

## **SOCIAL CLASS, IMMIGRATION AND THE SCHOOL: ACCOUNTABILITY CONCERNS ON MIGRATION IN THE DISCOURSE OF SCHOOL-TEACHERS IN GREECE**

***Antonis Sapountzis<sup>1</sup> & Anastasia Dea<sup>2</sup>***

*<sup>1</sup>Democritus University of Thrace, Greece*

*<sup>2</sup>Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece*

**Abstract:** Research on social class is scant within social psychology, although recent economic developments have turned many researchers' gaze on various research fields relating to class. An important aspect of social class research has been intersectionality, namely the relation of social class to other identities, such as gender and ethnicity. It is often argued that social agents develop an understanding of social class that is inseparable of issues of gender and ethnicity. Following a discursive perspective this article aims to demonstrate the situated use of notions that are related to social class in educators' discourse on immigrant children's presence in the Greek school. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews with 12 participants in a small village of Chalkidiki in Northern Greece. Implementing the principles of Critical Discursive Social Psychology, we examined how interpretative repertoires related to class, such as economic level and professional status, were mobilized within discourses of immigrant students' school attendance to manage local accountability concerns, which also had more distal ramifications. It is argued that one of the functions the mobilization of class seemed to serve was the denial of racism and the management of educators' professional identities.

**Key words:** Accountability; Immigrant students; Interpretative repertoires; Intersectionality and class; Migration; Racism; Social class; Teacher social identity

---

**Address:** Antonis Sapountzis, Department of Education Sciences in Early Childhood, Democritus University of Thrace, Alexandroupoli, Nea Chili 68100. Tel: +30-2551030087. Fax: +30-2551030050. E-mail: ansapoun@psed.duth.gr

**Acknowledgments:** We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments. We would also like to thank Lia Figgou for her remarks on the article.

## INTRODUCTION

Although the study of social class within social psychology still remains marginal (Manstead, 2018; Williams, 2019), researchers have started to turn their gaze to the examination of social class. Various special issues in journals have emerged (e.g., *Journal of Social Issues*, Moya & Fiske, 2017; *Theory & Psychology*, Hodgetts & Griffin, 2015), along with individual papers arguing for a focus on the study of social class (e.g., Day, Rickett, & Woolhouse, 2014; Manstead, 2018). In addition, other issues related to class such as job precarity (e.g., Kesisoglou, Figgou, & Dikaiou, 2016), employment and citizenship rights (e.g., Gibson, 2011), neoliberalism (*Journal of Social Issues* special issue, Bettache & Chiu, 2019) and the language of income inequality (Augoustinos & Callaghan, 2019) started to have a presence in psychology journals and books. However, it is generally acknowledged that social class cannot be easily discerned from the study of gender (Walkerdine, 2015) or ethnicity (Fathi, 2015) as the intersectionality argument advocates (Crenshaw, 1989). In line with this argument, we examined how primary school teachers in Greece mobilize interpretative repertoires related to notions of economic and professional level when they talk about their second-generation immigrant students.

Social psychology has paid scant attention to the issue of social class. It has been argued that psychologists to a large extent have neglected social class and have abandoned it as a field to sociology (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). Nonetheless, especially after the Great Recession (late 2000, early 2010), the issue of class has started to attract increased attention (e.g., Day et al., 2014; Manstead, 2018; Moya & Fiske, 2017). An issue that is often raised, is the definition of social class. Of course, towards this end, social psychology turns to sociology for answers. Manstead (2018) claiming that the classic Marxist division between people who possess means of production and those who don't, is outdated, advocates that socioeconomic status (SES), which encapsulates both individual wealth, level of education and occupation, is a better index for understanding how people position themselves within the social stratum. This represents an attempt to measure, in objective terms, how society is stratified (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). However, Bourdieu (1984), developing the notion of habitus, has demonstrated the limitations of this understanding of class divisions. For Bourdieu, class is also instantiated through cultural capital, which gives people the aesthetic criterion to consume certain cultural goods, as well as social capital, meaning that people in upper classes have a certain social network that allows them to have certain relationships and connections with similar people. Within sociology there have been attempts to incorporate these insights into class analysis and examine social stratification under these terms using quantitative methodologies (e.g., Savage et al.,

2013). Nevertheless, Bourdieu himself was in favor of a more qualitative approach, that would prioritize personal narratives and allow the researcher to examine how habitus is internalized and informs people's thoughts and behavior (Wagner & McLaughlin, 2015). Indeed, researchers have argued that "class is part of the micropolitics of people's lives" (Reay, 1998 p. 265), and that emphasis should be laid on the ways in which class and class relations are experienced, articulated, managed, negotiated and reproduced in everyday interactions (Hodgetts & Griffin, 2015). Within this line, and following a discourse analytic perspective, the aim of the present study was to examine the occasioned use of repertoires that relate various forms of social stratification, such as economic and professional level, and towards which rhetorical ends are used. Through this examination useful suppositions about the ideological underpinnings of the use of class categories can be drawn (Wetherell, 1998).

A second point of concern that is often raised within class research, is the issue of *intersectionality*. The term was first introduced by Crenshaw (1989) to denote the way different divisions in people's life are interrelated. As a notion it was developed within the Black Feminism movement to shed light on the fact that black women faced oppression coming from different directions due to their ethnic background, due to their gender and due to their class (Smith, 2013). The main focus was on how these marginalized identities and their interrelation are experienced by black women. It has been argued that trying to isolate these identities may be pointless and can end up in obscuring research on how people experience their lives (Cole & Omari, 2003), and that this simultaneous experience of different social identities should be the agenda for a critical psychology of class (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). In the context of education, it is generally acknowledged that inequality in schools and schooling opportunities affect mainly minorities (Hochschild, 2003), while data seems to suggest that gender, ethnicity/race mediate the degree to which high levels of educational attainment leads to higher income (Fine & Burns, 2003). Jones (2003), interviewing female academics in the United States, some of whom came from different ethnic backgrounds, found that some participants understood class inequalities through ethnicity. Similarly, in the UK, women from Iran who work as doctors and dentists constructed their professional and class identities in relation to their foreignness, but also in relation to British citizenship, since their profession gave them the right to apply for citizenship, and allowed them to construct themselves as deserving to participate in the British society (Fathi, 2015).

Within social cognition research, following mainly social identity theory, it has been acknowledged that two or more identities may be salient at the same time and may simultaneously inform people's self-concept (e.g., Crisp, Hewstone, & Cairns,

2001). However, most research on crossed-categorization has used artificial groups in experimental situations, while research which was carried out in the field (e.g., Crisp et al., 2001; Hagedorn & Henke, 1991) has not focused on how people themselves may actively mobilize crossed categorizations in real social settings.

Recognizing that identities may intersect, the present study aimed to examine how primary education school-teachers account for the presence of children of immigrant descent in their school. More specifically, we were interested in scrutinizing how interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) relating to economic and professional level which are considered core components of social class were mobilized in a discussion about the cultural adaptation of immigrant children in school and what functions they seemed to perform within the certain rhetorical context. In terms of methodology, we hoped to demonstrate how accountability (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) can help shed light on the issue of intersectionality of identities.

## METHOD

### *Background to the study*

Immigrant numbers in Greece started to rise in the 1990s as a result of the regime changes in Eastern Europe and the subsequent political and economic turmoil that followed. It was estimated that in 2004 about 1.150.000 immigrants were living in Greece, representing more than ten per cent of the country's population (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004). The vast majority of immigrants came from Eastern Europe and more than 50% of the total immigrant population came from neighboring Albania. More recent estimates, that were published after the economic crisis that struck Greece, record a decline in immigrants living in Greece (about 6% of the total population) and a rise of immigrant numbers from Asia and the Middle East (Triandafyllidou & Mantanika, 2016). Regarding immigrant's occupation, it has been documented that the majority of the immigrants work in the construction, manufacturing, agricultural and service section, mostly as unskilled workers, in jobs that Greek people are underrepresented (Hatziprokopiou, 2006; Kandyliis, Maloutas, & Sayas, 2012). Accordingly, the salaries they earn are quite low, representing a cheap and flexible labor force (Hatziprokopiou, 2006).

At the same time the number of students of immigrant descent started to rise within the Greek school. Relatively recent data indicate that about 10,29% of the student population had an immigrant descent (Triandafyllidou, 2011). Nowadays,

most of the students of immigrant descent are second or third generation immigrants. Within Greek education the participation of immigrant students often led to controversies as prejudice seems to be on the rise in the wider society (Ευροβαρόμετρο, 2009). There have been heated debates whether immigrant students should be allowed to be flagbearers in national commemoration parades (Tzanelli, 2006), while an MP of the far-right party Golden-Dawn asked from the Minister of Interior to record immigrant children who attend kindergarten (iefimerida, 10/10/2012). More recently, there have been protests from parents who did not want refugee children to enter the schools their own children attended (Vergou, 2019). The above attest to the need to examine the issue of migration and class within the school context.

### ***Research site and participants***

The research took place in a small village in Chalkidiki, in Northern Greece. In this village some families of Albanian origin have settled, and most of the men found jobs as workers on the agricultural section, while their children attend school.

Participants were ten primary school school-teachers and two were kindergarten educators. Eight were women and four were men. The age span was between 38 and 59 years and the mean age was 49,5 years ( $SD = 7,3$ ). Their average work experience in education was 24 years ( $SD = 8,1$ ). The selection of these participants meant that they have lived through the increase of children of immigrant descent within Greek schools. They were approached through the acquaintances of the second author (some of them were her former school-teachers) and then further snowballing was employed.

### ***Research method and analysis***

Semi-structured individual interviews were used to help the interaction with participants. All interviews were conducted by the second author. The interviews included questions about the changes within the educational system the last few years, the presence of students from different cultural backgrounds, their school performance, multiculturalism etc. The topic of the research was the acculturation of immigrant students. The issue of class, through reference to the economic and professional level of immigrants, came up quite spontaneously in the interviews and there were no questions with direct reference to class or social stratification. This point will be further analyzed in the Discussion. Interviews lasted from 15 to 65 minutes with an average duration of 25 minutes. All interviews were conducted by

the second author in Greek. Permission was asked by the participants to use interview material while data was altered and pseudonyms were used in order to protect anonymity. Interviews were transcribed using a simplified version of the Jefferson notation system (Jefferson, 1985). Extracts were translated to English, and translation was cross-checked with colleagues. Although effort was made to stay as close to the original text, we acknowledge that the translation process may have led to loss of subtle meanings that may be unique to the Greek context.

The initial stages of the analysis involved the reading and rereading of the interview material. Although participants did not often use the term “social class” *per se*, they mobilized notions of poverty and relative economic standing, social status and professional status most of which are considered core components of the notion of class. We identified three different interpretative repertoires that related to class: 1. Economic status as a causal factor for the performance of immigrant students; 2. Poverty and economic status as a factor that forges positive characteristics for immigrant students; and 3. Professional upper-status as a factor that enhances prejudice.

Following Potter and Wetherell (1987; also, Wetherell & Potter, 1992) we use the term “interpretative repertoires” to denote certain ways of speaking about objects, events or persons. They are linguistic resources that people share and may mobilize when they talk about a specific issue. They are usually nested around a certain choice of words, metaphors or linguistic styles. Identifying the different interpretative repertoires is just the first step of the analysis: the second stage is to examine how they are deployed and towards which ends. In line with Critical Discursive Social Psychology (Bozatzis, 2009; Edley, 2001; Wetherell 1998) our interest was to examine how these repertoires are used to provide accountability for what people say in the local context of interaction. Accountability is a central concept in discursive psychology (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992): it denotes the attempt of the speaker to present a coherent and justifiable account that is outside their own interests. People can be held accountable for presenting a specific version of events or actions. Thus, people may try to attend to issues of responsibility, normalcy and truth when advocating a specific point of view or series of events. At the same time though, we acknowledge that these common resources that are used to provide accountability are embedded within a certain socio-historical context, which bears the intellectual history of the certain community and can have functions beyond the immediate local context. Since intersectionality refers to the lived experience of different identities, we use the term “ingroup” (which is commonly used in social psychology) in our analysis, which denotes the groups that form people’s self-concept.

## RESULTS

### *Economic status as a causal factor for the performance of immigrant students*

Before the following extract the interviewer had asked about the school performance of children of immigrant descent. The participant started to talk about problems immigrant students face, and then she imported the issue of uneven economic status.

#### *Extract 1*

Kathy: Some parents who do not want to get involved eh look for people to help their children to study or because the schoolteacher has better knowledge the schoolteachers work with them a couple of hours pensioners schoolteachers (.) some take private classes (.) if you consider that these children struggle on their own (.) I think they are coping pretty well (.) when they feel like it (.) but there are many children that they have parents like Greek parents whose families have eh: financial problems they have co-habitation problems (.) and the like this thing is obvious (.) ehh: so a child that comes from a different cultural background has an unemployed parent has problems with his/her relatives who are in a different country ehh: it is a mitigating factor and he/she cannot be a very good and excellent student (.) of course we also have children who are immigrant children who prosper in Greece because their profession helped them to prosper or because these people work very hard who are very good students (.) so (.) this relates to the social background and to the financial background in order to perform.  
(Woman, schoolteacher, 59 years old).

In this extract Kathy starts by arguing that on some occasion immigrant parents cannot help their children with schoolwork and thus hire pensioner schoolteachers. She then mobilizes a discourse of liberalism<sup>1</sup> which present on the one hand the positive outcomes of individual effort (“If you consider that these children struggle on their own (.) I think they are coping pretty well”), while on the other hand places emphasis on free choice (“when they feel like it”). The second side of the argument does important ideological work since the potential low performance of immigrant’s children is not attributed to their cultural background or innate characteristics but to their own volition.

Kathy then does a rhetorical move that levels the effect of different cultural

---

<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that people often mobilize discourse that seem to draw on notions of liberal democracy which revolve around personal choice and active participation (e.g., Condor & Gibson, 2007).

background to school performance to that of lower income and with problems at home. This comes in the form of an argument by analogy (“like Greek parents”), which introduces a form of social and psychological determinism (low income and problems at home lead to poor school performance) that undermines the role of different cultural background. The same purpose serves the three-part list that Kathy mobilizes next (“a child that comes from a different cultural background has an unemployed parent has problems with his/her relatives”). Since three-part lists according to Jefferson (1990) tend to summarize a general class of things, the role of cultural background is equalized to that of lower class and family issues, and in this way, they are presented as a cause of poor school performance. On the other hand, immigrants who have a better income are presented as having children with better school performance. This argument is further reinforced with the last sentence of the participant where she prioritizes, in the form of a concluding remark, the role of class and social background over school performance.

In this extract Kathy introduces the role of economic and professional level when she talks about how cultural background may affect school performance. She builds a common ingroup between Greek people and immigrants (see also Sapountzis, Figgou, Bozatzis, Gardikiotis, & Pantazis, 2013) through social class presenting income (as well as trouble at home) as causal factor to bad school performance. The role of cultural background in school performance is undermined, possibly because such a link could leave Kathy open to charges of prejudice. The next extract is another example of the same interpretative repertoire.

Before the following extract the interviewer (Anastasia) asked Maria about state initiatives that may have taken place in order to help immigrants’ children. At this stage Anastasia posed a question on the performance of immigrants’ children.

### *Extract 2*

Anastasia: Nice. Ehh tell me a bit about their school performance how=  
 Maria: =look during the first years it was not like the children that were born here in Greece (.) the:: last few years there are some very good students and eh an average student can reach the performance of a very good student eh::: of a Greek student (.) I think that it is not an issue that they do not possess (much) because I am telling you the last few years they also have the means and I see that their parents send them to learn English<sup>2</sup> they send them to private lessons (φροντιστήριο)<sup>3</sup> and the like and the

<sup>2</sup> Parents usually send their students to private institutions to study English, despite that English is taught in schools as well.

<sup>3</sup> Φροντιστήριο are private educational foundations that follow the school curriculum. Their supposed purpose is to improve students’ school performance.



child if he/she does not want to just like:: the Greek children (.) if he/she does not want to (study) not matter how much you::u push them no way I for example have a brother and a sister in the same primary school (.) the older one she is very very good.  
(Woman, schoolteacher, 53 years old).

Anastasia poses a question regarding the performance of immigrant's children at school. Maria starts by making a distinction between immigrant's children that were born abroad and those that were born in Greece, arguing that the latter can reach the performance of the good Greek student. As the main factor for the improvement of their performance she considers the improvement of their financial level, which allows them to have private classes. It is quite remarkable that the schoolteachers do not seem to discuss their own role in student's performance and they naturalize the role of private education in Greece. Towards the end like Kathy she mobilizes a liberal discourse of choice to argue that the students' performance depends on their own free will to study as well, and this is presented as commonality to the Greek students. The example mobilized in the end of the extract serves to display the same argument: irrespective of cultural background and economic background (and possibly genetic stock, which is implied by the example of brother and sister) the free will of the student is presented as a causal factor for students' performance.

As in the previous extract, income is seen as a crucial factor for the improvement of immigrant students' performance. Through possession of the same economic means, Greek students and immigrant students are leveled and what actually differentiates their performance is their own will to study.

***Poverty and economic status as a factor that forges positive characteristics for immigrant students***

Before the following extract Anastasia was discussing with Giannis the school performance of students from immigrant descent. At this stage Anastasia urges the participant to mention similarities or differences between Greek students and immigrant students he may have noticed.

*Extract 3*

Anastasia: Hm. Nice. Any other similarities or differences that you noticed with eh: regarding their performance in relation to the rest eh: of the students?

Giannis: I think they have mo:ore critical abilities.

Anastasia: Hm.

Giannis: ehh: (3) in relation to the young Greeks you mean right?

Anastasia: Don't worry about it [inaudible]

Giannis: [Yes that] they are mo:ore they critically examine things:s maybe this is due to their family which encourages them they are more accustomed to the hardships inside their house while we have our (children) a bit covered so that nothing happens to the poor ones they anyway they are more accustomed to poverty they are more accustomed.

Anastasia: Hm.

Giannis: So they come to school more tough.

Anastasia: Hm.

Giannis: So anyway (.) they learn to be more critical towards many problems and issues.

(Man, schoolteacher 38 years old)

Anastasia introduces a question regarding similarities and differences between Greek students and students of immigrant background. This seems to be a delicate topic since after the initial contribution of Giannis who argues that they have more critical abilities he pauses and asks clarifications from the interviewer. This leads to certain accountability issues since a negative comparison to the local population could carry the burden of prejudice (Sapountzis, 2013). In order to avoid this delicate situation, the participant introduces an argument according to which poverty forges critical awareness in children of immigrant descent. In this way, the relation between migration and low class is taken for granted and in terms of intersectionality migration is understood also through the lenses of economic level. While this argument in the beginning takes the form of a personal opinion ("maybe this is due...") in the rest of the extract with the use of categorical modality<sup>4</sup> (Fairclough, 2000) it becomes factual and as a result it becomes an argument of social determinism where certain causes (poverty) lead to certain effects (increased critical awareness).

In this extract the economic level is used by the participant in order to account for the differences between Greek students and students of immigrant descent. This raises accountability concerns since accounting to differences due to descent may carry the accusation of prejudice, while the same applies in the case of articulating negative stereotypes. Economic level is invoked allowing the participant to account for any differences in terms of class and not cultural background, while he also mobilizes, through an argument of social determinism based on class, a favorable, for

---

<sup>4</sup> The term modality refers to the level of commitment of the speaker to the argument he/she expresses, while categorical refers to the truthfulness of the claim.

immigrant students, comparison between students of immigrant descent and students of Greek origin.

***Professional upper-status as a factor that enhances prejudice***

Before the subsequent extract Kathy was commenting about how immigrant students view their Greek classmates and the Greek school.

*Extract 4*

Anastasia: Hm eh (inaudible) what did I tell you? Ow (.) immigrants themselves view positively the other children (Greek children) (.) How do the Greeks face them?

Kathy: eh: in the beginning we had some trouble with the young Greeks (.) however as time goes by this percentage drops because we have reached a point where many Greek parents are together with the immigrants they work at the same job they are associates they do the same stuff.

Anastasia: Hm.

Kathy: I mean it cannot happen a Greek parent and an Albanian parent who work together in the oil press to consider oneself different from the other (.) where we face a problem and we shouldn't (.) is at the stage where the standard of living and the social status of the parents is higher than the rest (1) some parents who have university degrees (.) run businesses some people that (.) I do not want to offend certain professions (.) but some may be lawyers (.) doctors they do not give the right directives to their children so that they hang out with all children (.) they haven't got the message through to them that all children are equal (.) they have the same rights to education (.) they cause most of the trouble rather than simple folk that are day laborers.

(Woman, schoolteacher, 59 years old)

Anastasia puts forward a question regarding the way Greek people view the immigrants. Kathy starts by arguing that things change over time and she introduces a lay contact theory via a three-part list ("they work at the same job they are associates they do the same stuff"). Since parents work together with immigrants this is presented as having beneficial outcomes for the reduction of prejudice. She then introduces a vivid image (Wooffitt, 1992) of Greek and Albanian parents who work together in the oil press. Neither the selection of the work nor the selection of the ethnicities is accidental: In Chalkidiki one of the main agricultural products is olive oil. In addition, it is a manual labor which may indicate that the Greek and Albanian parent share the same professional status. Finally, many Albanians have settled in

the area and work in the agricultural section, so the example mobilized comes from the immediate social environment of the region. The result of being occupied in the same job and possibly coming from the same social background is that people realize that they are not different from each other.

Next, Kathy draws a distinction which conflates social status and ethnic background. She argues that the differentiation is between parents who come from the higher social stratum and hold university degrees. She uses a three-part list of upper-class professions, namely businessmen, lawyers and doctors as parents who teach their children to discriminate according to class in comparison to working class people who are presented as simple-minded (simple folk) implying that this simple set of mind leaves them outside prejudice.

In this extract Kathy through professional status builds a common-ingroup between working people of different cultural backgrounds. Through contact they realize their similarities and prejudice is diminished. On the contrary, upper class people look down on immigrants, and therefore racism is conflated to classism. As a result, racism seems to be undermined as a phenomenon since it is apposite only to a certain class and secondly it is not due to cultural difference but due to class difference. Another important feature in the extract is that the role of the students as agents of racism is also undermined. In the form of a social learning theory prejudice in schools depends solely on the way parents see cultural or class difference. The role of students is neglected, and they are seen as just mirroring the behavior of their parents. This seems to be in line with previous research which has demonstrated that schoolteachers tend to place prejudice outside school and outside children's minds (Figgou & Baka, 2018).

## **DISCUSSION**

This article tried to shed light on the way schoolteachers mobilized interpretative repertoires related to class concerning the presence of students of immigrant descent to schools. The emphasis was on the occasioned mobilization of these repertoires, their rhetorical construction and the different rhetorical ends they seemed to serve both at a local level and, also, at a more distal macro-social level. Participants mobilized notions of economic and social status differentials that social theory considers to be core components of social class. Economic status was used as a common category between Greek students and students of immigrant descent, as something they share in common and may lead to the same results. This involved both the low performing (of those students who come from low class background)

and the high performing students (due to the improvement of immigrants' standard of living). The improvement of the financial status was considered to make up for the taken for granted handicap that immigrant children have in schools. While constructing the interconnectedness of class and migration schoolteachers also avoided attributing poor performance to cultural background, an attribution that could leave them open to accusations of prejudice. When discussing differences between Greek students and students of immigrant descent, participants argued that poverty and hardships may help them forge a critical awareness. Attributing negative stereotypes to immigrants may leave people open to charges of racism. Using economic level as a condition that leads to positive traits, that are linked to situational factors (poverty), helped participants to deal with the accountability issues raised by a question that asked them to talk about similarities and differences between immigrants and Greeks. Finally, when asked to discuss intergroup relations at school, a common category of class was built between Greek working-class people and immigrant working class, arguing that this commonality leads to prejudice reduction (through contact), in contrast to upper classes that demonstrate racism. In this way intersectionality allowed participants to construct racism not as a generalized phenomenon in Greece but as a phenomenon that relates to classism, undermining to an extent its importance.

What we aimed to show is that intersectionality, the interconnectedness of class, gender, ethnicity and other identities, does not happen in a social vacuum but is articulated within certain interactional contexts, allowing participants to perform certain rhetorical actions. Within social psychology, previous research has attempted to examine the role of cross-categorization on intergroup relations arguing that one should examine how prejudice may operate differently depending on class stratification (Pettigrew, 1981). It has been argued that since negative stereotypes on group competence are usually ascribed to the black minority in the US, these stereotypes will also be related to group status because competence leads to specific expectations regarding upward mobility (Swencionis, Dupree, & Fiske, 2017). In a similar vein, research conducted in India has demonstrated that high-caste Hindus demonstrated more prejudice towards low-caste Muslims, compared to high-caste Muslims, indicating the interrelationship between the two categories (Hagendoorn & Henke, 1991). There is scant evidence, however, on how participants may use cross-categorizations unprompted. What the present study established is how participants may invoke intersectionality and cross-categorization actively in the course of verbal interaction in order to perform various rhetorical tasks that were frequently related to issues of moral accountability of the participants themselves, and/or of the group they constructed as ingroup.

Of course, this being the case, the findings cannot generalize beyond the immediate context. There are concerns whether interviews are the appropriate method for analyzing people's discourse. Potter and Hepburn (2005) have argued, among other things, that some researchers fail to consider the role of the interviewer in the production of the material, the role of stake while they also conflate the analysis with their own analytic categories. Although this is an understandable critique, our aim was to examine how notions of class are invoked to attend to accountability concerns in an interaction between an interviewer and a participant. The research did not prompt interviewers to talk directly about class or to related concepts, although we acknowledge that there seems to be a widespread assumption about the positioning of immigrants in the social stratum. Having said that, this does not pre-determine the answer to the "Why this?" "Why now?" question when categories related to class are invoked. It alerts researchers, however, to be more wary about the role of class and intersectionality especially in a country hidden hard by the economic crisis where immigrants find themselves in an even more precarious position.

## REFERENCES

- Augoustinos, M., & Callaghan, P. (2019). The language of social inequality. In J. Jetten & K. Peters (Eds.), *The social psychology of inequality* (pp. 321-334). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2004). *Στατιστικά δεδομένα για τους μετανάστες στην Ελλάδα: Αναλυτική μελέτη για τα διαθέσιμα στοιχεία και προτάσεις για τη συμμόρφωση με τα standards της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης* [Statistics on immigrant numbers in Greece: An analytic study for existing evidence and suggestions for the compliance to the European standards]. Ερευνητική Έκθεση για το Ι.ΜΕ.ΠΟ (Ινστιτούτο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής). Αθήνα: Ι.ΜΕ.ΠΟ.
- Bettache, K., & Chiu, C.-Y. (2019). The invisible hand is an ideology: Toward a social psychology of neoliberalism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(1), 8-19.
- Bozatzis, N. (2009). Occidentalism and accountability: Constructing culture and cultural difference in majority Greek talk about the minority in Western Thrace. *Discourse & Society*, 20(4), 431-453.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Cole, E., & Omari, S. R. (2003). Race, class and the dilemmas of upward mobility for African Americans. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 785-802.
- Condor, S., & Gibson, S. (2007). 'Everybody's entitled to their own opinion': Ideological dilemmas of liberal individualism and active citizenship. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(2), 115-140.

- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, 139-167.
- Crisp, R. J., Hewstone, M., & Cairns, E. (2001). Multiple identities in Northern Ireland: Hierarchical ordering in the representation of group membership. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(4), 501-514.
- Day, K., Rickett, B., & Woolhouse, M. (2014). Class dismissed: Putting social class on the critical psychological agenda. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 8(8), 397-407.
- Edley, N. (2001). Analyzing masculinity: Interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 189-228). London, UK: Sage.
- Edwards, D. (1997). *Discourse and cognition*. London, UK: Sage.
- Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology*. London, UK: Sage.
- Εξωφρενικό: Η Χρυσή Αυγή ζητά ονόματα και διευθύνσεις για όλα τα παιδιά αλλοδαπών στους παιδικούς σταθμούς. (2010, October 10). Iefimerida. Retrieved from: <https://www.iefimerida.gr/news/%CE%BF%CE%BD%CF%8C%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%B8%CF%8D%CE%BD%CF%83%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%82%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%AC%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B4%CE%B1%CF%80%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%82->
- Ευροβαρόμετρο 71. (2009). *Η κοινή γνώμη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση*. Ανακτήθηκε από [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb71/eb71\\_el\\_el\\_nat.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb71/eb71_el_el_nat.pdf).
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New labour, new language?* London, UK: Routledge.
- Fathi, M. (2015). 'I make here my soil. I make here my country.' *Political Psychology*, 36(2), 151-164.
- Figgou, L., & Baka, A. (2018). Acculturation and intergroup relations in the school context: Their constructions in educators' discourse. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 24(4), 433-438.
- Fine, M., & Burns, A. (2003). Class notes: Toward a critical psychology of class and schooling. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 841-860.
- Gibson, S. (2011). Dilemmas of citizenship: Young people's conceptions of un/employment rights and responsibilities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(3), 450-468. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/014466610X520113>.
- Hagendoorn, L., & Henke, R. (1991). The effect of multiple category membership on intergroup evaluations in a north Indian context: Class, caste and religion. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 30(3), 247-260.
- Hatziprokopiou, P. (2006). *Globalisation, migration and socio-economic change in contemporary Greece: Processes of social incorporation of Albanian and Bulgarian immigrants in Thessaloniki*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.

- Hochschild, J. L. (2003). Social class in public schools. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 821-840.
- Hodgetts, D., & Griffin, C. (2015). The place of class: Considerations for psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, 25(2), 147-166. doi: 10.1177/0959354315576381.
- Jefferson, G. (1985). An exercise in the transcription and analysis of laughter. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis. Volume 3: Discourse and dialogue* (pp. 25–34). London: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, G. (1990). List construction as a task and resource. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Interactional competence* (pp. 63-92). Washington, DC: University Press of America.
- Jones, S. J. (2003). Complex subjectivities: Class, ethnicity, and race in women's narratives of upward mobility. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 803-820.
- Kandyliis, G., Maloutas, T., & Sayas, J. (2012). Immigration, inequality and diversity: Socio-ethnic hierarchy and spatial organization in Athens, Greece. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19(3), 267-286.
- Kesisoglou, G., Figgou, E., & Dikaiou, M. (2016). Constructing work and subjectivities in precarious conditions: Psycho-discursive practices in young people's interviews in Greece. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4(1), 24-43.
- Manstead, A. S. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57(2), 267-291. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12251>.
- Moya, M., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). The social psychology of the great recession and social class divides. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(1), 1-15.
- Ostrove, J. M., & Cole, E. R. (2003). Privileging class: Toward a critical psychology of social class in the context of education. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 677-692.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1981). Race and class in the 1980s: An interactive view. *Daedalus*, 110(2), 233-255.
- Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2005). Qualitative interviews in psychology: Problems and possibilities. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 2(4), 1-27.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London, UK: Sage.
- Reay, D. (1998). Rethinking social class: Qualitative perspectives on gender and social class. *Sociology*, 32(2), 259-275.
- Sapountzis, A. (2013). Dominant group members talk about the acculturation of immigrants in Greece: Who is in charge of the acculturation process. *Hellenic Journal of Psychology*, 10(1), 24-46.
- Sapountzis, A., Figgou, L., Bozatzis, N., Gardikiotis, A., & Pantazis, P. (2013). 'Categories we share': Mobilising common in-groups in discourse on contemporary immigration in Greece. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 23(4), 347-361.
- Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., ... Miles, A. (2013). A new model of social class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*, 47(2), 219-250.
- Smith, S. (2013). Black feminism and intersectionality. *International Socialist Review*, 91, 6-24.



- Swencionis, J. K., Dupree, C. H., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). Warmth-competence tradeoffs in impression management across race and social class divides. *Journal of Social Issues, 73*(1), 168-184.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2011). (In)tolerance of difference in Greek schools: The case of migrant and Roma children. *ACCEPT Pluralism working paper 6*. Florence: European University Institute.
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Mantanika, R. (2016). *Migration in Greece: Recent developments in 2016* (Report for the OECD Network of International Migration Experts Athens). Athens, Greece: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).
- Tzanelli, R. (2006). "Not My Flag!" Citizenship and nationhood in the margins of Europe (Greece, October 2000/2003). *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 29*(1), 27-49.
- Vergou, P. (2019). Living with difference: Refugee education and school segregation processes in Greece. *Urban Studies, 56*(15), 3162–3177.
- Wagner, B., & McLaughlin, K. (2015). Politicising the psychology of social class: The relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus for psychological research. *Theory & Psychology, 25*(2), 202-221.
- Walkerdine, V. (2015). Transmitting class across generations. *Theory & Psychology, 25*(2), 167-183.
- Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and poststructuralism in dialogue. *Discourse & Society, 9*(3), 387-412.
- Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of Racism: Discourse and the legitimization of exploitation*. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Williams, W. R. (2019). Considering Carnegie's legacy in the time of Trump: A science and policy agenda for studying social class. *Journal of Social Issues, 75*(1), 356-382.
- Wooffitt, R. (1992). *Telling tales of the unexpected: The organization of factual accounts*. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.