

A BOURDIEUSIAN PERSPECTIVE ON INCLUDING IMMIGRANTS WITH DISABILITIES: CHALLENGES FOR THE GREEK EDUCATION SYSTEM*

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Abstract

The study examined the various inequalities encountered by students of migrant or refugee backgrounds with disabilities in the Greek education system, based on primary school teachers' perspectives. Thirty-one teachers took part in the study. The analysis of how participating educators use discourse within Bourdieu's framework emphasised the importance of school structures as key elements in maintaining social inequalities. The implemented educational policy is based on inadequate institutional frameworks, insufficient material and technical infrastructure, and insufficient teacher training. School education primarily emphasises the Greek language. As a result, the native languages of students from immigrant or refugee backgrounds are gradually being overshadowed. At the same time, inclusion largely depends on individual teachers' will. However, diversity is considered a source of growth for the entire school community. The findings highlight the need for profound institutional changes to transform schools into spaces of equality and inclusion.

Key words: Migration, Disability, Greek Education, Bourdieu Theory.

1. Introduction

The rise in migration has emphasised the need for detailed research into how education systems tackle the intersecting inequalities faced by children with migrant or refugee backgrounds and those with disabilities. The link between migration and disability forms a complex social vulnerability, often referred to as "double marginalisation" (Giavrimis, 2024; Block *et al.*, 2014; Crock *et al.*, 2011). Since education is the primary institution and often the first to face this "double vulnerability," it is crucial to address these challenges. Research shows that these children may encounter two layers of labelling: one as immigrants or refugees and another as individuals with disabilities (Giavrimis, 2023a; Giavrimis, 2024). They confront challenges to inclusion in the education system due to language barriers,

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cultural differences, and limited resources. On the other hand, they continue to suffer the adverse effects of stigma and social exclusion (Knauf, 2019) that are usually associated with disability (Goffman, 1963; Goodley, 2014). Some research suggests that migrant children with disabilities are more likely to experience bullying and social isolation (Monks *et al.*, 2008).

There are several challenges that a disabled migrant or a refugee might encounter. These are: a) language and communication barriers. Most people arrive without any knowledge of the host country's language. Not only is it challenging for them to learn, but also to make their needs related to their disability known because of their lack of language skills (UNESCO, 2023). Insufficient language proficiency can lead to misunderstandings about the extent of a person's disability (Brassart *et al.*, 2017; Cioè-Peña, 2017); b) Cultural differences in perceptions of disability. Different cultures have different attitudes and stigma towards disability, which can cause the affected persons to hide and refuse to seek the specialised support they need (Artiles, 2020); c) The legal and administrative framework. The journey to obtaining disability certification and the necessary support can be bureaucratic and complicated, making it too much for migrants and refugees to handle (Koehler & Schneider, 2019; Smith-Khan & Crock, 2018). Various international studies have documented that the percentage of refugees living with some disability is between 10 and 15; However, these numbers are usually far from reality because of the lack of documentation (WHO, 2021). Migrant refugees with disabilities are the ones who are most often "invisible" in the official records; thus, the authorities cannot develop sufficient support policies for them (Koehler & Schneider, 2019).

2. Cultural Capital Theoretical Framework

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), cultural capital appears in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. When discussing migration, disability, and education, these forms of capital are the most crucial factors in children's inclusion. The education system is the primary institution that not only recognises but also rewards a specific kind of cultural capital: that of the dominant class. For Bourdieu (1986), the education system functions as a field, a space where social actors contend to gain and maintain power (Swartz, 1997). Such power that governs the field ultimately affirms the cultural capital of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1986). The school's rules and practices, including the "hidden curriculum," are organised to benefit students who already possess an adequate habitus. A set of internalised dispositions and behaviours that correspond to the requirements of the dominant culture (Beckman *et al.*, 2018). The term that describes these "symbolic violences" is "symbolic violence": it is the most difficult to see among the different types of violence, with the cultural values of the dominant group being imposed in the most legitimate and unnoticeable way (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). For students with disabilities and immigrant backgrounds, entering the educational "field" of the host country involves a complex negotiation, not only with institutional challenges but also with profound socio-symbolic inequalities. The students' lack of recognition of their forms of capital creates obstacles to their access

to educational resources. Bourdieu's theory helps social scientists explore the connections among migration, disability, and education, emphasising the difficulties faced by students with dual identities. In this context, emphasis is placed on the importance of cultural processes (without neglecting the economic factor) for preserving existing social and economic structures.

3. Cultural Capital and the Role of the Family

The family environment of disabled migrant and refugee children is often at odds with the educational system of the host country (routines, expected behaviours, ways of interacting between teacher and student) (Barglowski, 2018; Giavrimis, 2024). It is also possible that parents do not have the knowledge or skills necessary to identify their child's special educational needs, look for the correct diagnostic services, or obtain the educational support that they have the right to (Jackson *et al.*, 2018; Gabrielli & Impicciatore, 2024; Keskiner & Crul, 2017). Without such capital, migrant students with disabilities find it difficult both to integrate and to access educational opportunities; thus, the inequality gap between them and other students becomes even greater. The "habitus conflict" mentioned above leads to the student's alienation, discomfort, and even a sense of failure, because the student is unable to use the educational system effectively (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). At the same time, the psychological trauma of migrants and refugees, such as wars, persecution, and hazardous journeys, may exacerbate the existing disabilities or, in some cases, create new ones. In addition, their families are usually among the most economically disadvantaged groups and thus have limited access to private support or treatment services (WHO, 2021). In Greece, over the past few years, educational institutions have been receiving refugee children by the thousands; however, the support for children with disabilities is still lacking (Giavrimis, 2023a; 2024).

4. The Educational "Field" and Reproduction Mechanisms. The Greek case

Both Greek and international research point out that the lack of a cohesive educational policy system leads to numerous problems. Funding shortages and inadequate teacher training are cited as the main reasons for most of the symptoms related to the problem, respectively (Giavrimis, 2024; Crock *et al.*, 2017). These symptoms also include limited access to educational resources due to inadequate provision of technology and teaching materials. At the same time, the teachers' ambivalence, expressing positive attitudes towards the inclusion of special needs students in mainstream classes while fearing they lack the necessary means to cope, makes the situation more complicated (Giavrimis, 2024; Kourkoutas *et al.*, 2017; Tsakiridou & Polyzopoulou, 2014). Greek and international research data show that teachers in their school practice consider disability and migration to be two social situations that cause difficulties. These difficulties are challenging to address on their own, as they lack the basic education and training needed. At the same time, there is a shortage of psychologists and interpreters to support their work. Furthermore, the lack of logistical infrastructure exacerbates these issues (Giavrimis, 2023a, 2024;

Kirova, 2019). On the other hand, within the educational system, disabled migrant or refugee students have a habitus that is significantly different from that of the majority of the students and that can cause differences in language and cultural barriers (Giavrimis, 2023b). The cultural assets that children of migrants have are mostly seen as worthless or even having a negative value in school; that is why their ways of communication (e.g. sign language from a different country, behaviours related to disability) may be said to be a lack of skills or even considered as problem behaviour (Cioè-Peña, 2017).

Although educational policy in Greece has improved in recent decades towards greater acceptance of diversity, there are still oversights and delays at both the institutional and implementation levels. These include a lack of resources, insufficient scientific knowledge, and difficulties in conducting suitable assessments. Including people with disabilities and special educational needs depends not only on funding appropriate actions but also on changing teachers' culture and cultural capital to foster a positive learning environment. In Greece, legislative measures (Laws 3699/2008 and 3879/2010) ensure that no person with a disability is deprived of their right to education. However, in practice, institutional commitments such as the DYEP (Reception Structures for Refugee Education) and Inclusion Departments often do not function properly, either due to insufficient funding or a lack of support from educational staff. As a result, most students in need of temporary policies are either excluded or do not receive the necessary learning and social support (Giavrimis, 2023a).

Greek teachers, through their socialisation and professional training, have developed a specific habitus that influences their perceptions and practices (Giavrimis, 2022). While most teachers hold a positive attitude towards inclusion (Tsakiridou & Polyzopoulou, 2014), their habitus often lacks the flexibility to manage the particular challenges of intercultural education and special education simultaneously. Resistance to change, lack of specialisation, and inability to communicate with students' families can be seen as weaknesses in teachers' habitus when adapting to new conditions in the educational field (Giavrimis, 2023b). According to educators' views in Greek research, they face significant challenges in including students with disabilities (Kourkoutas *et al.*, 2017; Tsakiridou & Polyzopoulou, 2014) and students from migrant or refugee backgrounds (Papadimitriou, 2020). A significant issue in the inclusion process is the linguistic communication between students and teachers, which is recognised as the main obstacle to the inclusion of students with disabilities and without a migrant or refugee background (Giavrimis, 2023a). Language is related to the assessment of students' needs because, in the short term, it is challenging to evaluate the learning of individuals whose language differs from that of the teachers in the host country (Maligkoudi *et al.*, 2018; Mattheoudakis *et al.*, 2017; Mitits, 2018). Additionally, the educational policies implemented for the inclusion of migrants and refugees are considered inadequate because they overlook issues related to disabilities. Furthermore, insufficient infrastructure, inadequate equipment, and insufficient learning tools exacerbate institutional deficiencies in the inclusion of these individuals (Giavrimis, 2023a; Kourkoutas *et al.*, 2017; Tsakiridou & Polyzopoulou, 2014).

Teachers' perceptions and the practices they implement determine both their role and the learning environment, contributing to conditions of inclusion or exclusion for these students. Research in Greece indicates that most teachers support the inclusion of these students (Megalonidou & Vitoulis, 2022; Sgoura *et al.*, 2018). However, the obstacles they face and the type of disability ultimately determine the effectiveness of inclusion (Giavrimis, 2023a, 2023b, 2024; Mattheoudakis *et al.*, 2017; Papadimitriou, 2020).

This research was conducted to understand elementary school teachers' views on institutional and cultural factors that influence the inclusion of immigrant-refugee students with disabilities in the Greek education system. The research questions were: a) What were the teachers' opinions regarding the government's institutional framework and policies on including immigrant and refugee students disabilities, b) What were teachers' cultural capital and teaching practice in relation to the inclusion of these students, c) What were teachers' opinions on how language contributes to maintaining social inequalities during inclusion process, and d) how did the teachers see diversity as a source of growth?

5. Method

Qualitative methodology relies on an interpretative approach to daily life and human actions. Epistemologically, there is no reality independent of consciousness, interpretation, and symbolic perception. Qualitative research emphasises the significance and interpretation of social reality (Iosifidis, 2017), with the primary aim of revealing the mechanisms by which the "everyday" mind perceives and comprehends phenomena (Schnell *et al.*, 2014).

5.1. Participants

Thirty-one (31) primary school teachers took part in the study. Teachers' attitudes act as a catalyst. Teachers are usually the ones who establish criteria, evaluate, and classify students based on their ability and school achievement. Teachers' categorisation affects their behaviour towards students, shaping their perceptions, attitudes, and expectations (Giavrimis, 2022). Of the participants, twenty (20) were women and eleven (11) were men. Ten teachers had between 6 and 15 years of experience, while nine had 16 to 25 years. Four (4) teachers had 1-5 years of experience, and seven (7) have 26 or more years. The largest age group consisted of 12 people in the 30-40 age range. Nine people were between 40 and 50 years old, six (6) were over 50 years old, and three (3) were under 30 years old. Regarding specialisation, the vast majority (18 individuals) were primary school mainstream teachers (PE70). Six (6) were special education teachers (PE71), four (4) provided parallel support, and two (2) worked in the Educational Priority Zones Departments. Finally, concerning work area, nineteen (19) teachers work in an urban setting, while eleven (11) work in rural areas. Respondents were classified (P1, P2, etc.) according to the first two letters of their pseudonyms.

5.2. Research tool

The research tool utilised was the semi-structured interview. This process is a communicative, verbal data-collection technique that opens the door to receiving information and provides insights into the interviewee's perceptions, thoughts, and

opinions (Schnell *et al.*, 2014). With the help of a semi-structured interview, one can achieve highly flexible and free question formulation, thus allowing for thorough research of teachers' attitudes (Iosifidis, 2017). In essence, it is about comprehending the experiences and, above all, the feelings of the "other". An interview guide is derived from literature and theoretical references concerning migration, disability, and intercultural education. Questions in the guide are fourfold, divided into thematic areas: a) teachers' knowledge of migration and disability, b) educational policy on migration and disability, and c) attitudes towards the inclusion of immigrants with disabilities into the Greek education system. In the first category, questions probe conceptual approaches to migration, immigrants/refugees, intercultural education, and disability. Section two discusses teachers' perspectives on educational policy in Greece concerning migration and disability. At this point, issues related to institutional texts, material and technical infrastructure, analytical programmes, and teacher training have been resolved. The third part is devoted to the attitudes of teachers and other members of the school community towards the inclusion of immigrants with disabilities in Greek schools.

5.3. Research process

Interviews were conducted between May 2023 and January 2024. Staff were selected for interview based on years of experience, sex, and speciality. The interviews were conducted in the participants' own environments. Each interview took 35-55 minutes. Participants were informed in advance that their anonymity and confidentiality would be respected and that no compensation or fee would be provided. They also volunteered to have the interviews recorded. The information was coded and analysed employing thematic analysis. This method of data analysis, known as thematic analysis, aims to identify and describe specific patterns (themes) within the data that closely relate to the research question or questions (Braun & Clarke, 2014). The raw interview texts were transcribed, recorded and coded by the researcher to identify similarities and differences. The final interpretation included categories, subcategories, and themes identified from the phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2014).

6. Findings

Four thematic axes emerged from the interviewees' statements: a) Institutional capital and state educational policy, referring to institutional regulations and the challenges they present. b) Language and social disparities in the field, highlighting the importance of the Greek language in the educational setting and its function in sustaining social inequalities. c) Teachers' Embedded Cultural Capital and Teaching Practice, which has to do with habitus and how important it is for teaching. d) Diversity as a Source of Development, which talks about how diversity can be cultural capital that makes learning better and helps people understand how complicated society is.

6.1. Thematic Axis 1: Institutional Capital and State Educational Policy

The first thematic axis examines how educational policy, as an institution, shapes the recognition, acquisition, and distribution of one's cultural capital. The

focus is on the state's interventions to level up inequalities and the continuous effort to modernise educational practices. The interviewees' statements highlighted their dissatisfaction with Greece's educational policy. Educators pointed out that the state's support is often inadequate and outdated. The current laws are old-fashioned and lack provisions for interdisciplinary support, mandatory education, and specific initiatives for students with disabilities or from immigrant backgrounds. P1 said, "There is an outdated legislative framework which urgently needs to be changed." P6 mentioned, "I do not know the current legislative framework..." P2 noted, "There is barely or no such training at all..." P4 added, "If you consider the components [legislative], there is nothing..."

Among other issues, they highlighted that poorly equipped schools lacking easy access to facilities like playgrounds pose a significant challenge for children with disabilities. P11 said: "...there is no access to areas such as playgrounds for students with physical disabilities...", P18 added: "...the Greek state has not provided the necessary conditions for schools to be fully accessible...". P21 noted: "...students with a refugee background... are disengaging from education entirely..."

Schools lack critical tools, assistive resources, and appropriate access for students with disabilities. Funding is inadequate and unevenly allocated across schools. P1 noted, "In terms of material and technical infrastructure, there is nothing in reality." P7 stated, "There is no [special teaching material] at all." P26 mentioned, "The infrastructure is generally minimal." P4 added, "It depends on which school I am in each year."

The curriculum promotes a national and religious viewpoint, neglecting the multicultural reality. Student cultures are depicted only superficially and in a folkloric manner. P11 stated, "You cannot walk into a multicultural classroom and spend all your time talking about the Greek flag." P17 commented, "There is an Amir, a Fatime, everything is very folkloric... We talk about their customs and traditions..." Additionally, social inequalities (economic and cultural) are reproduced and reinforced within schools. Symbolic violence is imposed through the "invisible" curriculum and stereotypes. Students with dual identities (such as people with disabilities and refugees) are perceived as a "double problem." P22 noted: "They are the ideal victims for the social mill to crush," and P27 added: "Some of us believe that we are something like a 'superior race'... That is not good."

6.2. Thematic Axis 2: Language and Social Inequalities in the Field

In our study, teachers indicated that Greek is the primary language used in schools, reinforcing social and educational inequalities through symbolic violence. Students' native languages are often ignored or undervalued, denying them access to their cultural heritage. P10 remarked, "There are powerful languages and... languages that are socially weak." P14 noted, "Bilingualism is a significant barrier because... only Greek can be taught." P5 expressed, "The problem begins when you come and prohibit me from speaking my own language."

Most teachers emphasised that poor communication and resulting social isolation are significant obstacles to social inclusion. P3 stated, "Their language does not help, and their social exclusion cannot be avoided... There is no provision... no

inclusion for these souls." P19 added, "...the lack of a common language can negatively affect communication..."

6.3. Thematic Axis 3: The Embedded Cultural Capital of Teachers and Teaching Practice

This axis focuses on the "habitus" of teachers and students, that is, the internalised knowledge, skills, and attitudes they develop through social and professional socialisation, emphasising the importance of personal abilities and training.

The participants noted that their personal educational and cultural resources are insufficient to meet the needs of these specific students. They emphasise gaps in their education and training, as well as challenges related to disability, interculturality, and bilingualism. Their professional capital relies heavily on personal initiative and motivation. P25 stated, "...they have not received adequate training from the state to meet the needs of these students..." P12 mentioned, "I have not received any training from my school, " and P24 emphasised, "Under no circumstances... have I received adequate training."

While a lack of a shared language can hinder communication, being bilingual is often viewed as beneficial. P3 noted that "there is no adequate support for language communication from the ministry... the teacher does not know." The success of inclusion largely depends on the teacher's personal characteristics (e.g., sensitivity, attitude, and interdisciplinary approach) because of systemic gaps in the education system. P20 stated, "We rely on the teacher's goodwill," while P8 emphasised that "teachers need... sensitivity and personality." P1 added, "to be sensitive, to have a desire to study," and further mentions that "everything I say is driven more by personal interest." They also mention that their training is self-initiated: P9 said, "The training I have received is due to my personal interest," and P2 noted, "Those who were trained did so... at their own expense."

Teachers emphasise the importance of support from interdisciplinary staff, such as psychologists, social workers, and speech therapists. However, they emphasised that these professionals are not always accessible in every school, particularly in remote regions. P15 stated, "...there should be collaboration with multidisciplinary staff..." and P7 mentioned, "...psychologists, social workers, and speech therapists...". P26 added that "collaboration with interdisciplinary staff... helps..." but also points out that "these professionals are not available in all schools...". P8 noted that "especially in remote schools, there is no such staff at all..."

6.4. Thematic axis 4: Diversity as a source of development

Based on our study of teachers' input, including those working with students from diverse cultural backgrounds and those with disabilities, this approach benefits the entire school community. Working together in mixed groups promotes respect, solidarity, and acceptance of diversity, turning it into a valuable resource and a learning opportunity for all. Participants referred: P10 noted: "...inclusion helps the whole class to accept diversity...", P28 stated: "...inclusion helps children without disabilities to be open, respectful, and accepting of diversity..." and P7 said: "...when children, with or without disabilities, learn to coexist within the school community, later as adults, they will be able to coexist with different groups..."

7. Discussion

This study aimed to investigate primary school teachers' perceptions of the institutional and cultural factors that affect the inclusion of immigrant-refugee students with disabilities into the Greek education system. Using Bourdieu's theory (1986), the inclusion of students with disabilities is transformed from a purely technical matter of "compensating for deficits" into one of social justice and recognition. In this research, the instructors emerged as the most vocal critics of state policy, which they considered incoherent and insufficient. They referred to the local government regulations as "out of date" because they did not explicitly mention provisions for interdisciplinary support, nor did they have specific measures for students with disabilities or those coming from immigrant backgrounds. Simultaneously, the logistical infrastructure is deemed inadequate, and funding remains limited. Furthermore, the curricula emphasise national and religious identity, often sidelining students' multicultural diversity, which is frequently incorporated into the educational framework in a folkloric manner. The Greek and international literature on the inclusion of children with migrant and refugee backgrounds reveal similar institutional and pedagogical shortcomings across different educational systems (Fine-Davis & Faas, 2014; Giavrimis, 2023a, 2023b, 2024; Giavrimis & Dimitriadou, 2023). Numerous studies attest that, notwithstanding the Ministry of Education's initiatives, such as the establishment of Reception Classes and the hiring of specialised teachers, the education system remains predominantly monocultural (Ministry of Migration Policy, 2018). According to Bourdieu (1986), education is a mechanism for reproducing social inequalities, as it legitimises the power and culture of the dominant classes. The institutional framework, described as "institutionalised cultural capital" and certified through degrees and titles, has not sufficiently incorporated the knowledge and skills needed to ensure the successful inclusion of students from diverse cultural backgrounds. The Greek case, as the literature reveals, seems to resurface a form of "symbolic violence" where the school system is among the main agents for the cultural reproduction of the dominant norm (GSEE, 2014; Kyridis *et al.*, 2011; OECD, 2018) and, at the same time, through procedures that do not foster interculturalism, exclude "other" cultural capitals.

Meanwhile, teachers stated that Greek is a decisive factor in schools' cultural capital. On the other hand, students' mother languages are often neglected or undervalued. This situation causes "social exclusion" and isolation. Teachers acknowledged that bilingualism may be advantageous, yet the system treats it as a barrier. Students who struggle to express themselves adequately often face the most difficulty in acquiring the cultural capital necessary to gain legitimacy in the school context and become equal members of the community. In Greece, research (Gkovaris, 2001) indicates that immigrant languages are not sufficiently incorporated into school policies, although there are positive practices internationally (Cummins, 2000; García & Wei, 2014) that recognise bilingualism as an advantage. Bourdieu (1986) claimed that language should be considered not only as a tool of communication but also as one of the most significant parts of cultural capital and as a means of holding symbolic power. The language hierarchy discussed in the interviews reflects one aspect of

symbolic violence: the more privileged languages are at the top. Those who are less privileged are at the bottom. The Greek educational system, by its nature, through the imposition of Greek as the exclusive language of teaching, constitutes an apparatus that, on the one hand, serves to confirm the cultural capital of the advantaged (native) groups and, on the other, to marginalise minority groups. This result is consistent with international research (Cummins, 2000), which suggests that prohibiting children from speaking their mother tongue may lead to poorer educational performance and deepen existing inequalities. The absence of language-related assistance programs for persons with disabilities is an additional factor that is leading to the confirmation of the exclusionary approach and the discrimination against this group of people.

According to teachers in our research, their cultural backgrounds and habits, including their sensitivity, interdisciplinary approach, and personal interests, are key factors in determining the success of inclusion when systemic failures occur in the education system. Most educators participating in the study highlighted their heavy reliance on personal initiative and qualities. Our research teachers report that their knowledge of special education, training, and intercultural education is limited due to inadequate preparation. They have acquired more skills through their own initiatives and personal interest, by participating in seminars or postgraduate programmes, and funding their own professional development. In Greece, limited teacher training and in-service education create several issues in promoting inclusion for vulnerable groups (Giavrimis, 2023a, b, 2024; Papadimitriou, 2020). Research data in the international literature emphasise that teacher training and education are vital factors in the effectiveness of inclusion policies (Ainscow, 2005). At the same time, teachers' statements reveal that their educational practices often conflict with students' cultural practices, thereby creating conditions of educational and social inequality or leading to educational exclusion. Monocultural teaching practices, which can be reformed through state-funded training by "re-adjusting" teachers' habitus, are at the core of a paradox where success in inclusion depends more on individual effort than on a socially equitable, comprehensive system. The repeated calls for the establishment of interdisciplinary teams show that teachers alone, with institutional support, cannot bridge this gap.

Teachers were still convinced that diversity can be a social resource that leads to positive development, despite the difficulties. They revealed that introducing students from diverse backgrounds has a positive impact on the entire class, fostering respect, solidarity, and acceptance. The presence of a diverse group can transform the environment in which people communicate and accept one another. Such an experience is considered a way to prepare future adults to live together in a multicultural society. Studies in Greece often emphasise that intercultural education is not implemented appropriately (Gotovos, 2002). However, the diversity of the student population creates conditions for the education and activation of democratic inclusion of new social subjects (Banks, 2015). Bourdieu (1986) argues that diversity, rather than being seen as a deficiency or inadequacy, can be a crucial factor in overcoming social inequalities and ensuring the equal inclusion of all individuals, regardless of their social background. Modern theories introduce the concept of

"community cultural wealth," suggesting that minority groups possess substantial cultural capital (linguistic, familial, interpersonal) that is largely neglected by the dominant model (Yosso, 2005). Nevertheless, the proper use of this capital requires a complete overhaul of the school's habitus and institutional mechanisms, which, according to the findings, the Greek state is incapable of accomplishing.

In conclusion, the education inequalities are massively perpetuated by the system on one side. On the other hand, opportunities can be seized if diversity is regarded as a form of wealth. Teachers reveal that institutional policies are fragmented and inadequate. Due to the lack of infrastructure, training, and support from various disciplines, the school becomes an agent of symbolic violence. In this place, the dominant habitus is reproduced, and the diverse cultural capitals are marginalised. In the same environment, monolingualism also serves the purpose of the privileged's legitimisation and the exclusion of minority languages. The cultural capital inherent in educators (habitus) is often insufficient because the institutional framework does not support it. Thus, inclusion is often an individual initiative, 'pride,' and personal attitude, which creates inequalities and a fragmented process. At the same time, the research conveys that diversity is accepted as a primary source of hope. Even though it is institutionally underutilised, teachers perceive it as a source of wealth and learning for the whole class. This, in turn, invites a critical re-evaluation with the suggestion that the linguistic and cultural inheritance of students can be social capital for the community." However, the transformation of diversity from a practice and policy of exclusion into a holistic process within the educational sphere requires an institutional reform that will fully utilise the cultural capital of community members (Yosso, 2005), recognise the diversity of linguistic codes, possess appropriate tools for assessing the learning and social needs of these individuals, and provide educators with suitable training and education. This aims to develop a systemic model of intervention and to transform the school into a space of equal access and social justice. Essentially, a complete re-thinking of the role of schools and a critical appraisal of the education system through Bourdieu's eyes are necessary for the system to stop being a source of inequalities and, instead, recognise multiple forms of cultural capital as equally valuable. Such an approach is a step towards genuinely inclusive education, not through assimilation, but through institutional recognition of diversity, which becomes recognised capital for everyone.

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