studying. In case of respondents from Polish high school only one person, Joanna, wanted to study in Greece, one, Agnieszka, either in England or abroad, and one, Paulina, in England.

Joanna, 17: Studies… economics or management. I’d rather study here in Greece, because I do not see myself in Poland.

Agnieszka, 17: I am going to finish school here, so be here till the end of high school, and then go to Poland and study. Generally, I would like either to stay in Poland, or to go abroad, but not here.

Paulina, 17: I want to study in England, but I do not know if it works out. My parents plan to go back to Poland. And then I also would have to go to, so this is all in the sphere of plans. But I would like to live
here, come back here after England. But not alone. Like I said, it depends on the family.

The rest of interviewees planned to go to Poland and study there. In some of the cases the reason was assumed higher level of education provided by Polish universities. In other cases the reason was more practical: interviewees had families in Poland with which they could stay while studying.

Marek, 17: I would rather study in Poland; architecture, or computer science, either in Warsaw or in Rzeszow, because there I have a place to stay.

As for the further future, Poles from Polish school cannot decide. The difficulty lies in the fact, that they fill connected to Greece, as they grew up here and their families live here. On the other hand, for some of them it is clear that they will move to Poland. Very often decision to leave Greece depended on parents’ plans:

Paulina, 17: Parents want to come back to Poland, so I would also have to go.

Marek, 17: My parents plan to return to the country: due to the crisis, it is harder with work. So, when I finish high school, then we will all go away.

And influence on the decision whether to stay in Greece or not seem to have the economic crisis that Greece has recently been experiencing. Respondents were often mentioning this problem in the context of their future in Greece as the reason for which they might be forced to live this country. Thus, it could be assumed that if the economic conditions were better, Poles would plan their future in Greece. In the group of students from Greek high schools plans for the future were rather connected to Greece. Still, two of respondents planned to study in Poland, generally due to presumed higher level of education provided by Polish university.

Aneta, 17: On one hand I would like to study here; you know, habituation, climate. On the other hand, I have heard that studies in Poland are on higher level. After graduation I want to come back and stay in Greece. I'm here too long to change my surroundings.
Igor, 17: I plan to study in Poland, because I think studies there are better: higher level and they give more opportunities for work. At least, it seems to me, they are better than studying in Greece. After graduation I want to work in Poland because I like it more there. To Greece I can come, from time to time, but not live permanently.

One person, Aneta, considered either Polish or Greek university; she hesitated. Another pupil, Adam, would like to study abroad, for example in the USA. Only Konrad and Kasia stated that they will study in Greece.

Konrad, 17: After high school I would so like to get into the Greek military college! I would rather work in Greece; much better things are going on in the Greek army. And now there is no war, and Greece does not send troops to Afghanistan or Iraq.

Kasia, 18: I have always wanted to study in Greece. I do not want to go back to Poland; only if the crisis is even worse, or for my grandmother.

Similarly to the first group, here again interviewees’ plans were connected to their families. For example Kamila wanted to settle in Greece and come back there after studies in Poland. Her mother was remarried to a Greek man, she had half-Greek stepsister. Kamila’s mother had decided a long time ago to stay in Greece, so for this girl it was obvious she would also live there in the future. We have cited earlier Aneta that thought it was too late for her to change surroundings and also planned to settle in Greece after studies in Poland. Konrad, even though he wanted to study and work in Greek army, allowed the possibility of going back to Poland, if his family did so.

Konrad, 17: My mom says that in 70% she will come back to Poland, my dad too. So, if I could be with them, not to live together, but to be with them in Poland, so I could be also close to my brother, I would move from the Greek army to the Polish one.

It is interesting to mention that sometimes the plans for the future were shaped by attachment to the families respondents had in Poland: one of interviewees from Greek school (Kasia) that proved general positive social integration into Greek society stated that she would go back to Poland only for her grandmother. Her statement made
us realize destabilized social condition that she presented and at the same time guided our attention to the relevance of family relations for interrogated adolescents.

PARENTS

Parents with their attitude and terms in which they are with Greek society as well as their occupational prestige and socioeconomic status correspond with their children’s social integration. Interviewees did not speak much about their families; nevertheless some things could have been inferred from adolescents’ opinions towards different themes that were discussed as well as from demographic part of interview compared to other factors. Majority of parents had secondary education and did low-paid, mainly manual jobs in Greece (mothers: domestic help, cleaners, nannies, waitress, seller, 2 unemployed - housewives: fathers: construction works, car mechanic). This was common for both the groups. Within the group from Polish high school only one person, mother, had higher education (economy). Still, she worked as a cleaning lady. It seemed like her daughter felt a little bit embarrassed about this fact: when talking about mother’s occupation she considerably lowered her voice. This situation, together with other, made us assume that parents’ occupation is important for adolescents.

In the group of Polish pupils from Greek high school four mothers and one father had higher education. From this two mothers were not working, one worked in a pharmaceutical company (she had an office job) and one worked as a nanny and was attending Greek high school for adults at the same time in order to upgrade her level of Greek language, as she planned to apply for work as a PE teacher in Greek school. Her daughter, Kamila, when talking about mother’s current job, underlined that it was only temporarily, and seemed to feel proud telling that her mum went to Greek school and had this kind of plans for the future.
FAMILY

By this part of interview we wished to find out whether our respondents’ parents were divorced or not, and if respondents’ families lived together as well as to what school do they siblings attend to.

Majority of our respondents lived together with their parents and siblings, and the rest of their families lived in Poland. Adolescents tend to visit their relations once a year. The exceptions were:

- Agnieszka - Her mother was divorced and lived with a Pole, who was for Agnieszka “a...kind of... step-father.” Agnieszka had one “real sister” and one from another mother. She stays with her mother.

- Andrzej – He has some more members of his family in Greece: 2 aunts 3 uncles and even one grandmother.

- Kasia – Her godmother is a Greek.

- Kamila - Her mother is divorced and remarried to a Greek. They have one daughter together (4 years old). Kamila has one more sister (15 years old) from her mother’s first marriage. Kamila lives with her mother, and her biological father is in Poland, but she does not have much contact with him.

When it comes to the siblings and schools they attend to five of our respondents (Joanna, Damian, Paulina, Kasia, Aneta) are the only children.

Respondents from Polish school:
Agnieszka has one sister, but she lives in Poland with her father and goes to school there. Andrzej has a 2 years younger brother that attends to Polish school. Marek has a 10 years younger brother that goes to Greek school.

Respondents from Greek schools:
Adam has one sister that studies in England and two younger brothers that attend Greek schools. Konrad has a 15-year-old brother that also goes to Greek school and does not attend Polish weekend school. Igor has 2 brothers: 18 and 8 years old that attend Polish
school in Athens. The older brother plans to study in Greece. Kamila’s sister (15 years old) goes to Polish secondary school, but will go to Greek high school. Her younger half-sister does not go to school yet.

PERSONAL INTEGRATION

By this part of interview we wanted to find out more about adolescents’ personal lives in order to state what might strengthen integration processes. We wished to learn about their romantic relationships and preferences towards music, TV, books, etc.

ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS:

When it comes to romantic relationships, we have noticed that Poles from Polish high school either did not have boyfriends of girlfriends, or have Polish ones.

Agnieszka, 17: *I do not have a boyfriend. I used to have, but they were mainly Polish.*

Joanna, 17: *Now I have a Polish boyfriend, but previously went out with Greek boy for two years.*

Damian, 17: *Currently I have a Polish girlfriend, but I like Greek girls, I like to flirt with them...*

Marek, 17: *I am in relationship with a Polish girl now. In the past I had some Polish and Greek girlfriends. But I must say I prefer Slavic girls. Still, if a beautiful Greek girl appears...*

As we can see, youngsters do not have problems with nation in the context of dating. However, when talking about future and more serious relationships, some of interviewees from Polish school suggested that they would prefer to have a Polish partner.

Paulina, 17: *I have a Polish boyfriend, who is studying in the Greek university. I had two Greeks and the rest of Poles (boyfriends in the
past). But I would rather have a Pole. I think Greeks have a different mentality. When I go out with a Pole he is more gallant, asks me how I was, etc.

Damian, 17: I would rather in the future have a Pole. I would like to have Polish children...

In case of the group of Poles attending Greek schools, only one boy, Adam, confirmed he had a girlfriend (Greek one), and two girls, Paulina and Kamila, said they had a boyfriend (Polish one). The rest used to have some romantic relationship with both Poles and Greeks, or even young people from different nations. None of them spoke about preferences towards Polish partner. As Kasia stated:

Kasia, 18: It does not matter whether he is Polish or Greek, it matters what kind of person he is.

MUSIC, TV, BOOKS:

Interviewees often shared with us how they spend their free time. As majority adolescents they go out, meet with their friends, read books, go for coffee, bowling, billiards, to the cinema, gym, water park or theatre, surf the Internet, go in for sports, go to the beach, watch TV and listen to music. When it comes to TV, majority of interviewees from both groups stated they watch Polish one: they have Polish cable TV at home and prefer to watch it. Only two of the respondents declared he/she watches only Greek TV and their reason was that actually they do not have other choice:

Damian, 17: I watch Greek TV as we have only Greek TV at home.

Igor, 17: I watch only Greek TV because we do not have anything else.

Though, some of pupils from both groups watch Greek TV sometimes, if there is something entertaining on it.

Paulina, 17: We have Polish TV and I watch it. At home we watch both: Polish and Greek TV. It depends on whether there is
something interesting on TV: as there is nothing on Polish, then we switch to Greek, and if nothing is there, then again to Polish.

Kasia, 18: *I watch Greek and Polish TV. I chose things I like from both.*

When it comes to literature, two of the respondents named it as one of their hobbies (Igor and Aneta). Aneta (Greek high school) stated that she prefers Polish literature than Greek one. As to music interviewees listen to, we have not observed any pattern: some listened to Polish and Greek, some (majority) to international, some only to Polish. Each respondent showed individual interests. Intriguing thing was only about the attitude towards Greek music. For one respondent from the Polish school, not very satisfied with her life in Greece (Agnieszka), Greek music was “foreign”, whilst for two other interviewees from the same group (Joanna and Marek) it was not. In the other respondents we have not noticed similar nomenclature.

Agnieszka, 17: *I do not listen to Greek music, but to English, or Polish. Generally to foreign, but not Greek.*

Joanna, 17: *I like Greek or foreign music, I dislike Polish.*

Marek, 17: *I listen to foreign music, Greek hip-hop, and Polish rock.*

Interviewed pupils often referred to cultural differences between Poland and Greece, Poles and Greeks. They talked about different mentality, various attitudes that were sometimes difficult to accept or understand. In case of some students it seemed like these contrasts made life in Greece more difficult for them. Some pupils, like Damian and Andrzej, even felt discriminated.

Damian, 17: *There is no equality in Greece. Even if you have Greek nationality, you are not Greek. They treat you differently and they look at you differently because you are a foreigner.*

Other respondent were mainly referring to cultural differences:

Kasia, 18: *There is a different culture here. There is a big difference between Greece and Poland. My parents raised me differently than theirs. Girls come over to boys easier, they are tactless. Boys have no*
manners. When I go to Poland, I see these differences. But generally you can get along here somehow.

Paulina, 17: *I think Greeks have a different mentality. When I go out with a Pole he is more gallant, asks me how I was, etc.*

During the interviews pupils from both groups were openly describing things that they do not like about Greece.

Agnieszka, 17: *Hmmm... I do not like this kind of Greek mentality; here they have this way of life that does not suit me. Generally, I dislike their behavior... also what they do today, these various riots.... this culture of theirs, unpleasant...*

Interestingly, none of the respondents talked about similarities between the nations or cultures. It might be that things in common where felt obvious for them and only differences still bothered them. This subject could be investigated more deeply in the future. Nevertheless, there were also good things said about Greece. Polish students liked Greek climate, nature, music, and people. Even the fact that some of them planned their future in Greece gives evidence for their sympathy to this country.

**SOCIAL INTEGRATION**

This part of our interview was designed to ascertain adolescents’ contacts and networks and activities they participate in inside the school and outside school.

**PEER RELATIONSHIPS**

It is obvious from our research that Polish students from Greek high schools have more Greek friends than adolescents from Polish school. Though, we cannot say that majority of Poles from Greek schools have Greek friends: only minority states they do. In the contrary, they say they generally meet with Poles, and not children from their schools. The example is Aneta, pupil attending to Greek school and Polish weekend school.
Aneta, 17: The circle I move in is more Polish: Polish Church, Polish friends, Polish school. I know some Greeks, but, you know, relations are a bit different. I cannot define it. Maybe I cannot open. I start talking to them, (...) for example about the lessons, or just generally, but there are not any great friendships there. Maybe except 2-3 persons. People are OK, just some of them are not, but it does not depend on whether they are Greeks, but what sort of person they are.

When she was talking about her friendships it felt as if she was sorry, that she had not more Greek friends, and wished it was not like that. On the other hand, some respondents from group of adolescents from Greek schools stated that they had more Greek friends than Polish.

Kasia, 18: My friends are mainly from Greek school. I feel great in their company. I have only one Polish girl-friend.

This was generally caused by the school they attend, but often also by the distance to the “center of Polishness” – Michail Voda Street and its neighborhood. The latter reason was mentioned in both groups of interviewees.

Agnieszka, 17: There are almost no Poles where I live, and in Athens (she means the center of city) there are some... at Polish Church there is a bigger center of Poles, and Victoria (the name of the station around which many Polish people live in Athens): but I live far away.

Kasia, 18: I have mainly Greek friends from my school... I live so far away from the center... there are no Polish people in my neighborhood that I know of.

Lack of Greek friends in both groups of respondents was often explained by not possessing enough time:

Joanna, 17: I have many Polish friends. I have also many Greek friends, but now, due to the fact that I am busier with school, as I am preparing for high school final exams, I need to spend more time with Polish children. With Greeks I go out usually on Saturdays and Sundays. I get along with them well. For discos we all go together: Poles and Greeks.
But, typically, these Greeks sit more in isolation: I go to them sometimes, because they do not know my friends.

Kamila, 17: I do not quite maintain contact with people from my Greek school, because I do not have the time. But they are great people.

Konrad, 17: Lately, well, maybe for one year, I do not go out into the square. It is because now I do not have the time. I study a lot; I have started to study really a lot.

Another reason for the difficulties in maintaining contacts with Greek friends results from changing place to stay. Adam explains the loss of Greek friends as follows:

Adam, 17: I once lived in the center, then we move, and unfortunately not all friendships have been maintained.

Another thing is that some friendships vanish over time:

Marek, 17: Because of the fact that I grew up here, I had a lot of Greek friends. They were always a little older. They are now working, do not go to school.

In the group of adolescents from Polish school all respondents stated that they have more Polish than Greek friends. Some of them had some, and some said they had no Greek friends. The example is Agnieszka that stated not to have Greek friends, but only some acquaintances:

Agnieszka, 17: I meet Greek people for example when my friends have Greek friends. But majority of my friends does not have Greek friends.

On the other hand, even in the group of Poles attending Greek high schools there was a boy, Igor that had no Greek friends:

Igor, 17: All of my friends are Poles: from the Polish school I attended earlier.

Places where Polish pupils met Greeks were the same in both investigated groups: neighborhood, sport clubs, language schools, school (pupils from Greek high schools) as well through friends which know Greek people. Polish friends, in turn, our respondents mainly met at the Polish school, through friends, family, and Polish parish.
The fact that youngsters met Polish people thanks to parents and their acquaintances was, as Konrad believed, the easiest and most convenient way.

Konrad, 17: *If I want to go out and meet with someone, it is either from my mother's circle of friends, so Poles. But sometimes I also go out for example with Greeks, who live next to me. Boxing club is next to my block and from there I have a part of my (Greek) friends.*

**EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES**

When it comes to extracurricular activities in which interviewees participate and that are organized by schools, in both groups there was a common belief that there were not too many of these. Respondents from Polish school asked about extracurricular activities organized by their school:

Agnieszka, 17: *Hmmm …there are some, but generally only in primary school and gymnasium, in high school there are no such things.*

Joanna, 17: *There is probably no such things. Maybe sports; it is only the volleyball that I take part in. There are no other activities…*

Damian, 17: *There are not too many activities to participate in. There are some sports; two years ago there was a football tournament. If there is something organized in the school I take part.*

Marek, 17: *Activities? Rather sports: marathon, football tournaments.*

Only Andrzej and Paulina did not hesitate to mention various activities they participated in at school.

Andrzej, 18: *I help at school. I initiated painting the walls in our classroom. I run festivals, take part in performances, academies and poetic evenings. I specialize in organizing music equipment as a DJ. I used to play football at school. There were also some clubs: physical, mathematical, biological.*
Paulina, 17: *my activities at school... academies, performances, marathons, athletics.*

In the group of Polish pupils attending Greek school pupils participated also mainly in sports and had difficulties describing other activities they take part in:

Kasia, 18: *I think there are no activities. Or there is something connected to music, but I do not participate in it.*

Konrad, 17: *Greek school does not organize any activities...*

Igor, 17: *I do not know about them, I do not participate in anything.*

Among the students that actually named some activities there were:

Adam, 17: *I am (...) active in school government, I organize different things there.*

Aneta, 17: *There are: government; school band sometimes organizes concerts; theatres. And there is nothing else. I do not participate in any of these.*

Kamila, 17: *I participate in volleyball division and history contests at school.*

Interviewees often shared with us how they spend their free time. As majority adolescents they go out, meet with their friends, read books, go for coffee, bowling, billiards, to the cinema, gym, water park or theatre, surf the Internet, go in for sports, go to the beach, watch TV and listen to music. Respondents from both groups declared that they generally spend their free time with friends:

Paulina, 17: *I am almost never at home when I have free time, because either I go out with friends, e.g., for coffee, or to a friend’s house where we talk, watch television, etc.*

Kamila, 17: *I go to the cinema, or for coffee, generally with girls from my team. I sometimes go out with Poles from weekend school, or from my old secondary school or with Polish friends from other schools.*
SCHOOL ADAPTATION

In the last part of interview we compared the final grades of 2009-2010 school year. Moreover, during interviews we asked respondents to share their feelings about school adaptation.

FINAL GRADES OF 2009-2010 SCHOOL YEAR

Research sample chosen for the following study had to meet some criteria, including the grades. We decided to check social and school integration levels of pupils with good and bad results (equal number of each) from both: Polish and Greek schools.

Grading systems in Poland and Greece vary. The system in Polish grade schools is as follows (with usual corresponding score percentages):

- **niedostateczny** (unsatisfactory) – 1 – 0–50%
- **dopuszczający** (poor) – 2 – 51–60%
- **dostateczny** (satisfactory) – 3 – 61–75%
- **dobry** (good) – 4 – 76–90%
- **bardzo dobry** (very good) – 5 – 91–100%
- **celujący** (excellent) – 6 – This grade as a final grade is usually awarded for extracurricular merit. In examinations it is sometimes awarded for a perfect or near-perfect (98–100%) score.

Poor is a passing grade.

In Greece usual grading system in secondary school includes grades from 1 to 20 with 20 as highest on scale, 10 - pass/fail level and 1 as the lowest grade on scale.

Among the students from the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens with high grades were the girls: Agnieszka, Joanna and Paulina (4.5 good). Boys: Andrzej, Damian and Marek had a very low average grade: 2.5 (poor). Among the students from Greek schools ones with high grades were Kasia (16.5), Konrad (13.7) and Kamila
(14.4). It is interesting that Kamila was a respondent with the shortest length of residence in Greece - only 7 years, so it could be assumed that she might have some problems at school. Students from Greek high schools with low grades were: Adam (11.6), Aneta (11.5) and Igor (10.3).

SCHOOL

Opinions about schools interviewees attended were various in both groups. Adolescents shared with us their feelings about schools; what they liked and disliked about these institutions, what they thought about the level of education provided there and what was their general idea about their schools. Respondents talked about their teachers and organization of the schools. In the group of pupils from Polish school the opinions about this educational institution were divided: half of responders had positive opinion about school and its level and the opinions of the other half were rather negative.

Agnieszka, 17: *I think there is a high level here. I feel fine here. I do not have any reservations towards the way of teaching or running the lessons; I like it here. We go along with the teachers: there are not too many of us and not too many of teachers, so we kind of know each other well.*

Andrzej, 18: *The level is high. Teachers and pupils are various. Some are good, some mean. We tried to do something about it, but this school is one big mafia, there is nothing we could do.*

Joanna, 17: *I do not like it here. I believe that teachers, most of them, do not know how to explain things well. You must take additional classes and pay for it. But if we are talking about colleagues, then I like it: we often meet after school. My mother enrolled me to this school. She decided that since I am Polish, I should be educated in a Polish school, and not Greek. I would definitely prefer to go to Greek school, now after what I have learned from my colleagues.*

Paulina, 17: *Polish school was my parents’ idea. We have to study a lot, the level is high; you must be always very well prepared. If I had*
known that, I would have not signed in here. But, on the other hand, I am happy, because it will be easier during high school exams and maybe later in college. It’s good; I do not go to the Greek school, because there the level is low. I do not say that in every school, but in general.

Interviewees from Polish school not only had generally negative opinions about the Polish school in Athens, but also about Greek educational system. This opinion was common among both groups of respondents when they were talking about plans for the future. Only 3 of interviewees (one from Polish school and two from Greek schools) planned to go to Greek university, because low, in their opinion, level of education these institutions provide. Another interesting thing, which we have already mentioned, is that interviewees blamed their parents for choosing the school and stated that they would prefer to go to Greek ones. The reason for this kind of attitude is not very clear: pupils we interrogated seemed to be disheartened by the high level of Polish school and lots of studying that they believed was required from them. Thus, the reasons for preferring Greeks schools could be an interesting topic to investigate in the future.

The negative attitudes towards school could be found also in the second group of respondents, ones attending Greek high schools. However, these opinions were not often: only one student stated he would prefer to go to Polish school (Igor), and one believed Greek school and its program were more relaxed comparing to Polish one (Kasia). In case of the first pupil it should be noticed that he was attending primary and secondary Polish school in Athens, but then did not passed exams for Polish high school and was forced to sign in Greek one.

Igor, 17: Greek school can do, but I rather do not have friends there. I would prefer to go to Polish school...

Kasia, 18: school is easier, the teachers are outstripped, relaxed. Program is easier, but generally there is a lot of studying. It is very nice at school and around it.

As we have suggested earlier, majority of interviewees from Greek high schools had positive opinions about it. They liked the atmosphere, teachers and pupils and they felt well there.
Konrad, 17: *It is very nice in my Greek school. I have a bunch of friends and feel great with them. I can say that I am at the forefront of this bunch. I am very funny person in this group; they say things such as when I am not there, how they feel bored… I think it is because I have such good sense of humor.*

Adam, 17: *School is normal. Children are OK, together we organize a lot of things. I feel well there. I am even active in school government, I organize different things there. I think that all the kids know me there.*

When it comes to this group of respondents we have noticed that almost all of them talked about the difficulties they had when they first began attending Greek school. The problems they were facing concerned mainly the language difficulties.

Aneta, 17: *At the beginning… you know, the alphabet and stuff. I met people, children; there was a different atmosphere. The teacher was all right, although I did not know Greek; I was learning it from the scratch. My mom wanted to move me into Polish school after a year, but I did not wanted, I got accustomed to Greek school. Now the school is OK, I feel well, because there are other foreigners there, too. I do not feel isolated.*

Adam, 17: *My first year in Greek school was OK, but I had problems with the language. But generally it was not too bad.*

Kamila, 17: *At the beginning it was a little bit difficult; I wrote Greek words with Polish letters. I'm only a year in the Greek school, but I already write, although I am still having troubles with spelling. If they ask us to write an essay with 500-600 words I have no problem, I manage. The teachers are very helpful. They are all right for foreigners.*

For students from both groups school is a place they meet with their friends, but also meet new people. Due to the different activities organized by school, such as performances, festivals (e.g., the song festival), sport competitions both at school and outside it, pupils have a chance to socialize with various cultures, not only the Greek one.
Interviewees from Greek high schools tended to have a mature attitude towards the school they attend. Many of them believed that due to the fact that they live in Greece it is advisable to go to Greek school.

Kasia, 18: *I think that since I live in Greece it is better to go to Greek school.*

2. DISCUSSION

Following study was designed to examine the level of social integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens: pupils of Polish and Greek high schools. The aim of this research was to find out the factors influencing social and school integration of Polish youngsters in order to determine level of these processes. We gathered data from interviews undergone with Polish adolescents from two groups: pupils attending Greek schools in Athens and pupils from the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens. The technique we used in this study was a semi-structured, in-depth interview with adolescents that aimed at encouraging participants to talk freely about their lives in Athens and situation at school. The use of semi-structured interviews and qualitative approach in general seemed appropriate for presented research in order to elicit adolescents’ thinking and feelings about social integration experiences in the peer group as well as in wider, social context. It turned out that the method we used was a good choice: since interviews had a form of loose conversations respondents talked freely and openly and it allowed us to gather some important information about their place in Greek society. Another thing was that researcher was of Polish origin what also helped while interrogating young people: it reduced the distance between interviewer and respondents and strengthened mutual understanding.

Our main concern was to find out what does Polish youth think and feel about the circumstances in which they find themselves. Conversations with respondents aimed at investigating factors that play crucial role in their integration processes into Greek society and eventually estimating the level of social and school integration. Our interest was placed at the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens because it is the biggest Polish school of this type in Greece and the whole Europe, and the large, if not
predominant, number of Polish immigrants’ children that reside in Athens attend it. We chose to discuss also integration process of students attending Greek high schools, as we assumed that the comparison of both groups would create a new and interesting perspective and give better insight into the process of social and school integration of immigrant adolescents. The sample we chose for investigation consisted of youngsters characterized by following variables: age - 17-18 years old; gender - equal numbers of boys and girls; type of school; grades - equal number pupils with good and bad results; place of residence - Athens.

In evaluating results of the present study five major themes emerged from the data:

- schools
- extracurricular activities
- peer relationships and other social networks,
- parents’ socioeconomic status
- Greek language competency

According to our findings above mentioned themes are the most important factors influencing social integration of Polish adolescents in Athens and at the same time determining the level of this process.

As we have already suggested, school and other educational institutions are highly relevant for the process of integration. Socio-cultural adaptation also occurs in the context of schools and has a profound impact on overall academic achievement and engagement and also affects the development of peer relationships (Kull, 2008). Positive school adaptation might be seen as an indicator of school integration of immigrant children, with the latter one being a form of social integration. That is why adaptation to school takes an important part during discussion of immigrant children school integration.

Our research suggests that students’ experiences within schools vary widely according to the school they are in, the peer group they belong to, and the extracurricular activities in which they participate.
Subject literature suggests that adolescents are more likely to be friends with those whom they see most often; and similarly, because these young people tend to befriend others with whom they feel they share characteristics. This is of particular importance when discussing school choice, as children spend much of their time precisely at school. Thus, school characteristics can promote or hinder opportunities to develop friendships (Vaquera & Cunningham, 2010) among specific social groups in the sense that Greek schools create possibilities to meet more Greek youngsters and eventually befriend them, and Polish school does the same but with Polish youth. For Polish adolescents from both groups school is a place where they meet with friends, but also get chance to meet new people. In these institutions, adolescents may find support among schoolmates (immigrants or not) to handle the school and the society in general. In this context school is a place that promotes social integration. Due to the different activities organized by Polish school and mentioned by our respondents, such as performances, festivals, poetic evenings, sport competitions both at school and outside it, pupils have a chance to socialize with various cultures, not only the Greek one. Polish school in Athens claims to organize and participate in many extracurricular activities (The Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens: http://www.atenyzs.pl/), such as ‘week of Polish language’ that includes a wide range of activities, from spelling contests to theatrical performances based on books read by the children; a festival called ‘The Round of the World’ with songs in different languages (Polish, Greek, English and Russian). According to Maroufof (2009) Polish school often participates along with other schools in various events, which seems to have brought the school very close to the other schools of the area, while, at the same time, giving the opportunity to its pupils to come to contact with children of the same age that study in other schools. Yet, the positive opinions about majority of extracurricular activities offered by Polish school and its bridging role in Greek society have not been confirmed in our interviewees’ responds. In contrary, adolescents stated there are not too many activities to participate in that are organized by their school.

Similarly, in our respondents’ opinions Greek schools do not organize many activities, but still are places where Polish adolescents meet Greek youngsters and sometimes make friends with them. But, most importantly: these schools allow and facilitate participation in Greek society with its culture. Among activities organized by Greek school respondents mentioned school government, school band, theater group and sport teams. These different activities that schools undertake aim at bringing young
members of various communities attending the same school. Basing on these findings we can refer to Putnam’s theory of bonding and bridging social capitals. If we apply this theory to the institution of Polish school in Athens with reference to our observation as well as data received from respondents’ we can assume that it is a place promoting bonding social capital and with lacks in facilitating bridging one. Even though school claims to organize many extracurricular activities that aim at putting various communities living in Athens together, our interviewees declared not to participate in them and even not to know about them. It seems like the theory departs from practice.

Putnam’s framework could also be adapted to Polish children themselves. After our research we got the idea that Polish adolescents, especially from the group attending Polish school, possess much more bonding social capital than bridging one: they have majority of Polish friends, spend most time with them at school and after it, they have their own church with masses in Polish language, Polish district with shops, libraries and cafes to spend time in. In case of Greek schools that Polish students attend, comparing them to Polish school in Athens made us assume they are places promoting bridging social capital. Thus, it is evident that our research’s findings prove the initial hypothesis that “The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital”.

Parents tend to have a decisive voice when it comes to the choice of school their children should attend. This was also the case in our research. Respondents often declared that decision about the school was taken by parents, and interviewees would choose differently. Adolescents from Polish school blamed their parents for their choice and stated that they would have preferred to go to Greek school. The reason for this kind of attitude is not very clear: pupils we talked to seemed to be disheartened by the high level of education at Polish school and lots of studying that they believed was required from them. However, some of them shared mature attitude towards school choice and declared that Greek school would be advantageous for them if they planned to stay in Greece. Many of Polish youngsters believed that due to the fact that they live in Greece it is advisable to go to Greek school. Yet, majority of pupils from Polish school planned to move to Poland in the future, so they believed it was better for them to go to Polish school. Likewise, those children that planned to stay in Greece understood it was better for them to attend Greek school.
As we have already mentioned, bridging social capital seems to contribute to societal integration, while bonding social capital might be exclusive and can produce strong out-group antagonisms. Thus, it seems like the school choice may influence youngsters’ social integration in a way that attendance to Polish school strengthens the process of adolescents’ disintegration in Greek society, boasting their sense of ethnicity, whilst choosing Greek school appears to give chance to facilitate the process of social integration into Greek society to a larger degree.

Living in foreign country may intensify negative perceptions of one in foreign society and have impact on adolescents’ integration into mainstream society. When it comes to bridging capital, exclusion from the mainstream networks influences adolescents’ general well-being and their social integration. Putman believed that participation in various organizations and bodies builds social capital what in its turn strengthens integration. In our research none of adolescents stated he/she participates in any kind of voluntary or civic organizations. Polish adolescents were not involved in any formal community networks and did not take part in any actions linked to local authorities. However, adolescents participated in, as Putnam (1993) named them, voluntary networks, namely sports. Sport has long been considered by policy makers to contribute to a wide range of ideals associated with Putnam’s notion of social capital, such as voluntarism, citizenship, democracy, community well-being, trust, inter-cultural knowledge and social networks. Sport may lead to the accumulation of social capital and a larger social network (Walseth, 2008). This is the case in our research. It was confirmed that Polish youngsters widely participate in various sport teams at schools and outside them. At this point we should acknowledge that for social integration important is not only the existence of social networks but also the kind of these networks. Even though majority of ties created through sports participation are rather weak and may be better described as acquaintances than friends, having these weak ties to one’s teammates also has benefits for integration of Polish adolescents. In Putnam’s (2000) theory, loose ties and networks help people to ‘get ahead’. Our findings indicate that youth with an immigrant background bridges social capital within sports clubs. Sports enable these young people develop networks of friends with similar interests. Sport clubs are places where Poles meet and cooperate with Greeks, and at the same time a field where they can learn a lot about Greek society and may also present their colleagues with Poland and Polish culture. Researchers emphasize integration on the
primary group level as the entrance of immigrants into social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society (e.g., Gordon, 1978), such as large scale entrance into cliques and clubs, in our case sport clubs. Subject literature confirms also that sport is an area of considerable cultural importance with regard to youth (Gundara & Jacobs, 2000) The Council of Europe recognized importance of sport in facilitating social integration and contributing to social cohesion, particularly among young people (Niessen, 2000):

*The role of sport in promoting social integration, in particular of young people, is widely recognised. (...) Sports offer a common language and a platform for social democracy (...) creates conditions for political democracy and is instrumental to the development of democratic citizenship. Sport enhances the understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and it contributes to the fight against prejudices. (...) sport plays its part to limit social exclusion of immigrant and minority groups.*

Thus, based on the empirical findings in the present study, it is suggested that sport clubs might be a well-suited arena for bridging networks across ethnicity among young Polish immigrants and thereby contributing to the process of social integration.

Sport is not only an area enabling social contacts, but also a field increasing Greek language competence. Our findings indicate that extracurricular activities adolescents participate in influence the command of Greek language: boys playing in Greek football clubs were forced on one hand to communicate with their Greek (but also other nationals) teammates, but, on the other hand, they had also great opportunity to learn the language from these colleagues. The same thing consider attending language courses outside school, and spending free time with Greek friends: these were also avenues of social contact facilitating command of Greek language, which in its turn “smoothes the way” of social integration. Our respondents’ participation in extracurricular activities hereby proves research’s initial hypothesis that greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration.¹

According to subject literature immigrant families often see education as the best way for their children to succeed. Thus, regardless their ethnic or socioeconomic

¹ In this research we understand the notion of culture as shared pursuits within a cultural community; social aspects of human contact, including the give-and-take of socialization, negotiation, protocol, and conventions.
backgrounds, foreign-born parents tend to place great significance on school achievement. Some parents also encourage their children to view education as a way of avoiding simple, menial jobs (Fuligni, 1998). Our secondary hypothesis that better school performance results in better school integration was confirmed in this research for the group of Polish children attending Greek schools. In case of adolescents from Greek schools ones with high grades (Kamila, Kasia and Konrad) were the best integrated in their group: they felt well in Greece, participated in many extracurricular activities where they met Greeks, and had plans to stay in Greece in the future. On the other hand, respondents with low scores in Greek schools tended to present medium (Adam, Aneta) and low (Igor) social integration. In case of the group from Polish high school grades seemed not to have influence on their school integration process: respondents with high and low grades tended to have many school friends. Thus, based on our conversations and conclusions drawn from them, we can agree with thesis present in subject literature (Stodolska, 2008; Giavrimis et al., 2003; Zhou, 1997a; Rosenberg et al. 1989) that school success strengthens adaptation and social integration. Rosenberg et al. (1989) believed that in case of immigrant children academic success is of such importance because it is generally valued in the society, so those who do well in school should receive more favorable reflected appraisals from significant others, e.g., native peers. School success is strongly connected with positive adaptation to the school milieu and, eventually, to school integration. According to Zhou (1997a) it is one of the most important indications of adapting to society. School marks, therefore, become public, visible, overt indicator of school success: high marks in school should yield positive social comparisons (Rosenberg et al., 1989). Group membership was tested and it has been stated that over time it is the most consistent predictor of students’ grades and that peer relationships are related indirectly to school success through their relationship with prosocial behavior (Krull & Kadajane, 2004: 55). Giavrimis et al. (2003) believed that students with a higher level of academic achievement seem to have a more positive self-esteem. According to this author, school success is very important for students’ progress in the centralized Greek educational system, and it affects students’ social status: the public evaluation in the social comparison process influences child’s status in the classroom and his/her self-concept. Moreover, researchers believe that students with immigrant parents, including children who themselves are foreign-born, tend to receive grades in school that are equal to or even higher than those of students whose parents were born in particular country (Fuligni, 1998, after: Kao &
Our research fits into these trends. It could be that Polish immigrant students use education as the venue to upgrade their social and future economic position and trust that if they work hard enough they can succeed at school (Gibson, 1987) and later, in life. As we have already mentioned, school integration is a form of social integration and school success seem to influence both. Still, it could be also that school and social integration influence school success: this relationship is also present in subject literature. Hereby, there is reciprocity between school success and school and social integration processes, but larger sample is essential to fully explain the phenomenon of school success with its implication for social integration. Thus, the relationship between school success and social integration in case of Polish adolescents in Greece needs more investigation.

It has been mentioned in the theoretical framework of present study that situation of immigrant children at school can mirror characteristics of the larger society. We have found by research that this is the truth only in case of interviewees from Greek high schools. Polish school and school integration of students attending it is a special case and cannot be generalized to the entire population of Polish adolescents in Athens.

Basing on results of this study we could assume that strong or weak school integration is an indicator of general level of social integration into mainstream community. Respondents form Greek schools that were well integrated in their schools, participated in many activities organized by this educational institutions and claimed to have many friends there (Kasia, Konrad), seemed also to be better integrated into Greek society in general. On the other hand, those whose school integration was rather weak (Igor, Aneta) tented to have problems also with social one. Thus, we agree with literature suggestions that many of the problems that ethnic minority students experience in the schools reflect the problems in the wider society, such as lack of friends or even feelings of discrimination observed in the group of respondents from Polish school. All these aspects suggest that investigating school integration gives important insight into the general integration of Polish immigrant adolescents in Greek society. School is a setting indispensable in including children of foreign nationals in the new environment and in supporting them in achieving social advancement. Moreover, school environment with its norms, values, and support, plays an important role in facilitating language acquisition and adaptation in the broader sense. Thus, summarizing our findings, we can say that school integration through school success
and school integration through socialization by transferring necessary norms and values are two ways in which educational institution influence social integration. School integration can be also described as the feelings of enjoyment and belonging to school, and relationships with other students. In this context important are students’ feelings about school in terms of how much they enjoy school life, and get along with the other students, and even how proud they are of belonging to their school.

Children from both groups had some negative opinions about their schools. In the group of pupils from Polish school half of respondents had positive opinion about school and the level of education provided there whilst opinions of the other half were rather negative. Only three interviewees (one from Polish school and two from Greek schools) planned to go to Greek university, because low, in their opinion, level of education these institutions provide. The negative attitudes towards school could be found also in group of respondents attending Greek high schools. However, these opinions were not often: only one student stated he would prefer to go to Polish school (Igor), and one believed Greek school and its program were more relaxed comparing to Polish one (Kasia). In case of the first pupil it should be known that he had been attending primary and secondary Polish school in Athens, but then did not pass exams for Polish high school and was forced to sign in Greek one. Majority of interviewees from Greek high schools had positive opinions about it (with exception for the low in their opinion level of education provided there). They liked the atmosphere, teachers and pupils and they felt well there. The fact that Polish students attending Greek schools had generally positive opinions about these institutions, felt well there and got along with other pupils indicates the relatively high level of their school and social integration.

Another aspect that seems to have crucial importance for social integration of Polish immigrant adolescents and at the same time indicates its level, i.e. whether this process is strong or weak are peer relationships and other social networks. In adolescents’ social integration friends are a critical source of healthy emotional, psychological, social, and academic adjustment (Lasso & Soto, 2005). Peers are also important models of socialization: they shape aspirations, share information, and, in case of immigrant children, they serve additional purpose of assimilation in terms of linguistic fluency and understanding of local, social and cultural norms (Vaquera & Cunningham, 2010). This was confirmed also in our research.
It was obvious from present study that Polish students from Greek high schools had more Greek friends than adolescents from Polish school. Though, we cannot say that majority of Poles from Greek schools had Greek friends: only minority stated they did. In the contrary, they said they generally met with Poles, and not children from their schools. Places where Polish pupils met Greeks were the same in both investigated groups: neighborhood, sport clubs, language schools, school (pupils from Greek high schools) as well through friends which knew Greek people. This is consistent with recent research that describes integration as a process occurring mainly at the local level. That is why the frequency and quality of personal interactions and contacts between immigrants and mainstream population in their neighborhood or district is one of key elements of effective social integration. Polish friends, in turn, our respondents mainly met at the Polish school, through friends, family, and Polish parish. In the group of adolescents from Polish school all respondents stated that they had more Polish than Greek friends. Some of them had some, and some state they had no Greek friends. This was often due to the distance to the “center of Polishness” – Michail Voda Street and its neighborhood, as mentioned in both groups of interviewees.

Here it is essential to remind that respondents from Greek schools participated in more extracurricular activities where they could meet Greek peers. With correspondence to this fact and taking into consideration school situation, our findings confirm the secondary hypothesis that Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school. Adapting Putnam’s theory of bridging and bonding capitals we could state that networks of Poles attending Greek schools are of bridging character, and networks of Polish adolescents from Polish school refer more to bonding social capital. Children, who were accepted and liked by peers, held leadership positions and had friends from both: their own group and other ethno-cultural groups, including the national society, were likely to present better integration into Greek society. However, here again relatively small amount of respondents prevents us from generalization. Still, in the subject literature, extension of the immigrants' relations outside their own group to include members of the receiving society is considered an important feature of the newcomers' orientation toward the new country.

Lack of Greek friends in both groups of respondents was similarly explained by not possessing enough time: all students were studying a lot that year. Another reason
for the difficulties in maintaining contacts with Greek friends appeared to result from changing places to stay. It seemed also that some friendships simply vanished with time, which is not the domain of immigrants, but rather a common phenomenon.

When it comes to romantic relationships, we have noticed that youngsters do not have problems with nationality or ethnicity in this context: they have (or had) both Polish and Greek partners. However, when talking about future and more serious relationships, some of interviewees from Polish school suggested that they would prefer to have a Polish partner. In case of the group of Poles attending Greek schools, none of respondents spoke about preferences towards Polish partner. This difference between the two interviewed groups may indicate greater level of social integration among the respondents from Greek schools. Yet, it seems accurate to say, that issues concerning adolescents’ romance are as mysterious to social scientists as they are to teenagers (Furman et al., 1999: 2). As Furman et al. believed, love is on the forefront of adolescents’ minds. Adolescents’ romantic relationships are hypothesized to be a major vehicle of working through issues of identity and individuation as well as other components of self-concept. There is also supposed to be a connection between the teenage romance and positive self-esteem (Furman et al., 1999). Moreover, as we have already mentioned, romantic relationships might be regarded as pointer of social integration. It was reflected in our research: youngsters from Greek schools that generally showed better integration were more prone to be engaged in the romantic relationships with Greek adolescents. And, in the contrary, Polish youth from Polish high school that presented general lower level of adaptation tend to be more interested in Polish partners.

The development of social relation between students is an important aspect of their social growth and maturation (Krull & Kadajane, 2004). Moreover, discussion about social networks of Polish adolescents and their various types is relevant, because when individuals form relationships and networks, such as friendships, romantic relationships or marriages we deal with interaction, which is one of the four forms, or four dimensions of social integration (next to structural, cultural and identification integration). Identification has both cognitive and emotional aspects and refers to a process of individual’s identification with a social system, as part of a collective body. According to Esser, integration of immigrants into a host society should be understood as a special case of social integration.
Our research shows that among factors influencing social integration of Polish youngsters living in Athens is parents’ socioeconomic status. They, with their attitudes and terms in which they are with Greek society as well as their occupational prestige and socioeconomic status correspond with their children’s integration. Interviewees did not speak much about their families; nevertheless, some important information could still have been inferred. For example, in cases of few respondents parents were responsible for the school choice what we have already discussed in previous parts of this section. Parents’ and not youngsters’ beliefs and plans for the future made the decision about Polish or Greek school. We understand that parents are typically ones to decide about school anyway, but in this special case of living in foreign country youth’s opinion might have been taken into account. Especially when youth has such strong opinions in this matter: interviewees stated that if the decision about school was theirs, they would have chosen differently.

Majority of our respondents’ parents had secondary education and did low-paid, mainly manual jobs in Greece (mothers: domestic help, cleaners, nannies, waitress, seller, two unemployed – housewives; fathers: construction works, car mechanic). This was common for both the groups. Within the group of youth from Polish high school only one person, mother, had higher education (economy). Still, she worked as a cleaning lady. It seemed like her daughter felt a little bit embarrassed about this fact: when talking about mother’s occupation she considerably lowered her voice. This situation made us assume that parents’ occupation indicating family’s social status is important for adolescents as it allots family’s position in the society. Moreover, with accordance to Vaquera and Cunningham (2010) statements, lower socioeconomic status is associated with fewer friendship opportunities: poorer children may be less able to participate in extracurricular activities. This thesis has been confirmed in our research: youth from families with more stable economic situation tend to participate in more activities such as: language schools, sport clubs and sport centers (swimming pools), etc. Extracurricular activities are areas where friendships tend to be solidified. Yet, these activities can be expensive (fees), and require time commitment from parents (e.g., giving lifts with a car), as well as patience and understanding that this kind of pastime is important and boasts child’s development. Immigrant parents may possess less of all of these, as they tend not to have as flexible work schedules as native parents, often work longer hours and earn not as much as other parents.
In the group of Polish pupils from Greek high school four mothers and one father had higher education. From these, two mothers were not working, one worked in a pharmaceutical company (office job) and one worked as a nanny and was attending Greek high school for adults at the same time in order to upgrade her level of Greek language, as she planned to apply for work as a PE teacher in Greek school. Her daughter, Kamila, when talking about mother’s current job, underlined that it was only temporarily, and seemed to feel proud telling that her mum went to Greek school and had this kind of plans for the future.

From interviewees statements we inferred that their parents’ socioeconomic status is relevant for social integration. Our data point out another relationship: children with better educated parents (three cases of higher education) have higher level of social integration. This assumption has not been found in any other research in the field of adolescents’ social integration and due to small sample cannot be generalized. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate in the future whether this assumption is valid and what kind of relationship is there between parents’ education and their children social integration.

Existing research has assumed that, unlike their parents, immigrant children lack meaningful connections to their home countries and, thus, are unlikely to consider their places of origin as a point of reference (Zhou, 1997a). Our findings are in contrast with Zhou's (1997a) studies, and with accordance to Stodolska’s research (2008: 224) in which it was assumed that many immigrant adolescents remembered their home country well, and, thus, were in the constant process of comparing and contrasting their lives prior to and post-immigration. In presented research adolescents stated that they often visit Poland and stay there quite long. Youngsters seemed to have strong social networks among friends and kinship in that country. Poland is a point of reference for our respondents: while visiting this country they noticed the differences between Polish and Greek realities and later compared them to what they experience in Greece. This situation was common in both groups of respondents. Thus, we think that it would be advantageous if future research considered adolescents’ integration in light of their experiences from home country and acknowledged the role of youth’s cultural heritage in a greater degree.
Time spent outside the school and activities in which adolescents participate are great areas for social integration. Respondents from both groups declared that they generally spent their free time with friends. This tendency is confirmed by earlier researches (e.g., Tomanovic, 2005). Moreover, youngsters read books, go for coffee, bowling, billiards, to the cinema, gym, water parks or theatre, surf the Internet, go in for sports, go to the beach, watch TV and listen to music. When it comes to TV, majority of interviewees from both groups stated they watch Polish one. Most of respondents found it more amusing comparing to Greek TV. As to music interviewees listen to, we have not observed any pattern: some listened to Polish and Greek, some (majority) to international, some only to Polish. Each respondent showed individual interests. Intriguing thing was only about the attitude towards Greek music. For one respondent from the Polish school, not very satisfied with her life in Greece (Agnieszka), Greek music was “foreign”, whilst for two other interviewees from the same group (Joanna and Marek) it was native. Such a small detail shows the attitude towards Greek culture, which might be seen both as something unknown and distant or, the contrary: something familiar and close.

Interviewed pupils often referred to cultural differences between Poland and Greece, Poles and Greeks. Adolescents talked about different mentality, various attitudes that were sometimes difficult to accept or understand. In case of some students it seemed like these contrasts made life in Greece more difficult for them. Some pupils, like Damian and Andrzej, even felt discriminated. According to Lazaridis and Wickens (1999) Greece is a country where national, ethnic, cultural, and religious difference is seen by the host community as a threat and the cause of problems. Hence, young migrants can be, by default, seen as problematic and acquire a negative image. From our research we could assume that Polish adolescents living in Athens seem to be one of the disadvantaged groups in this society. It is reasoned first of all because of the fact that they are children of Polish immigrants; their families tend to have lower socioeconomic status than native families, many of adolescents do not speak Greek fluently, and have often problems with getting along with mainstream community: they do not have as many friends as they wished, which they regret – it was mentioned by the way some of the respondents talked about their friendships. Still, none of interviewees said it openly. Adolescents’ disadvantaged situation might be equalized by the social capital they get from their families and communities, but this thesis requires some deeper investigation in order to be confirmed.
Interestingly, none of our respondents talked about similarities between the Polish and Greek nations or cultures. It might be that things in common where felt obvious for youngsters and only differences still bothered them. This subject could be investigated more deeply in the future.

However, there were also positive statements made about Greece. Polish students liked Greek climate, nature, music, and people. Even the fact that some of them planned their future in Greece gives evidence for their sympathy for this country. Thus, secondary hypothesis that better integrated students identify stronger with Greek society, which is reflected in their plans about the future, was confirmed in our research. Plans for the future for all interviewed pupils were connected to studying. In case of respondents from Polish high school only one person, wanted to study in Greece, one either in England or abroad, and one in England. The rest of interviewees planned to go to Poland and study there. In some of the cases the reason was assumed higher level of education in Poland. In other cases the cause was more practical: interviewees had families in Poland with which they could stay while studying. As for the further future with regards to the place of residence, Poles from Polish school could not decide. The difficulty lies in the fact that they felt connected to Greece, as they grew up there and their families live in this country. On the other hand, for some of respondents it was obvious that they would eventually move to Poland. Very often their decision depended on their parents’ plans.

In the group of students from Greek high schools plans for the future were generally connected to Greece. Still, two of respondents planned to study in Poland, mainly due to presumed higher level of education provided by Polish universities. Similarly to the first group, here again interviewees plans were connected to their families. It turned out that the majority of interviewed adolescents were sojourners: temporary migrants with the clear intention of returning home in due course. Those subjects who intended to stay only temporarily in Greece seemed to show lower level of social integration and more difficulties with this process comparing to those that bonded their future with Greece.

Another thing that came to light from our research was Greek language competency. Subject literature confirms that linguistic adaptation is among the greatest challenges for the new second generation of immigrants and that is why we paid
attention to this issue. Moreover, results of the following study show that Polish immigrant students attending Greek schools for the first time had to deal with various difficulties in these institutions that arose from the cultural differences between the host society and the Polish one, such as learning a new language, integrating into a new school system, and fitting into new group of peers. This statement agrees with conclusions made by Giavrimis et al., (2003). The problems respondents were facing concerned mainly language difficulties and initial barriers they had with making friends. However, with time and help of Greek teachers, the level of language greatly improved and at the time of research majority of them spoke fluently both languages (with exception of one student, Igor). The case of Igor confirmed one of our assumptions, namely that children, who do not speak the mainstream language, and therefore are unable to communicate with their native peers, cannot fully integrate into school environment.

Our findings indicate that with time initial language difficulties vanish for benefits of school and social integration. It was obvious that youth from Greek schools had much greater level of Greek language competency than their friends from Polish school. Youth from Greek schools reported greater proficiency in the national language and they tended to use it much more often than their ethnic friends. Still, in case of the group of Poles from Greek schools, majority of them spoke fluently both: Polish and Greek languages. According to Berry et al. (2006: 165), among immigrant youth bicultural orientation is beneficial for their sociocultural adaptation, which in turn enhances their psychological well-being. Similarly, McCarthy (1998) believed that most educators and social scientists agree it is crucial for immigrant children to master the mainstream language. Mastery of it can propel children into the educational mainstream, allowing them to excel at school and improve their chances of successful and meaningful post-graduation employment. Relatively little emphasis on Greek language in Polish school may stem from the fact that this school was primarily held for children residing only temporarily and not permanently in Greece. Even in the school status we can find information that target population of the school plans to return to Poland in future. Thus, school stresses rather the subjects which could be helpful for children in their future careers in Poland.

It is a generally accepted view that the ability to speak the language of receiving society plays an important part in the process of integration because it is a precondition for social participation. Literature in the field of social integration suggests that good
knowledge of the language of receiving society facilitates the immigrants' social integration into different spheres of the larger community (Veglery, 1988; Cluster Access and social inclusion in lifelong learning, 2006; Taft, 1977). Thus, Greek language proficiency can be regarded as an indicator of the level of social integration among Polish immigrant children residing in Athens.

3. IMPLICATIONS

The results of present study have relevance for the existing body of knowledge on social integration of immigrant adolescents, but it could also be important for policymakers, social workers, and school staff: counselors, administrators and teachers, not to mention children and their families, especially parents. First, certain changes can be adopted at the school level to alleviate the challenges faced by young newcomers, especially when it comes to the language issues. Strategies that reduce stressors and facilitate immigrant children integration could also be implemented, such as the provision of additional instruction (e.g., intensive Greek classes for pupils from Polish school). We think that programs should be developed to make the school and social integration processes easier for the large number of immigrant children in Greece, including Polish ones. We also believe that advantageous for social integration of Polish adolescents would be strengthening parent-school linkage. Building a bridge between parents and teachers is, in our opinion, essential and helpful for the process of children's school integration. In addition, a comprehensive social work intervention model could be developed and implemented in Greek school settings in order to help improve intercultural perceptions and relationships. This intervention model would be likely to further enhance the integration, self-esteem and academic performance of Polish youth as well as other immigrants. Finally, the study has broader applications for social work education and practice with adolescent immigrants globally. With the increasing numbers of immigrant communities in Europe, it seems crucial to place a greater emphasis on the process of social integration.

The present study has certain limitations that need to be taken into account when considering the results and its contributions. First of all, our research has focused on a
matter that is a very extensive and major one: the phenomenon of social integration. In our study, this extensive and complex phenomenon has been approached from a rather narrow empirical perspective, which was the level of social integration of Polish adolescents in Greece. The limitations of the study included its subjective nature, qualitative design and relatively small sample size which preclude the possibility of making generalizations to other members of Polish population as well as other immigrant groups. Small sample sizes are generally typical to research studies conducted within the interpretive paradigm and generalization of findings is not the goal of such studies. However, it would be desirable if future research studies employed larger samples what would allowed comparing to our finding and generalizing results to other young immigrant groups. Another thing is that this study, unlike much of the previous research, was based on adolescent group. Consequently, some of the differences in findings from previous research may be attributed to the participants’ developmental stage with its specificity and personal character. Criticism can also be presented concerning the way the theories are applied in this study. We generally focus on phenomena of social and school integration, social capital and its bridging and bonding types in Putnam’s grasp of this problem. We are aware of the fact, though, that various additional theoretical perspectives could also need attention on the basis of presented research.

Another limitation of our study is that there could be some cultural biases present in the findings as the researcher was of Polish origin: study’s findings might have been influenced by the presence of this researcher familiar with the Polish culture. On the other hand, during conversations respondents talked freely and openly, thus, Polish origin of researcher helped while interviewing young children who felt more at ease.

Certain trends that were discovered in this study are clearly confirmed in the existing literature on the topic, while others offer useful additions to the discourse on adolescent immigrants' adaptation. Young people who participated in this study seemed to present the main issues that immigrant life, and adolescents’ lives bring about, therefore phenomena observed in their situation might reflect wider tendencies. An advantage of this study was that it compared integration process of two groups: adolescents from Polish school in Athens and youth attending Greek high school in this
city. The comparison gives an interesting and wide perspective for research on social integration of Polish pupils in Greece.

While previous research did an excellent job of differentiating within ethnic populations based on immigrants' social status, age, educational background, or family contexts (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006), still more qualitative studies are needed to provide in-depth examination of adaptation and integration experiences of young, second generation immigrants. Based on Putnam’s notion of social capital it could be interesting to find out how social networks (e.g., friendship relations) influence children’s sense of belonging to communities and heir social integration. We assume that bridging social capital can be regarded as pointer of social integration, so even though we have partly referred to this types of social capital, it would be interesting to investigate in the future how much of it Polish adolescents actually acquire and how does it reflect on their social integration. In the future research one could focus on various indicators of bridging social capital, such as an active participation in civil society, social participation and voluntary work. The bonding social capital of Polish adolescents in Greece, could be also important for future research and measured in relation to such pointers as social networks and social support. The reasons for preferring Greeks schools could be an interesting topic to investigate in the future. Another thing is the extracurricular activities organized by schools. It would be advantageous to pay closer attention to what is actually offered by these educational institutions. On one hand schools claim to organize various events not only on their territory, but with greater range. Nevertheless, our respondents seemed not to know about these: they generally stated there are no activities, or only few. Our study focused more on adolescents’ feelings and perceptions than on actual state of activities available to them. Still, it could be a good thing to check it.

Having an immigrant background additionally strengthens difficulties young people approach going through the period of adolescence. Immigrant youth face the challenge to learn how to navigate two cultures, moving across the multiple worlds created by family and ethnic group, schools, peers, and community (Motti-Stefanidi, 2009: 46). Our research points out the most important factors influencing social integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens. Even though we have named the most important indicators, results of this study bring forth some interesting possible avenues for future research and suggest that further research on Polish adolescent
immigrants should be undertaken in order to continue to explore in greater depth the factors influencing youngsters’ social integration as well as difficulties and challenges Polish adolescents face in Greece.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008: 46) indicated that two years ago more than 10% of the school population in Greek public schools was immigrant youth. Presence of this considerable number of foreign children in Greek schools justifies our interest in presented research. On the other hand, growing number of Poles emigrating from their homeland and settling mainly in various countries of European Union, including Greece, requires getting some insight into this process in order to mitigate any negative effect of migrations. These movements nowadays include all the families and often children are ones whose lives are influenced the most. For youngsters immigration is a difficult experience and in some cases, like in case of adolescents that go through complicated stage of human development and face grand changes in biological, cognitive and social spheres, integration processes might not carry on smoothly. That is why we chose this particular age group for our study. Research into social and school integration processes of adolescents would bring about some interesting information and shed new light on its elements. Adolescence is developmental stage of high relevance for further life. Young people start to make plans concerning their future; their social world is highly complex, with changing relation to parents, relatives and peers, to authority figures and institutional structures, and a wider sense of society. The obstacles youth has to negotiate include new environment of the host country (new culture, school, and language), issues related to peer group acceptance, and a changed family situation.

Summarizing our research we shall confirm that all the secondary hypotheses were proved.

Result of presented study indicate that better school performance results in better school integration, but this assumption was valid only in case of Polish youth attending Greek high schools.
Polish adolescents from Greek high schools seem to have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school. This hypothesis was also confirmed: respondents from Greek schools participated in more extracurricular activities where they could meet Greek peers, but also had many friends and acquaintances from their Greek schools. Networks of Poles attending Greek schools were generally of bridging character, and networks of Polish adolescents from Polish school referred more to bonding social capital. Social networks within Greek population were generally made at school, in sport clubs, in the neighborhood, language schools, as well through friends which know Greek people. Poles attending Greek school had both strong and weak networks within Greek society, namely friends, romantic relationships and acquaintances, whilst Polish adolescents from Polish school had generally weak networks in Greek society, mostly acquaintances. Even though, all networks are regarded as important for the process of social integration, evidence suggest that Poles from Greek school have stronger, wider and more differentiated social networks within Greek society than the group of adolescents from Polish school.

As to the hypothesis that better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future it was also proved by our research. Majority of Polish students felt well in Greece and liked this country with its climate, nature, music, and people. Respondents, especially from Greek schools, who planned their future in Greece proved general higher grade of social integration into Greek society.

Our respondents’ participation in extracurricular activities proved research’s initial hypothesis that greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration. Participation in groups and networks is important for overall integration processes of young immigrants into Greek society.

The results of this study indicate that for better social integration of immigrant children into host society it is advantageous for them to attend the mainstream and not ethnic schools. Ethnic schools, while strengthening bonding social capital of their pupils do not support bridging one, but rather unintentionally isolate pupils from mainstream society and culture, even though some efforts might be undertaken to avoid this situation. Thus, results of our study confirm the secondary hypothesis namely that the Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting
bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging one. Polish school in Athens was held for children temporarily and not permanently staying in Greece. Due to unique character as Polish institution in Greek society, in some ways it leads to inequality as it keeps Polish students in Polish reality, creates and strengthens networks among Poles, regardless the fact that they function in Greek society that they should integrate into. In our opinion, for the sake of strong social integration into Greek society it is advantageous to attend Greek schools.

To sum up, presented research confirmed all the secondary hypotheses, which in turns proves the primary hypothesis that Polish adolescents from Greek high schools integrate better into Greek society than Polish adolescents from Polish high school. Youngsters from Greek high schools have more opportunities to meet Greek people and and due to this fact they have more social networks within the Greek society and participate wider in Greek culture. The decision of school choice, often made by parents, has an influence and corresponds with the social integration. We can assume from received data that families, which plan their future in Greece, send their children to Greek schools. These children are aware of the fact that they may stay in this country for longer, thus want to go along with Greek society. Our results not only illustrate the importance of school choice for social integration of Polish adolescents in Athens, but also relevance of parents with their social integration and plans for the future. Although, as it was declared by respondents, Greek schools do not offer much of extracurricular activities to participate in, still they are places where young Poles meet with Greek pupils, socialize with them, celebrate various Greek feasts and generally participate stronger and deeper in Greek culture than adolescents from Polish school. This greater participation in Greek culture seems to strengthen social integration. Celebrating Greek feasts and holidays together with their schoolmates and friends connects adolescents tighter to Greek society. This is a case of bridging social capital. As Putnam (2000) believed, bridging social capital seems to contribute to societal integration and our research confirms his thesis. School has the power and tools to promote positive inter-group contacts within which diverse groups can interact, learn from one another and develop positive attitudes towards one another (Papouli – Tzelepi et al., 2003) what in it turns might lead to strengthening the process of social integration. In our research Poles attending Greek schools gave clear evidence of being involved in the new society while still retaining their ethnic heritage. These youngsters spoke both Polish and Greek
languages, and generally described their lives in Greece in positive context. The group of pupils from Polish school exhibited an ethnic profile with strong ethnic identity, high ethnic language proficiency and usage, and low Greek language competency, as well as social contacts primarily with their ethnic peers and not with the national group. It might be due to the fact that when immigrant parents arrive to new country with the values of their home culture, they strive to preserve them in their new culture, and teach them to their children. Thus, we find many immigrants holding onto their language, food, music and TV and mode of dress, with the aim or hope, of passing them onto their children. Our research confirms the presence of this cultural transfer mostly in case of adolescents attending Polish school, but also party in the group from Greek high schools. In our study girls from both groups reported higher involvement with the host-national culture and lower involvement with the ethnic culture than boys which agrees with previous studies (e.g., Berry et al., 2006).

Based on the empirical findings in the present study, it is suggested that another, after school, well-suited arena for bridging networks contributing greatly to social integration among young Polish immigrants were sport clubs.

We assume that parents’ socioeconomic status, so education and occupation, is of high importance for the process of social integration of Polish adolescence, because they allow participation in extracurricular activities outside the school, where Greek friendships and social networks in general are made and strengthened. Extracurricular activities enable participation in Greek culture that additionally builds up social integration. Our research suggests that children with well-off and better-educated parents participate in more extracurricular activities.

Summarizing our entire research and at the same time answering its research question we must say that the level of social integration of adolescent Poles is various and it was confirmed that it depends on the school that young people attend, extracurricular activities they participate in, social networks with Greek population, parents’ socioeconomic status and Greek language competency. In case of respondents from the Group of Polish schools at Polish Embassy in Athens observed level of integration was lower, than in the group of pupils from Greek schools.
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Wise, I. (2004). Adolescence. London: Karnac Books Seekbooks. Retrieved from: http://books.google.pl/books?id=nk9K9kylTeTYC&pg=PA69&lpg=PA69&dq=Psychological+changes+at+puberty+are+based+on,+and+derive+their+power+from,+physiocal+(i.e.+biological)+changes+that+alter+still+infantile+sexuality&source=bl&ots=MJf9igiyZk&sig=5vmQVASmX-uFHGVcrgrzda4P0fQI&hl=pl&ei=eu8FTa-qIps14Aai25irCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBYQ6AE
Psychological changes at puberty are based on, and derive their power from, physical (i.e., biological) changes that alter still infantile sexuality.


Websites:


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<th>School adaptation measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td>Her friends are Poles from her class (not many, though).</td>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td>Does not have a boyfriend, previous ones were mainly Polish.</td>
<td>Agnieszka had a high average grade at school: 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>She plans to finish high school in Greece and then go to Poland to study. After that she wants to either stay in Poland, or to go abroad, but not come back to Greece. Her stepfather has finished vocational school and works on construction site and mother has finished technical college and works as domestic help.</td>
<td>Her mother is divorced. She has “a...kind of... step-father. But he is Polish”. She has one “real sister” and one from another mother. “It’s like I am here alone with my mum (...) the rest of the family I have in Poland”.</td>
<td>“I do not like Greece (...), I do not like this kind of Greek mentality: they here have this way of life that does not suit me. Generally, their behavior,... also what they do today, these various riots... this culture of theirs, unpleasant”.</td>
<td>She plans to finish high school in Greece, but study in Poland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>She does not listen to Greek music, but Polish or English. She thinks of Greek music as of “foreign music”. Does not watch Greek TV, only Polish. Does not listen to Greek radio.</td>
<td>Agnieszka seems not to participate in any activities outside the school.</td>
<td>According to Agnieszka there are not many activities to participate in organized by school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital | Among activities organized by school here are some performances, festivals, sport competitions; the first two ones are often connected to Polish history, culture, Polish literature (organized for Polish national celebrations). | “I think here is a high level. I feel fine here. I do not have any reservations towards the way of teaching or running the lessons, I like it here. We go along with the teachers, there are not too many of us and not too many of teachers, so kind of know each other well”.

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**STUDENT’S PROFILE**

**AGNIESZKA, 17 POLISH SCHOOL**

11 years in Greece
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<th>School adaptation measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</strong></td>
<td>Joanna has many Polish friends from school.</td>
<td>High average grade at school: 4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanna wants to study in Greece and live here in future, she does not see a place for herself in Poland. Her father has finished technical electrical college and has his own painting business now mother has finished high school and does not work.</td>
<td>Joanna is the only child; the rest of her family is in Poland (&quot;Actually only one grandmother is left.&quot;).</td>
<td>She does not miss Poland, said that she got used to living in Greece.</td>
<td>She plans to finish high school in Greece and study in this country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanna said there are no activities organized by her school and some sport clubs. She participates in volleyball club.</td>
<td>Joanna has no activities organized by her school, only some sport clubs. She participates in volleyball club.</td>
<td>She plans to finish high school in Greece and study in this country.</td>
<td>Joanna has a negative attitude towards her school and some of the teachers there. Still, she goes along with her schoolmates and has many friends from school. She said that decision about the school was made by her mother and she definitely would prefer to go to Greek school.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## STUDENT’S PROFILE
### ANDRZEJ, 18: POLISH SCHOOL
In Greece from the day he was born

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<th>Personal integration measures</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Andrzej has many polish friends from school.</td>
<td>Very low average grade: 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td>Andrzej said he would go out both: with Greek and Polish girls. Currently he has no girlfriend, had mainly Polish ones in the past.</td>
<td>Andrzej said he had both Polish and Greek friends.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</strong></td>
<td>Andrzej plans to study in Poland as he has a negative opinion about Greek educational system (not ambitious and not demanding teachers, low level of education provided). Afterwards he wants to “run away” from Greece to Poland. He says he feels somewhat strange in Poland-like a tourist. Andrzej’s father has finished technical college and has his own business (construction company) and mother has finished high school and works as a cleaning lady.</td>
<td>Andrzej lives with both parents and 2 younger brother that also attends to Polish school. He has some members of his family in Greece: 2 aunts 3 uncles and even one grandmother.</td>
<td>He said he feels well in Greece as he grew up here. Still, it seemed like he feels discriminated by Greeks due to his Polish nationality.</td>
<td>Andrzej wants to finish high school in Greece and study in Poland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>He watches Polish TV and listens to Polish music.</td>
<td>Activities outside school: gym.</td>
<td>He described many activities organized by school, such as: performances, plays, festivals, poetic evenings, sport competitions.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</strong></td>
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</table>
### STUDENT’S PROFILE
**DAMIAN, 17: POLISH SCHOOL**
15 years in Greece

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He has some friends from school.</td>
<td>Very low average grade: 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td>At the time when the interview was undergone Damian had a Polish girlfriend. He said he likes to flirt with Greek girls, especially ones from language school. Damian believes he is popular among Greek girls. Still, he said that in the future he would prefer to have a Polish wife, and Polish children (!).</td>
<td>Damian said that when he was a child he had only Greek, and no Polish friends. That is why he learned Greek language and now speaks in perfectly (he is bilingual). He says that back then he forgot Polish language. Now he has more Polish friends (e.g., from school), but also Greeks from the football team. With Poles he goes out every day, but with Greeks only once a month or so.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future | Damian wants to study in Poland, but in the further future he prefers to stay in Greece, work and live in this country. He said he knows it might be difficult, especially with work, but wants to try. Damian’s father has finished technical electrical college and works on construction site and his mother has finished some sort of college (he was not sure) and currently works as a waitress. | Damian is the only child; the rest of his family is in Poland. | Damian likes Greece and said that comparing to Poland it is not boring in this country. He feels discriminated in Greece, says that: "There is no equality in Greece. Even if you have Greek nationality, you are not Greek. They treat you differently and they look at you differently because you are a foreigner."
| 1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration | He watches Greek TV as "we have only Greek TV at home." He listens to Greek radio. He listens to Greek and foreign music, does not know much about Polish music. | He actively attends Greek football club Kalithea, goes to gym and to language school. | Damian suggested there are not too many activities organized by school to participate in. |
| 1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital | | | Did not have anything to say about the Polish school, only that it is OK. He does not have any problems. |
## STUDENT’S PROFILE
**MAREK, 17: POLISH SCHOOL**
In Greece from the day he was born

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<tr>
<td><strong>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>He has some friends from school.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very low average grade: 2.5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</strong></td>
<td>At the time of our interview Marek was in relationship with Polish girl. In the past he went out with both: girls from Poland and Greece. He finds Greek girls attractive, but says he prefers Slavic girls.</td>
<td>He has mainly Polish friends. When Marek was younger he used to have many Greek friends. Now he has some Greek friends from the football team.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</strong></td>
<td>Marek wants to study in Poland as he has a place to stay there. His parents plan to return to Poland due to the crisis in Greece (it is harder with work). When Marek finishes high school, they will all go away. Still, he said that his come back to Poland depends on football: if he will be successful in Greece, he might stay. Marek’s mother has finished medical college and sells flowers at “buzukia” and father has finished a mechanic technical college and works as a plasterer.</td>
<td>He has a 10 years younger brother that goes to Greek school. The rest of his family is in Poland.</td>
<td>Marek’s attitude towards Greece was rather neutral, just the same as towards Poland. He did not say anything negative about Greece during the entire interview.</td>
<td>He wishes to finish Polish high school in Athens and then study in Poland.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>He listens to foreign Greek and Polish music.</td>
<td>Marek actively attends Greek football club in Kipseli, Athens: has trainings every day.</td>
<td>Marek believes that among activities organized by the Polish school are sports: marathon, football tournaments.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</strong></td>
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<td>He says he participates in sport activities organized by Polish school.</td>
<td>He seemed not to have any problems with his school, did not talk much about it, only about his schoolmates.</td>
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<td>STUDENT’S PROFILE</td>
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<td>PAULINA, 17: POLISH SCHOOL</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Greece from the day he was born</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>She has many friends from Polish school with whom she often goes out.</td>
<td>Paulina had a high average grade at school: 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paulina said she had a Polish boyfriend, but in the past went out with both: Poles and Greeks. Still, she would rather have a Polish boyfriend, as they are more gallant comparing to Greeks in her opinion.</td>
<td>Paulina has Greek friends mainly from language school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>She wants to study in England, but then go back to Greece. Her mother has higher education in the field of economics and works as a cleaning lady. Father has finished mechanical technical college and works as car mechanic.</td>
<td>Paulina is the only child. The rest of the family is in Poland. Her parents want to go back to Poland, so she said she would also have to go there. She said she could not decide to live in Greece without her family.</td>
<td>She said she believed Greek people have other mentality than Polish. Poles are more gallant according to her. Still, she said she could not live in Poland, because of the fact she was born and raised here. Paulina stated she does not see a place for herself in Poland.</td>
<td>Paulina wants to finish Polish high school in Athens and then study in England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>She watches Polish and Greek TV depending on what interesting is on. Paulina said she listened to various music, “even Greek”.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paulina used to go to Greek kindergarten and liked it a lot. Back then, because her peers back then were mainly Greek she spoke Greek language better. Paulina goes for swimming and to language school.</td>
<td>Activities at school that she participates in: academies, performances, marathons, athletics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Activities at school that she participates in: academies, performances, marathons, athletics.</td>
<td>Polish school was my parents’ idea. We have to study a lot, the level is high; you must be always very well prepared. If I had known that, I would have not signed in here. But, on the other hand, I am happy, because it will be easier during high school exams and maybe later in college. It’s good; I do not go to the Greek school, because there the level is low. I do not say that in every school, but in general.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**STUDENT’S PROFILE**
**KASIA, 18: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL**
In Greece from the day she was born

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kasia said she had only one Polish girlfriend. It might be because she lives very far from the center of Polishness. In her neighborhood there are no other Poles.</td>
<td>Very high average grade: 16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kasia did not have a boyfriend at that time, said that in the past she went out only with Greeks. But she said: <em>It does not matter whether he is Polish or Greek, it matters what kind of person he is.</em></td>
<td>Kasia’s friends are mainly from Greek school. She says she feels great in their company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>She has always wanted to study in Greece and says she does not want to go back to Poland; only if the crisis is even worse, or for her grandmother that lives alone in that country. She said she had never imagined living in Poland. Both Kasia’s parents are musicians with higher education (educated in Poland, and father additionally in Greece). Mother does not work and father makes fireplaces.</td>
<td>Kasia is the only child, the rest of her family lives in Poland, but she has a Greek godmother. I think that since I live in Greece it is better to go to Greek school.</td>
<td>There is a different culture here [in Greece]. There is a big difference between Greece and Poland. My parents raised me differently than theirs. Girls come over to boys easier, they are tactless. Boys have no manners. When I go to Poland, I see these differences. But generally you can get along here somehow.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>Kasia watches Greek and Polish TV: she chooses things she likes from both. Kasia listens to various music, more Polish than Greek, but she listens to Greek radio a lot. She trained karate for 10 years, rode horses for 9, and played the guitar.</td>
<td>Kasia used to go to Greek kindergarten and primary school. She said she felt great there. Had no problems and many Greek friends. Kasia thinks there are no activities at her Greek school, only something connected to music, but she does not participate in it.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
<td>Kasia thinks there are no activities at her Greek school, only something connected to music, but she does not participate in it.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kasia believed that comparing to Polish weekend school she attended Greek high school was easier, the teachers were more outstripped and relaxed. School program was also easier, but still she had a lot of studying. It is very nice at school and around it.</td>
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</table>
## STUDENT’S PROFILE

### ADAM, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL

In Greece from the day he was born

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He has many friends from Polish school.</td>
<td>Rather low average grade: 11.6. Director of Adam’s Greek high school said Adam seemed to not care much about the school and grades. He could do much better, if he tried harder. Also he creates some problems at school with his behavior but does not care again. Director said Adam thinks he is better than the rest of pupils.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adam confirmed he had a Greek girlfriend. In the past he went out with girls of various nationalities (from English school).</td>
<td>He has many friends from previous English school and few from Greek high school (not too many).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>Adam would like to study abroad, for example in the USA. Adam’s both parents have finished technical colleges. His mother works as nanny and father on construction site.</td>
<td>Adam lives with both his parents. He has one sister that studies in England and two younger brothers that attend Greek schools. One of his uncles lives in Greece and the rest of the family in Poland.</td>
<td>Adam’s attitude towards Greece was rather neutral, just the same as towards Poland.</td>
<td>He used to go to English school, seemed to like it more there. He wants to finish Greek high school and study abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>He listens to English and Polish music, used to listen to Greek. Listens to Greek radio, but he watches only Polish TV. He said it is because they do not have English TV at home and Greek is not interesting enough for him.</td>
<td>Adam is an active athlete, very successful (second place in Greece).</td>
<td>Adam is active in school government. But it was not proved by the school authorities.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital | | | | }

[Greek] school is normal. Children are OK, together we organize a lot of things. I feel well there. I am even active in school government: I organize different things there. I think that all the kids know me there. My first year in Greek school was OK, but I had problems with the language. But generally it was not too bad.
| STUDENT'S PROFILE  
| KONRAD, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL  
<p>| In Greece from the day he was born |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Konrad said he had some friends from Polish weekend school and from his mother circle of friends.</td>
<td>Rather high average grade: 13.7</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>At the time of our interview Konrad did not have a girlfriend. But before that he used to go out with Greek girls. He had never had a Polish girlfriend.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td></td>
<td>I have a bunch of friends [at school] and feel great with them. I can say that I am at the forefront of this bunch. I am very funny person in this group; they say things such as when I am not there, how they feel bored... I think it is because I have such good sense of humor. If I want to go out and meet with someone, it is either from my mother’s circle of friends, so Poles. But sometimes I also go out for example with Greeks, who live next to me. Boxing club is next to my block and from there I have a part of my (Greek) friends.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>After high school I would so like to get into the Greek military college! (afterwards) I would rather work in Greece; much better things are going on in the Greek army. His mother is a nurse and has finished university. She works for a pharmaceutical company as office worker. Konrad’s father has finished technical college and does not work but does casual works (carpenter).</td>
<td>Konrad lives with both his parents. He has a 15-year-old brother that also goes to Greek school, but does not attend Polish weekend school. The rest of the family lives in Poland. His future plans depend on parents: his mother wants to go back to Greece and in this case Konrad would also go.</td>
<td>Konrad said that even though he has “roots” in Poland (he is of Polish origin). He feels half-Polish and half-Greek. He speaks Greek language fluently, and during the interview had serious problems with speaking Polish. He helped himself in Greek very often. He wants to work in Greek army as he believes much better things are going on there, comparing to Polish army. And moreover, “Greece does not send soldiers to Iraq and Afghanistan”. Still, if his parents decide to leave Greece he will also move away.</td>
<td>He wants to finish Greek high school, pass the final exams and try to get to Greek military college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>Konrad watches Greek and Polish TV, listens to various music, but prefers Greek one.</td>
<td>Konrad used to go to Greek sport clubs to play basketball, football and for a swimming pool. Now he trains box. He attended language school (English and German) and ECTL course.</td>
<td>Konrad believes that Greek school does not organize any activities and that Polish school, on the other hand, organizes a lot of various activities.</td>
<td>He does not participate in any activities organized by his school, because there are not too many of these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
<td>Konrad believed that Greek school does not organize any activities and that Polish school, on the other hand, organizes a lot of various activities.</td>
<td>It is very nice in my Greek school. I have a bunch of friends and feel great with them. I am not ashamed at all (that he is Polish). First year at Greek school was difficult for him due to the language and the fact that other children made fun of him (due to his nationality). But Konrad did not mind that and explained these peers by saying they were only children.</td>
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| STUDENT’S PROFILE  
ANETA, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL  
In Greece from the day she was born |
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<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic Measures</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
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<td>IGOR, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL</td>
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<td>14 years in Greece</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Measures</th>
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<th>Personal integration measures</th>
<th>Social integration measures</th>
<th>School adaptation measures</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td>He has some friend from Polish school: “All of my friends are Poles: from the Polish school I attended earlier.”</td>
<td>He did not have girlfriend at the time of our interview, but said n the past he want out with some Poles.</td>
<td>Igor does not rather have friends at Greek school. He would prefer to go to Polish school.</td>
<td>Low average grade: 10.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td>Igor lives with both his parents and 2 brothers: 18 and 8 years old that attend Polish school in Athens. His parents plan to go back to Poland, but older brother wants to study in Greece.</td>
<td>Igor says that he likes Poland more than Greece. To Greece he could come only from time to time, but not live permanently. Igor seemed not to know Greek language well.</td>
<td>He wants to finish Greek school, but attends it only because he did not get to Polish high school in Athens. Afterwards he wishes to study in Poland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>Igor plans to study in Poland, because he think studies there are on higher level and give more opportunities for work. Afterwards he wants to work in Poland. His mother has finished a high school and now works as domestic help; father has finished vocational school and works on construction site.</td>
<td>I watch only Greek TV because we do not have anything else. When it comes to music Igor does not listen either to Polish or to Greek one.</td>
<td>He did not mention any extracurricular activities outside (or inside) his school. In his free time he reads books, does math (his hobby) or meet with Polish friends.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>I do not know about them [activities organized by his Greek school], I do not participate in anything”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
<td>Igor seemed not to know much about his Greek school and activities organized by it. (“I do not know about them, I do not participate in anything”).</td>
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# STUDENT’S PROFILE
## KAMILA, 17: GREEK HIGH SCHOOL
7 years in Greece

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Better school performance results in better school integration</td>
<td>Kamila has many Polish friends: from her previous school, from weekend school, etc.</td>
<td>Rather high average grade: 14.4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.2 Polish adolescents from Greek high schools have stronger social networks in Greek society than Polish youth from Polish high school</td>
<td>Said she had a Polish boyfriend at the time of interview.</td>
<td>Kamila has some Greek friends from handball team and Greek school, but: “I do not quite maintain contact with people from my Greek school, because I do not have the time. But they are great people.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3 Better integrated students identify stronger with the Greek society which is reflected in their plans about the future</td>
<td>Her mother is divorced and remarried to a Greek. They have one daughter together (4 years old). Kamila has one more sister (15 years old) from her mother’s first marriage. Kamila lives with her mother, and her biological father is in Poland, but she does not have much contact with him. Her sister (15 years old) goes to Polish secondary school, but will go to Greek high school. Greek secondary school would be too difficult for her due to ancient Greek and Latin. The rest of the family is in Poland, but she does not go there often.</td>
<td>Kamila likes Greece and feels well here. Does not go to Poland often. She has her life in Greece.</td>
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<td>1.4 Greater participation in Greek culture strengthens social integration</td>
<td>She likes Greece very much, says the climate here is just great and the people are very nice.</td>
<td>Kamila goes to language school and is an active member of local handball team.</td>
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<td>1.5 The Group of Polish Schools at Polish Embassy in Athens is an institution supporting bonding social capital, whilst Greek high schools support bridging social capital</td>
<td>Kamila did not know much about activities organized by her school, only mentioned handball division and history contests.</td>
<td>Beginnings at Greek school: At the beginning it was a little bit difficult; I wrote Greek words with Polish letters. I’m only a year in the Greek school, but I already write, although I am still having troubles with spelling. If they ask us to write an essay with 500-600 words I have no problem, I manage. The teachers are very helpful. They are all right for foreigners.</td>
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