Lucy Hunt

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Guiding, Shaping and Resisting: Refugee Mothers' Educational Strategies

as They Navigate 'Unsettlement'

Setting the scene

Three women sit around a low children's school desk in a community centre, beneath an old whiteboard held up with string: a mother and her teenage daughter, who fled Syria together and claimed asylum here in Greece; and myself, a British teacher and doctoral student volunteering for and studying the educational response for refugees[1]. Hala[2], 15, pours cardamom coffee into our plastic cups while her mother, Safaa, rubs her eyes, frustrated. Safaa has been trying to get help with applying for scholarships for Hala, but is struggling to find support in her school. "Why don't they push the good refugee?" she complains, taking a sip of coffee. "I tell them she is smart, but the teachers do not listen. Nobody listen."

Safaa sighs. The last time I met her, her youngest son had burst into the room with his school backpack askew and cheeks pink from playing football outside. He had proudly shown his mother a letter from school, detailing his grades for the term. She had clapped her hands and squeezed his cheeks, congratulating him, before gesturing for him to show me, too: they were all As. He had asked his mother if he could go back outside, and she had agreed. "*Yeia sas*," he had said to me in Greek, using the polite form to say goodbye, as he sped off around the corner.

Introduction

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[1] In this chapter, the term 'refugees' refers to both those who have gained refugee status and those who have applied for it (i.e. asylum seekers) for brevity and to align with the international literature, while recognising that these legal categories do not define experience.

[2] All names in this chapter are pseudonyms, to protect the identity of study participants.

This chapter describes mothering strategies in a context of precarity – namely, the uncertain conditions associated with forced displacement in Greece – and specifically how mothers navigate these conditions in and through learning spaces. In doing so, it presents the (young) refugee mother as a figure of strength and resistance, in an attempt to disrupt (particularly current European) conceptions of what it means to be 'young', 'displaced' and/or a 'mother'. When combined, these facets of a woman's identity compound the perception of her as vulnerable. However, drawing from Vigh's concept of 'social navigation', this chapter highlights the often-neglected stories of how, rather than being passive victims, mothers instead strategically navigate the challenges of displacement; and in particular, how educational outcomes and spaces become involved in this process. The aim is not to 'give voice' to these women – as they have their own voices – but to share their perspectives, from my position as a teacher, doctoral student and outsider. While there is a growing body of research exploring refugee parents' involvement in education (e.g. Bergset; Sarikoudi and Apostolidou) and what it means to be a mother during (forced) migration and resettlement (e.g. Lenette; Levi), this work aims to contribute to a particular understanding of refugee mothers' relationships with education.

The chapter begins by presenting the precarious conditions in which forced migrants find themselves in Greece and the educational opportunities provided for this group by both the state and civil society. It then outlines the theoretical framework and methodology of the larger DPhil study, and the data from which this chapter draws, before presenting the mothering strategies observed during fieldwork in relation to education: such as legitimising spaces for family members, shaping educational offers and resisting education due to issues of trust and understandings of displacement. It concludes by summarising the commonalities among these strategies and the implications for those providing refugee education.

Refugees in Greece: a country of 'unsettlement'

Since 2015, more than one million migrants have entered Greece (UNHCR, "Greece" 1).

While in the early days of the refugee 'crisis' many passed through on their way to northern

and western Europe – a strategy facilitated by the Greek government – after the

implementation of 'migration management' strategies (such as border closures to the north,

and the implementation of the so-called 'EU-Turkey deal') tens of thousands became trapped

in the country (Stathopoulou). Due to the high number of asylum applications to be

processed, the refugee status determination process now takes years; meaning that for many

young refugees, they will become 'adult' before receiving their travel documents (AIDA). Of

the 121,000 refugees currently in Greece, over a third are under the age of 18, and the vast

majority are accompanied (UNHCR, "Fact Sheet", 1; UNICEF 1). Almost two thirds of the

asylum seekers arriving in 2019 were women and children (Fernandes). While some girls

arrive unaccompanied, most often it is teenage boys aged 14-17 who travel alone (EKKA 1).

As it may be just one stop on their route to their intended country of 'resettlement', Greece is

often described as a 'transit' country (e.g. Tsitselikis and Agelopoulos); however, here I will

term it a country of 'unsettlement'. This is because for many, their asylum case remains

unsettled, and their life is characterised by uncertainty and, often, relocation within the

country – making it difficult to 'settle'. It is through this uncertainty, and competing social

forces, that mothers are forced to navigate, with attention to both their family's everyday

survival and long-term goals. As they do so, education becomes implicated in various ways.

Refugee education in Greece

For refugee children, Greek schools are – theoretically – open for enrolment. They may join

elementary or junior high school from the ages of 6-15 (both of which are compulsory for

both refugee and Greek children) or senior high school from age 15 and beyond (Ministry of

Education). Reception classes taught by substitute teachers are in place in schools in many

Zones of Educational Priority (ZEPs), to prepare learners for a full programme with host

community peers in their second year. For adult refugees (i.e. over 18), formal options are

limited: technical high schools may allow enrolments well beyond 18 in their evening

'shifts', or there are Second Chance Schools – for those who have a primary school

completion certificate – which lead to an equivalent of the junior high school (*gymnasio*)

certificate. Alternatively, they may engage in non-formal[3] (NFE) learning opportunities

which are widely available across the country for all ages – mostly run by international or

local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – which predominantly constitute Greek and

English language classes (OECD). These may be what I will call here 'peri-formal'

opportunities, designed to support and encourage participation in formal schooling, or more

distinctly non-formal activities designed to build specific skills or address psychosocial

issues, such as jewellery-making courses or drama workshops. Some of these offers

specifically target women or (young) mothers, combining accommodation, childcare support

and other services alongside learning activities for themselves and their children (Eurochild

and SOSCVI 67; Sirigos).

While official statistics suggest that half of all youth have enrolled in Greek schools,

drop-out rates are high and attendance in both formal and non-formal education is

inconsistent (Theirworld). Common reasons include the difficulty of studying secondary-

level subjects in Greek; legal uncertainty; the costs and time spent reaching schools from

camps; the belief that the stay in Greece is only temporary (meaning that there is no need to

invest time, energy and much-needed money to attend courses where they may understand

very little); and perceptions of the importance of (girls') education. As Sarikoudi and

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[3] The Council of Europe "Key terms" defines *formal* education as that which takes place in educational systems, follows a syllabus and involves assessments; while *non-formal* education (NFE) – despite also being organised and intentional – mostly takes place outside of the formal system and does not result in accreditation. It may be more focused on particular activities, skills or areas of knowledge and take place in community settings such as NGOs.

Apostolidou have found, parents can play an important role in guiding their children in this regard; often acting as educational agents and encouraging attendance, while also making learning decisions for themselves. This chapter builds on this work by contributing observations on the navigational and relational dynamics involved in this educational decision-making process.

Navigating precarity: strategies and relationships

To counter popular media representations of refugees as passive victims of circumstance, an increasing body of research depicts the ways in which forced migrants navigate their way through and out of adversity; simultaneously negotiating everyday challenges and long-term planning towards what they perceive to be beneficial outcomes. This process of 'motion within motion' – or the constant re-adaptation of praxis to 'get by' in contexts of insecurity, where social formations are in flux – is encapsulated in Vigh's concept of 'social navigation' ("Motion Squared"; "Youth Mobilisation"). As an analytical optic, it brings to light how migrants' 'tactics' and movements are decided upon, realised and renegotiated in line with emerging opportunities, barriers and evaluations of the socio-political environment; requiring a flexible navigation of social relations and possible manipulation of rules. Other researchers have also applied this lens in research with refugees (e.g. Daniel et al.; Denov and Bryan), noting how its focus on deliberate and calculated decisions can contradict the image of the "powerless, passive, and/or pathological" migrant (Denov and Bryan 16).

Here, the optic of 'social navigation' is used to analyse mothering practices; and as such, it necessarily positions women in relation to their children. However, relations beyond the family also come into play, making a relational approach to analysing praxis more fitting. Daniel and colleagues (4) take a similar line. They cite recent research (Comstock et al.; Huijsmans et al.) which emphasises the connections between actors, dimensions and forces,

and the ways in which power and friction manifest and shape connections in the everyday life of networks; with attention to the influence of institutions and time. This chapter follows suit.

Methodology and data

This chapter is based on data collected during ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in Thessaloniki, Northern Greece between October 2019 and June 2020. During this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation as a volunteer teacher, teaching one to three times per week for three organisations (one of which had a women-only space) and observing one further programme. This qualitative design was chosen to provide 'thick description' (Geertz) of the everyday realities of a small sample of forced migrants in this context, as they decided to engage with or resist state or non-state educational opportunities. Due to the nature of the sample size and design, the findings are not generalisable or representative, but offer themes for further exploration. In this chapter, I focus on participants' references to 'mothering', or the role of motherhood in their educational decision-making. Additional data comes from my field notes and experiences of everyday life as a volunteer teacher; particularly in the women-only space of a community centre. All data was entered into NVivo and coded according to the three-step 'constant comparison' process (Strauss and Corbin).

Participants in the wider DPhil project were recruited via convenience and snowball sampling. They were 13 refugee and asylum-seeking youth (aged 15-25, and arriving in Greece during or since the peak of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015) and 38 educational stakeholders with first-hand knowledge of their experiences: such as parents, teachers, educational assistants, coordinators, social workers, 'caretakers'[4] and cultural mediators. Young participants were interviewed in small focus groups while in-country, while

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[4] In Greece, 'caretaker' is the name for a member of staff who provides pastoral care in a shelter for unaccompanied minors.

interviews with adult participants (over 18) were mostly conducted individually – apart from where they requested a joint interview with a colleague. As COVID-19 caused all in-person educational activities to be suspended from March 2020, all interviews and teaching activities between March and June 2020 took place online via Zoom, Skype, WhatsApp or Viber. To protect the identity of participants, all names presented here are pseudonyms and I avoid giving many details on their background or the names of organisations or centres. Ethical approval for the study was granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford.

Mothers' educational strategies

Negotiating access to 'legitimate' learning spaces. For Safaa, the lady with whom we began this chapter, the continuation of her children's education was one of her first concerns after the family's arrival in Greece. She had persuaded the family's social worker to accompany her to the school and translate, and in the end was successful in registering all three of her children. She proudly described being the mother of the 'first' refugees in Greek schools, despite the fact that no organisations were yet prepared or well placed to assist families in the enrolment process – and indeed, principals had also been unaware of how to respond to her request. After I had known her for some months, she also enlisted my help with university scholarship applications: Did I know anything about the process? Did I know someone who she could talk to about it?

For other mothers of older youth, their children's access to education raised concerns relating to trust and protection. With a government which hosts new arrivals on the Aegean islands in inhumane conditions (RRE), it is natural that families would be hesitant to send their children alone to be 'educated' in a state institution – especially if they have no concept of what 'schooling' means in the European context. To counter this and enable their

daughters to participate in some form of learning, some mothers 'legitimised' non-formal learning spaces for the family before allowing them to attend alone. Alex, an NFE coordinator, recalled how when girls wanted to join their workshops, "the first week her mother was coming with her … to see who we are and what we are doing." This is one way in which mothers act as agents for their children's education: ensuring that they and their reputation will be safe in this space, rather than resisting their participation outright.

Once women begin engaging in alternative learning spaces themselves – particularly when women-only – they can become sites of ownership and privacy away from the family. As Melissa, the coordinator of the women-only space suggested, they are a 'legitimate' space to spend time – especially as studying languages can be seen as productive and adding value to the family, as well as being known to husbands and fathers and therefore 'trusted'. Many members encouraged family members to come: daughters brought mothers, and mothers brought daughters. In this way, they gave the learning space "validation" for one another and the rest of the family, as Melissa termed it. "When there's another family member that comes along, it's almost like a bit more awareness – you know what's going on there, and it's not so secretive. It's more widely accepted."

Engaging in and shaping accessible opportunities. Especially if alone, young mothers I met – who were also occasionally teenagers – sought out educational opportunities as a means of survival; with Greek and English language skills being the priority, to find employment and communicate with doctors and teachers. However, with a limited support network to care for their child, support with childcare was a necessity. As the public system does not cater for such students, many young refugee women joined our non-formal activities in the women-only space of the community centre, as these practical obstacles were removed. Alexandra, a teacher in a non-formal setting, explained:

If they don't have anybody to leave their child, for even a couple of hours to attend

the lesson, or to attend school – it's really difficult. I think it's the most difficult target

group to welcome them to a lesson. Just for practical reasons, not for any other

reason.

When children are cared for and/or welcomed in NFE spaces, this can provide an option to overcome such obstacles. Alexandra shared her surprise that in her non-formal programme, "I had one mother that she was breastfeeding in my class!" This would not be possible in the formal context in Greece, as it currently stands. This was recognised by coordinators of NFE programmes I spoke to, who noted that it was essential to provide such support if the space was going to be equitably accessible to all young women.

As such an accessible option, the entrance and reception to our women-only space were commonly crowded with pushchairs and small children in the mornings, and babies would bounce on laps and wait to be cared for by volunteer staff as young mothers took their lessons. Before a volunteer could be found for the 'baby room', women would sit around the long table in the classroom with children on their laps, gurgling, or at a smaller table to the side with colouring pens and paper. They would for the most part chat quietly, or mimic my emphatic pronunciation – or sometimes chase one another or play until their mothers shushed them or took them outside. The other ladies were for the most part supportive, showing solidarity and understanding, with unfaltering attentiveness to the lesson and dedication to learn. On various occasions, young mothers requested homework material when they could not come due to their children's medical appointments or school enrolment. This demonstrates how mothers not only directly negotiate their child's access to school, but also seek out learning opportunities for *themselves* as a means of vicariously benefiting their children's education and other spheres of their lives; as also found by Sarikoudi and Apostolidou.

Beyond legitimising and engaging in these spaces, the mothers I met also took steps to adapt the educational offer to better fit their needs – which, most often, were to communicate with educational and healthcare staff to benefit their children. It was common, when I first started, to have ladies telling me: "Teacher, we do not want grammar. No worksheets. We need how to go to the doctor, how to ask for things. To talk to my children's teacher. For every day." This strategy – practised as a collective act – was confirmed by Alexandra, whose organisation had originally established two educational offers: a language course for youth, aged 16-24, and one for older adults. She remembered how mothers shaped these groupings to enable them to share childcare responsibilities with their partners:

> A lot of girls they were young mothers. We had a session that it was for youth, and another slot for adults. So what happened after one or two months … they made it in a way that it was gender 'slots' and not age slots, and so it became a separate zone – because also a lot of these couples, they have younger children, so one of them should stay at home, to attend them.

Resisting schooling: norms and needs. Some mothers – whether in Greece, at home or in the 'destination' country – resisted their children's participation in education due to gendered expectations of youth and understandings of the family's needs during 'unsettlement'. As Lydia, a coordinator, noted, mothers can resist their son's education as she "thinks that her 18-year-old son is a grown man, that should get married and find a job and support the rest of the family" – especially due to the necessity of an income in a context of financial precarity. In some cases, mothers encouraged their sons to undertake non-formal language classes to find employment, rather than studying secondary-level academic subjects in Greek public schools. Others needed to delegate family responsibilities to their daughters, such as caring for their infant siblings, meaning that they could not attend educational activities either.

Elena, a teacher in a camp setting, described how 10-year-old girls would come to her "with babies in hand", saying that they could not come because their mother had gone to the market. She understood their mothers' "very valid arguments", as they told her "'I cannot leave the baby alone. Where can I leave the baby?' And that's it".

In a similar vein to Lenette's findings ("Mistrust"), I was told that mothers' resistance to their daughters' participation in education could also be related to concerns about community expectations and stigma. Katerina, a teacher, explained the dynamics of living in camps with many people from the same community:

> Community expectations sometimes are important, especially when we consider gender as well. Because if, for example, you are a mum, and you have a girl, and you might be ready to invest on her education – if the community sees that you send your child to the school, then they're gonna think that this kid is not appropriate for their boys, or for her to make a family.

Therefore, in this case, their resistance to education is grounded in concerns about a successful future; with 'success' defined according to the family and/or community's cultural norms. In some cases, this successful future is expected to be elsewhere in Europe, due to the deep-rooted belief and hope that they will receive travel documents or family reunification approvals before long (despite that fact that these processes are now taking years to complete, and may not be successful). As such, some mothers (both in Greece and abroad) instructed their children not to waste their time and energy on education at all – particularly in Greek – when they will shortly leave. This is also based on a concern for their well-being, in their desire to avoid their children expending the psychological effort of studying in a new language before starting all over again elsewhere.

Being a 'mother-teacher': managing cultural distance. Even when mothers supported their children in their new forms of learning, on occasions at the community centre I could see intergenerational distances and disagreements growing as a result of their participation in the learning process and new peer groups. Siblings argued amongst themselves in fluent Greek, to avoid being understood by their mothers, with the latter complaining that she could not keep up; and mothers were concerned when their teenage daughters asked to spend time with school friends in the afternoons or changed their appearance. Children, for their part – according to Nadia, a cultural mediator – may feel more comfortable telling teachers about their problems, as they feel "less distance between the teacher and them".

This topic of distance arose during a conversation with Irina, a teacher, who believed that being abroad makes it more difficult for mothers to "control" their children. She reflected:

> The children – even teenagers, the girls – many of them integrate fast. I mean that they are adapting this different style, this European style. It's something they like, I feel. And you notice also changes at their appearance. A lot. Especially for girls – you see for example in five, six months, teenagers are changing their appearance, because they are living in a different environment … Their parents are a little bit stressful about that … because they feel that their children are changing.

Safaa echoed how "everything is changing" when we were chatting about fashions one day. In reference to piercings, she said she sees "all this kind of stuff here" – but was not averse to it. As well as the parental efforts to "make community gatherings" in camps and "be all together" which Irina mentioned, Safaa too would manage this distance by organising Arabic and culture classes for Syrian youth in the city – while women in the community centres and families with children in public schools shared recipes and arts from their countries during workshops and community events. This aligns with other research on the tensions

(dis)continuity can cause within refugee families (e.g. Rousseau et al.), and how mothers may take on an instructional role to manage it (e.g. Sarikoudi and Apostolidou).

Discussion: learning to navigate continuity and rupture

Navigating displacement time. For mothers who studied or guided their children into education, learning was seen as having instrumental benefits: both immediately, in the short-term, and for the child or young person's imagined future. The immediate benefits included the opportunity for contact with (Greek or international) support staff in non-formal spaces who could provide assistance with practical tasks; the chance to develop a wider support network for themselves, to replace that which was lost as a result of flight; and having somewhere which was considered a 'legitimate' space to spend time. When mothers took courses themselves, this allowed them to develop their own skills (and to vicariously benefit their children), as well as carving out a space in the city where they felt welcome and had ownership. All of these factors promoted their own ability to practise care as a mother and guide youth on a more stable path. In terms of longer-term benefits, these were perceived to be a stronger asylum application (as it demonstrated a willingness to integrate); the chance to continue along the educational path their children had started in their home country; and the opportunity to develop skills and knowledge to find work to support the family in Greece, at 'home' or in the eventual country of resettlement. For mothers who resisted their children's education – whether they were with them in Greece or not – education also played into their navigation of displacement 'time'. In their efforts to keep their children safe for the time that they were in a country they perhaps did not trust, and to preserve their reputation within their community, some mothers refused to allow their children to partake in (particularly formal) education.

Navigating culture and identity. As well as mothering through issues of temporality (i.e. not knowing if or when the family or child will leave Greece), the strategies described above show how mothers were also dealing with issues of cultural continuity and ruptures within the family. As Levi also found, one of the biggest challenges for displaced mothers – or in the Greek context, also for transnational mothers of displaced youth – is the growing symbolic distance between her and her child. This is not to say that mothers' own identities and attitudes remain static; but rather, that they are negotiating their own changing ideas and practice of motherhood alongside a desire to maintain stability for their children. (Indeed, some children influenced their mothers too: by bringing them to lessons, encouraging them to try new things and guiding them into and through the new society.) These changes in mothers' identities became apparent as they mentioned enjoying going to school for the first time (even if only a weekly language lesson at a community centre) after not being able to do so in their home countries, while simultaneously organising Arabic lessons or community meetings for their increasingly (symbolically) distant children. While these intergenerational divides inevitably exist around the world and across all populations, it is possible to see how the distance grows further and faster when children are socialised into a new, potentially culturally distant society through the medium of the school. The longer they remain outside of their home country, this distance may grow; requiring a constant renegotiation of the practice of mothering.

Navigating (via) relationships. New social networks were prominent in the strategies of mothers I met, as both a source of support and of possible conflict. Overall, the ladies demonstrated how mothering can be a collective act, as they drew from the support of social workers, educators and other staff, volunteers and mothers to assist them with various tasks for their children's education; while struggling to re-establish a wider, more stable and more

trusted support network in an unfamiliar setting. Here, accessible non-formal learning spaces provided an essential service. Young mothers could find childcare or other social support – from trained staff and fellow members from a variety of backgrounds – and in women-only spaces, they could socialise and share their culture and skills in cooking, tailoring or crafts. They could, and would, come to staff with a variety of requests: regarding everything from their physical and mental health needs to filling out forms and calling their children's schools to translate messages. As such, these spaces became much more than learning sites: as the posters around one centre attested, it had become a "family" and a place of "solidarity", and thus an important 'space of encounter' (Valentine) for 'meaningful contacts' (Mayblin et al.) between women who had discovered unexpected commonalities.

However, this is not to say that new relationships were inherently supportive – indeed, some mothers would share their disagreements with peers or staff with me – but rather that they *can* be employed as a means of support. Lenette reminds us that while there is an assumption in migration studies that "stronger networks equate to less vulnerability" (also of refugee mothers, in her case), they too involve power relations which can have negative impacts; such as ostracising single mothers or creating "a minority inside a minority" ("Mistrust" 5). Similarly, Willmann Robleda described how social networks had both positive and negative effects on the refugee women she interviewed. This highlights both the heterogeneity of refugee and migrant populations and confirms how cities can become sites of 'overlapping displacements', in which the 'hosts' may be other migrants (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh); as well as what Vigh ("Youth Mobilisation" 155) described as the "diffuse and unclear" dynamics of power. Both Lenette and Willmann Robleda note how relationships outside of the refugee or national community – i.e. 'bridging' social capital, rather than 'bonding', to use Putnam's terms – can be more trusting and valued. Throughout my time in different learning spaces, I witnessed how both forms were valuable, and often for different

reasons: whether for socialising, childcare, providing translations at school, teaching a particular skill or simply having a friend with whom they could discuss the challenges of 'displacement mothering' in their mother tongue.

Conclusion

Drawing from Vigh's concept of 'social navigation', this chapter has attempted to describe how education is implicated in refugee mothers' navigation of 'unsettlement' in Greece. Their strategies involved engaging in or resisting various forms of education and learning space as a way of managing temporal, cultural and social (dis)continuity and rupture. Overall, the findings above align with other accounts of refugee women's educational agency, which have documented how women have individually and collectively "created and actioned opportunities for resistance or change" to overcome "social, political, gendered and familial constraints"; in line with the Foucauldian notion that while the parameters of the 'game' are set, various moves are still possible (McPherson 128). However, further research is needed to better understand what it means to 'mother' in contexts of forced displacement specifically; as well as how a mother's identity shifts over time, and how mothering practices shape young people's experiences of life in the new society and their future plans. A key question for future studies, as originally posed by Levi (493), remains that of "determining how the host society can manage this difference in parenting ideology in a way that does not undermine or punish the parents". Beyond this, there is a need to help create "new stories of motherhood" (Kelly, Nel and Nolte 264) and promote good-quality family relationships which can support mothers as they navigate the experiences of forced migration.

For those who wish to learn themselves, these findings highlight the importance of accessible, welcoming and 'valid' spaces for women and their daughters to learn; both for mothers to build their own knowledge and skills, and to indirectly benefit their children.

Having social and practical support in this space – which can be as simple as a private area to conduct Skype calls, a social space to spend time with other women (such as a kitchen) and staff who can provide information – encourages and supports women to attend. Beyond this, the findings remind us that young refugees – who are expected and encouraged to attend public school by the international education community, in line with European and intergovernmental organisations' conceptions of adulthood trajectories – may be mothers themselves. It cannot be forgotten that for teenage mothers, the conditions can be especially difficult in Greece (Kotsiou et al. 4); and the amount of support provided must correspond with the extraordinary agency they demonstrate in their strategies to overcome these challenges and continue learning, for themselves and their children.

Closing

For Safaa, the mother with whom we began this chapter, having such support – alongside her own efforts – had been crucial. Thanks to help from willing social workers and understanding directors, all three of her children were in school and progressing well despite the difficulties of 'unsettlement'. However, as far as Safaa was concerned, her job was far from done. She was looking well into the future: researching prestigious university scholarships and pushing her children's teachers to recognise and nurture their talents. "If the refugee is the best in the school," she told me, "they need more care!" It became apparent that she would not rest until her children received it.

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