

Inclusion of disabled immigrants/refugees in the Greek educational system: Views of primary school teachers

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Abstract

In recent decades, there has been a systematic academic research attempt to analyze issues related to disability. Although disabled people are an essential group of migrants and refugees, and international conventions protect their social inclusion, it is noticeable that migration studies have not dealt with persons with disabilities until recently. The corresponding disability studies do not study the group of migrant/refugee-disabled persons. This study aims to research the teachers' views of the N. Aegean region on including disabled migrants and refugees and the educational policies implemented. A semi-structured interview was the research tool used for this study. The participants in the study were twenty-three primary school teachers. The teachers in our research pointed out that the right of disabled migrants to be included in education is lost in the context of evaluation criteria, inadequate educational policies and the fear of individuals resisting the dominant discourse of ableism and hyper-socialised reality.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, there has been a systematic academic research attempt to analyze issues related to disability. The primary concern about disability has its roots in the social movements and lived experiences of disabled people. The significant growth of theory related to disability has moved alongside the disabled people's movement, campaigns for equality and inclusion in all social life activities and manifestations (Oliver, 2004). The concept of disability became associated with that of 'normality'. Whitehead (1992) notes that the term 'normality' conceptualization was linked to several post-war political and social developments, including the human and civil rights movements, the development of the welfare state, and the challenge to structural-functionalist theories associated with stereotyping and deviance. At the same time, Goffman (1961) describes the dehumanization and stigmatization of people with disabilities by defining the notion of normal and abnormal in the socialization process as having a critical role in interpreting them. In the World Health Organization's International Classification of Functioning Disability and Health (World Health Organization, 2016), disability and functioning or dysfunction are considered to be the results of the interaction between health conditions and environmental factors while being indicative of dysfunctions at one or more levels involving impairments, activity barriers, and participation limitations. Disability is rooted in a health condition (disorder or disease) which, in interaction with the environment, results in challenges in the functioning of the body in the physical and social environment and the social activity and participation of the individual. Environmental factors affect the life conditions of the individual. Environmental factors are understood as external environmental factors (physical, social, educational, cultural) that may involve human and physical changes in the environment, attitudes, values, and institutions prevailing in each society, as well as internal personal factors such as social and educational level, gender, occupation, etc. (World Health Organization, 2001).

Models of approaching disability in the contemporary era have a social orientation, in contrast to the medical model, which focuses on the 'disability' and deficits of the individual (Barnes & Sheldon, 2010). The 'medical'

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model has at its core the 'body' issue promoted by the naturalistic approach, which conceives the human body as a pre-social, purely biological entity (Goffman, 2001; Oliver, 1990). The stigmatization and denial accompanying the conceptualization of disability legitimize society's attitude even further. Disability is perceived as a biological pathology of the individual, and the individual is its victim. The medical model incorporates the 'deficiency' into 'disability' and the individual himself, excluding from the interpretive paradigm the social, economic, and cultural factors that construct social interactions and social representations of lived experience (UPIAS, 1976). The individual is marginalized from the social environment and approached far from social reality. The emergence of the social model attempts to eliminate the established notion of "blame" on deficiencies and body function and to define disability through social variables. According to the disabled people's movement (UPIAS, 1976), disability is "the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream social activities". In contemporary times, people with disabilities continue to be seen as deficient and most often suffer discrimination in education and society, which is significantly higher than any other social group (Longmore, 2003; Rimmerman, 2013).

1.1. Migration and disability

Migration is a diachronic and global phenomenon. By the end of 2013, approximately 51 million migrants had moved from their country of origin (UNHCR, 2014), of whom 15% were persons with severe and moderate disabilities (Crock et al., 2012). Burns (2019) reports that 10 million disabled migrants were recently moved. One in five experience physical, sensory, and intellectual disabilities, one in seven are chronically ill, and one in twenty suffers from injuries (Handicap International and HelpAge (2014). Article 19 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006) refers to that:

“States Parties to the present Convention recognize the equal right of all persons with disabilities to live in the community, with choices equal to others, and shall take effective and appropriate measures to facilitate full enjoyment by persons with disabilities of this right and their full inclusion and participation in the community.”

Moreover, article 9 also mentions: “States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure to persons with disabilities access, on an equal basis with others ... in schools”.

Although the disabled are an essential group of migrants and refugees, and international conventions protect their social inclusion, the host countries' statistics and research on the migrant and refugee populations do not show them as an existing group of people (Soldatic et al., 2015). It is noticeable that migration studies have not dealt with persons with disabilities until recently, and the corresponding disability studies do not study the group of migrant disabled persons (Pisani & Grech, 2015). Moreover, in the records of migrants and state agencies, migrant disabled persons are classified as vulnerable groups, and thus, there is a blurred picture of their number (Yeo, 2015). More problems are raised because there is confusion about the criteria for assessing disability (Elder, 2015; Soldatic et al., 2015). Assessment, in many cases, is done with translated manuals that lead to problems of language comprehension or cognitive perception due to disability problems, causing incorrect diagnoses and categorization of individuals (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2009). The UNHCR's (2011) Resettlement Handbook maintains that 'Refugees who are well-adjusted to their disability and are functioning at a satisfactory level are generally not to be considered for resettlement under'. The Resettlement Handbook medicalises the management of persons with disabilities. It segregates disabled persons according to their functionality in the new social environment while treating functionally disabled persons as non-disabled persons (Walton et al., 2020). Thus, there are variations between states in reception policies, with or without restrictive practices, resulting in variations in the conditions of inclusion of persons with disabilities in the host countries (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2019; Mirza, 2010; 2011a). At the same time, according to Crock et al. (2017), inadequate training, lack of teaching aids and assistive devices, inflexible curricula, and inaccessible buildings further exacerbate the problems of educational inclusion.

Persons with disabilities and immigrant or refugee backgrounds (PDMR) hold a dual identity, stigmatizing and shaping their social identity accordingly. This intersection of the two negatively constructed attributes shapes difficulties of conditions of social disembodiment, which emerge in the social and school practices of the host countries, regarding their identification, inclusion, and empowerment of their personal development (Bešić & Hochgatterer, 2020; Knauf, 2019). Hence, the international literature identifies structural and institutional barriers, bureaucratic obstacles, a class-based treatment favoring the robust and advantaged, and discrimination (El-Lahib & Wehbi, 2012; Mirza, 2011b; Walton et al., 2020). Characteristically, PDMR families or individuals do not declare

their disability due to fear of stigmatization or deportation, because they do not know or have not been informed, or because of cultural beliefs in their country of origin (Walton et al., 2020).

2. Theoretical framework

The conflict theory holds that the diversity of accessibility of groups, inherent in a social structure, to economic resources underpins the conflicts of interests between social groups. The inequalities in the distribution of economic activity and its colonial power establish the relations of domination and subordination in society. The unequal distribution of social control and domination-subordination ties form the basis of conflicts between social classes. According to Marx and Engels, the history of societies is the history of social class conflicts (Bottomore, 1983). The main social classes in Marx's theory are the capitalists and the laborers (proletariat). The former is those who own the means of production and exploit the labor-power of the proletariat to increase their capital through the surplus value of the produced commodities. The proletariat members possess the labor power and struggle to survive through it by selling it to the capitalists. Societies change because the struggle to acquire power can create new social groups to replace the older ones. The conflict resolution raises recent conflicts for dominating the means of production and power (Althusser, 1979; Marx, 2008). Under this perspective, neo-Marxist theories approach disabilities as forms of power signaling and, simultaneously, as a social struggle, control, domination, or negotiation field. The focus in the globalized society of neoliberal and competitive policies is on labor power and the individual's contribution to the development of society. The mode of production is becoming a decisive factor in determining the formation of social practices and phenomena in constructing social reality. In migration processes, the flow of economic capital establishes conditions of colonialism and exploitation of the developed countries in the non-developed countries of the periphery. Migrants constitute a global stock of cheap labor power and become a field of exploitation (Emke-Pouloupoulou, 2007). At the same time, neoliberal policies assume that bodies are healthy and will not compromise national social security systems (Mirza, 2011a). In the inclusion of PDMR, the focus is given to the labor shortage and the contribution of disabled persons to the development of society. In contrast, contemporary society's ableism patterns are inherent in all everyday life practices, and the environment is structured to cater to non-disabled people.

The choices of integration policies for PDMR are based on a rational assessment regarding the costs to national economies. At the same time, the responsibility for the protection and care of the disabled person is transferred to their families (El-Lahib & Wehbi, 2012). Stigmatization is consequential, and social norms limit the social prospects of the individual (Goffman, 1963). In addition, the persistence of the prevalence of the medical model in applied state policies on disability, despite institutional reforms, the public discourse of inclusion, and the pressures of the disability movement, legitimize even further the stigmatization and negative emotions that come with the conceptualization of disability. Social inequalities are often intensified and reinforce the exclusion or marginalization of disabled persons in many cases. Social inequalities cause families of low socio-economic levels, such as immigrants and refugees, to experience social exclusion compared to those with more economic resources. The lived exploitation of 'outcasts' transforms disability into a 'continuous business', as Apple (2001) states. Individuals depend on subsidized state policies or native philanthropy; their participation in decision-making about themselves and their lives is practically non-existent and encompassed in the standardized procedures of international organizations, which outline the limits of their rights and social inclusion.

2.1. Greek educational policy for PDMR

In the last twenty years in Greece, for the inclusion of people with special educational needs and disabilities, educational policies have been modified and shifted, at least in institutional and public discourse, to the social model. In Greece, laws 2817/2000 and 3699/2008 significantly improved addressing the issues of people with disabilities. These laws established the compulsory education of people with disabilities, putting society responsible for the socialization of these people.

According to Law 3699/2008, students with disabilities and special educational needs, in addition to other settings, can attend a mainstream school class if they have mild learning difficulties or a mainstream school class with parallel support-co-education by Special Needs Education teachers. For these learners, social support from significant others in the school environment and the creation of social networks play an essential role in their socio-cultural inclusion. Law 4318/2016 (Article 81, paragraph 6) defines the concept of inclusive education as a critical dynamic pillar for the concept of Special Education and Education and conceptualizes it as the promotion of equal opportunities for the inclusion and education of all students while, at the same time, stressing the importance, and simultaneously the necessity, of raising awareness of the student population in mainstream schools

on human rights and respect for diversity. Differentiating elements of inclusive education cases in Greece relate to the heterogeneous services for the various categories of persons with disabilities, but also their inclusion or not in the mainstream, depending on the "category" to which the person has been included (e.g. Law 3369/2008/Art.2, par.1,3), or the diagnosis made by specific educational institutions (e.g. Law 4186/2013/Art.28 par.15). The Greek Ombudsman for the present situation of special needs education notes that the problems identified are related to: the "serious understaffing, the late start and shrinking of the school year", the "inadequate educational support for students with disabilities and/or special educational needs attending mainstream schools (lack of appropriately adapted educational programmes and teaching materials, incomplete implementation of institutionalised special support measures, such as parallel support and attendance at inclusion classes", the " continued underfunding of SEN and insufficient resources allocated" (Greek Ombudsman, 2015).

In recent decades, Greek legislation on immigration has begun to be aligned with the broader framework of European policy. More specifically, Law 3386/2005 presents clear improvements compared to the previous laws, mainly Law 2910/2001, providing simplified procedures and decentralization at the level of services. According to Article 40 of Law 2910/2001: '1. Minors who are foreigners residing in the Greek territory are under the obligation of minimum school attendance, as are Greek citizens. The Ministry of Education and Culture adopted intercultural education with the new curricula of Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework Syllabus, whose main purpose is "to provide education to young people with educational, social, cultural or educational particularities" (Petraouki & Xanthakou, 2003). Law 3386/2005 in Article 59 defines "the rights of family members of third-country nationals". Specifically, it refers to the right of access to education. In 2010, Law 3879 established Educational Priority Zones (ZEP). Article 26 of this law determined that the ZEPs will operate in primary and secondary schools and, in particular: "...in areas with a low education performance, high school drop-out rate and low access to higher education, as well as low socio-economic indicators, such as a low well-being and development rate and a high risk-of-poverty rate. The aim of the ZEPs is the equal inclusion of all students in the education system through the operation of supportive actions to improve learning performance, such as the operation of reception classes, remedial classes, summer classes, and classes teaching the mother tongue of the student's country of origin...". Due to the massive influx of migrants, especially refugees, after 2015, the Greek state enacted more detailed legislation on establishing structures to deal with this enormous wave of migration and defined intercultural education. An essential action was the introduction of the Reception School Facilities for Refugee Education (DYEP). These structures are designed to provide participatory and practical teaching to students from vulnerable groups so that they can be functionally included in the Greek educational system. The DYEP ZEPs aim to provide academic support to refugee students in acquiring Greek as a second foreign language. By Law 4547/2018, articles 71-82 define the categories of refugee pupils who are provided with education, the forms of education, the way of registration and attendance at the DYEP ZEPs, their operation, and their responsibilities (Androulakis et al., 2018).

According to Law 4375/2016, PDMRs, after they arrive in Greece, are transferred to the Reception and Identification Centres to proceed with the identification process, according to article 20 of Law 4540/2018, where their "vulnerability" is assessed. PDMRs are included in the general category of vulnerable persons. Law 4540/2018 in article 14 (par.8) states that:

“As vulnerable groups shall be considered for this law: a) Unaccompanied minors, b) Persons who have a disability or suffering from an incurable or serious illness, c) The elderly, d) Women in pregnancy or having recently given birth, e) Single parents with minor children, f) Victims of torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence or exploitation, persons with a post-traumatic disorder, in particularly survivors and relatives of victims of ship-wrecks, g) Victims of trafficking in human beings.”

There are severe delays in assessing vulnerability, unclear assessment criteria, lack of information for disabled migrants, problems in accessibility to services, inadequate legal support, inadequately trained staff, and inadequate living conditions (National Confederation of Disabled People of Greece, 2019a). These procedures result in many people remaining unidentified and deprived of essential rights. In addition, those identified due to lengthy procedures face similar challenges (National Confederation of Disabled People of Greece, 2019b). Also, the risk for social exclusion is extensive in North Aegean, our research area, and the country's central region as the gateway for most migrants (Provi, 2022).

The Greek educational system is characterized by a uniform and centrally coordinated bureaucratic system, where the curricula, despite the innovative reformist concept of diversity in the Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework Syllabus, emphasize a monocultural approach in all academic subjects since there is an absence of recognition of the necessity of teaching other mother tongues. At the same time, the cultural elements of immigrants or

'others' are underestimated since the school texts are insufficient to highlight them. Educational policy is therefore shifting towards a monolingual and monocultural approach whereby the various cultures are silenced, marginalized, and eventually overlooked during the learning process. Students whose cultural capital differs from that of the Greek educational system are often excluded from accessing essential parts of the educational capital since the only way out is to internalize the dominant cultural elements of the Greek school (Giavrimis & Dimitriadou, 2023, p. 74; Kessidou, 2008).

2.2. Purpose of study

The purpose of this research is to study the views of the teachers of the N. Aegean region on including disabled migrants and refugees in Greek education and the educational policies implemented. The research questions concerned the teachers' views: (a) on the right to education of disabled students with an immigrant/refugee background; (b) on the functions of inclusion of disabled students with an immigrant/refugee background; (c) on the peers' attitudes towards the inclusion of disabled students with an immigrant/refugee background; (d) on the characteristics of the Greek educational policy regarding inclusion of students with an immigrant background; and (b) on the teachers' recommendations regarding the inclusion of disabled students with an immigrant/refugee background.

3. Method

In the present research, the qualitative method was used, which approaches social reality and its interpretation through the actors' meaning-making. Everyday practices, social subjects' interactions, and phenomena are constructed and analyzed through symbolic perception and the understanding that social actors attribute to them (Iosifidis, 2017). The actors' lived experiences are crystallized as a "common" mind, and social phenomena acquire an intersubjective entity (Schnell et al., 2014).

3.1. Participants

The participants in the study were twenty-three (23) primary school teachers. Participants were selected using non-probability sampling based on the criteria of gender, years of experience, region of work, and teaching qualification. Fourteen (14) participants were female, while nine (9) were male. Regarding years of experience, three had between 1 and 5 years of experience, eight between 6-15, 6 between 16-25, and 6 more than 26 years of experience. Sixteen were mainstream education teachers, 3 were special needs education teachers, two worked in ZEP classes, and two worked in parallel support. In addition, 16 individuals worked in schools in urban areas and 7 in rural or semi-urban areas.

3.2. Research tool

A semi-structured interview was the research tool used for this study. Interviewing through respondents' discourse lets the researcher record the social actors' lived experiences regarding social phenomena and their interpretive schemas (Schnell et al., 2014). At the same time, the semi-structured interview offers flexibility and provides more freedom to ask questions to deeply explore the teachers' views (Iosifidis, 2017). The interview guide was based on the literature and theories on the issues of migration, disability, and intercultural education. The interview guide questions were included in three thematic axes: a) teachers' knowledge about migration and disability. The first thematic section had questions on conceptual approaches to migration, migrant-refugee, intercultural education, and disability, and b) educational policy on migration and disability. The second thematic section dealt with teachers' views on educational policy in Greece regarding migration and disability. Issues related to institutional documents, logistical infrastructure, curricula, and teacher inclusion training are analyzed here, and c) attitudes towards including disabled immigrants/refugees in the Greek educational system. The third section deals with the attitudes of teachers and other educational community members towards including immigrant/refugee-disabled people in the Greek educational system.

3.3. Procedure for data collection and analysis

The interviews were conducted from May 2022 to October 2022. The interviews lasted between 35 and 55 minutes. Participants were informed about the ethical issues to be respected during the discussions (e.g., anonymity, confidentiality). All participants signed a consent form. After the audio recording, the interview was transcribed into text, and then the data was coded and categorized into conceptual categories (Mukherji & Albon, 2014). The resulting categories, subcategories, and themes formed the final interpretation of the phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

4. Findings

4.1. *The right to education*

Participants referred to the need to include disabled migrant-refugee children in the school environment. They mentioned education as a right, although they stressed the inherent challenges. Also, one teacher stated that they should not be irregular migrants to be included.

S11: "That is exactly right because we all have the right to education! It is one of the most important human rights. I do not find anything crazy and tragic in that it means that these children should be educated. They are going to come here, and what will they do?"

S4. "But it is hard to do. I am not negative, but it is impossible to integrate such children who have such experiences and come from completely different countries with different cultures and cultures. You would need to do much work."

S15. "... is my opinion, what I mentioned to you, that they should, first of all, be integrated into a special needs school...."

S3. "As long as they are in the country legally, they have every right to participate in the school system. "

4.2. *Functions of inclusive education*

Participants highlighted the features and benefits of inclusive education, such as accessibility to social processes, starting a new beginning in life, student engagement, skills development and socialisation. The necessity of education is demonstrated by the objectives it achieves. More specifically, school inclusion will remove educational and social exclusion by enabling children to take active roles and actions within the school and society. At the same time, enhancing children's cognitive levels and skills will contribute to fully developing their personalities. Finally, the school environment acts as a protection against possible delinquent acts.

S4. "E..... Very important, you engage the child in a process ... to become more functional to see that their life makes sense ... to step on a step and say you belong here! ..."

S17. "Building skills or focusing on some other goals, on some other things, on some other actions."

S1. " ... they will socialise by getting to know other children ... they will know what they can do in the future."

4.3. *Peer attitudes*

Regarding the attitudes of native students, parents and the school environment have an essential role in providing information and preparation. As Bourdieu (1986) states, the attitude towards events derives mainly from the family and determines the social image of each individual. It encompasses the knowledge of the rules of the educational system, as well as the habitus of parents who transmit it to their children through dialogue and daily activities. Children are influenced by their family environment to a considerable degree. Children enter the school environment as agents of the views of the milieu with which they interact daily. The school can significantly assist in accepting the inclusion of children from migrant backgrounds.

S3: No, I do not think they would have a problem...

S4. "I think the children are more innocent and relaxed. Unless a child is brainwashed by their family environment."

S9. No, I do not think there will be a problem if there is parallel support

S11. "I do not think they will have a problem ... ah ... nor are the children... uh, it is the parents of the children who create the problem; this problem is created from home, and it is carried over to the child at school...."

S12. "No matter how difficult the children's world is, it is more flexible and fluid."

4.4. *Implementation of the inclusion policy*

Firstly, an important dimension that can be identified in including migrant refugees with disabilities in education through the participants' discourse concerns the matters related to developing appropriate facilities, bilingual education and the teacher's training to deal with such cases. The educational facilities for the inclusion of migrant refugees with disabilities are not sufficient to meet their needs, nor the needs of the native population, which makes

it difficult for them to be included. The country's economic condition makes it difficult to provide the necessary resources.

S4. "There are no appropriate structures initially that can provide them with the appropriate support in a psychosocial context...There is no appropriate equipment here ... Now we are trying to set up."

S10. "According to Greek legislation, all public facilities must be suitable to support these vulnerable groups. Unfortunately, however, few can... "

S19. "At the same time, learning Greek is a prerequisite for effective integration. "

Furthermore, the participating teachers pointed out the necessity of learning the Greek language. They considered it as a prerequisite for their inclusion. They believe that bilingualism creates challenges in the instructional process and the adaptation of students. Similar findings are observed for teachers' views on including migrants and refugees generally (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Mitits, 2018).

S2. "I think the first thing would be learning Greek. That is, although children can find a way of communicating in the game, uh, to continue in education ..."

S5. "... you cannot directly take a child and put him in a Greek school when he does not know the language; he does not know the culture; he does not know the basics of a country... "

In addition, there is a lack of qualified staff in disability and migration. Educational staff are inadequate and unqualified for such cases. This has been reported in Greek and international studies, demonstrating that educational systems are unable or not focused on the equitable inclusion of disabled migrants and refugees (Papapostolou et al., 2020; Cummins, 2021).

S4. "No, we do not! Now, we are trying to build. Because we are now starting to put in qualified staff to deal with them, this is unprecedented, and in practice, we will see how it will develop... "

S3. "Well, as I said above, I do not think there are enough qualified staff for such procedures. "

It should be pointed out here that teachers do not have a formed attitude towards including children of migrant refugees with disabilities in education. On the one hand, there is the right of the children to be included in education and to benefit from it regardless of which country they are in, and on the other hand, they are not confident that they can accept and manage the situation.

4.5. Recommendations

Through the participants' discourse, it is revealed that a state policy is established based on implementing inclusion classes that will include people with disabilities and immigrant or refugee backgrounds. At the same time, information and preparation of children is a crucial component for inclusion, and, finally, it would be sufficient to establish a national policy specialising in children with disabilities.

S1. "We should create something more suitable for them, i.e. special needs classes that would be more suited to them, as they have different morals and customs."

S4. "There should be a first reception section, a preparatory stage, a stage of preparing the child for what Greece is like, what the habits of the people are..."

S11. "...the municipality and local authorities would need to make extra expenses to make this happen, such as handicap bars and special toilets for them."

S3. "E by providing the appropriate infrastructure to help these children and the educators who would take over their education, proper toilets.

5. Discussion

The purpose of the present research is to study the views of the teachers of the N. Aegean region on including PDMR and the implemented educational policies. The participants: (a) referred to the inalienable right of all to access educational resources; (b) considered that education will help the social inclusion of people in the new environment, giving them the opportunity for a new beginning in life while skills development will support PDMR in the active role they should have and the action they should take in the school context and subsequently in society; c) stressed that inclusion in education will remove social exclusion and improve the acceptance of PDMR

by members of the educational community. Native students, parents and some teachers with negative attitudes towards their inclusion or their conditional inclusion, as voiced by our research participants, through the process of education and contact and information/training that can be provided to them will improve positive attitudes and enhance social cohesion; d) I highlighted the shortcomings of educational policy for the inclusion of PDMR. There are shortcomings with the development of appropriate facilities, bilingual education and the qualification of the teacher to deal with such cases; and e) stressed that the establishment of a state policy based on the formation of inclusive classes to include PDMR, the information and preparation of such children and the qualification of the state policy are among the essential points to be considered.

In the post-modern era, the domination and control in the globalized environment and the determination of economic activity, but also the values, the ideology of the social system and the hierarchical structure of classes in society (Schuerkens, 2010; Zajda et al., 2008), shape both the context of migration flows and the conceptualization of disability, but also the treatment of migrants and disabled people by the host countries (Pisani & Grech, 2015). Institutions and practices such as education, religion, economic life, values, beliefs and politics are part of the superstructure and are influenced by neoliberal and capitalist policies (Bottomore, 1983; Giroux, 1983). Power and financial strength relations are emerging as determinants in shaping the social practices and phenomena of inclusion of PDMR (Barnes & Sheldon, 2010; Burns, 2017; 2019). The teachers in our research acknowledge that everyone has a right to education, but this remains at a superficial level. The structural weaknesses of the education system are that it fails to recognise the needs of disabled migrants, treats them in silence most of the time, does not try to invest in education for all, and transfers the responsibility to them and their families. Education policies operate in the context of restrictive economic policies, fearing the burden on education, social security and health systems (El-Lahib & Wehbi, 2012; Mirza, 2011a;b; Pisani & Grech, 2015). Thus, infrastructural weaknesses, shortcomings in training educational staff and linguistic barriers are presented as insurmountable challenges, concealing issues inherent in the system's ideology, where labour efficiency, human capital development, competitiveness and minimum cost of social expenditure and the profitability of market practices dominate (Crock et al., 2017; National Confederation of Disabled People of Greece, 2019a;b). Individuals are valued when they can participate productively in economic development. Factors such as health, time, money, and skills of cooperation with others influence the degree of ability (Ajzen, 1985). Migrant disabled people are excluded from work and social life because of their low workability.

The medical-biological approach to disability is reflected in the assessment criteria for PDMR (Elder, 2015; Soldatic et al., 2015). At the same time, the objectification of inclusion procedures, which does not consider this group's specific characteristics, is dominated by the culture of ableism. Individuals are classified into normative categories that serve class differentiation or the reproduction of social inequalities. Under the standardization of procedures, the oppressive milieu in the host country reproduces the over-socialized image of disability and migration.

Educators are alienated through this process. They cannot reaffirm their social identity and become associated with the educational process required for these individuals. They recognize the importance of the right to education, but the operation of educational policy and its ideological orientation does not allow them to take on the responsibility of inclusion. They referred to difficulties and limiting factors, transferring responsibility beyond them. Teachers are alienated because they do not determine their educational practices (teaching models, curricula, syllabuses, syllabi, etc.). Education is dominated by the ideological-political approaches that exist in the milieu and shape both the knowledge object and the educational practices and methodological approaches. The ideological-political approaches are dominated by the hegemonic discourse of the non-disabled who, through persuasion or fear, secure the consensus of teachers, thereby maintaining and reproducing the social demands of an unequal society (Althusser, 1979). The dominant ideology is embedded in the educational mechanisms that operate and represent social reality through the filter of specific ideological and political approaches. Educational policies (at national and international levels), which emerge in the context of postmodern political-social and romantic developments, shape the role of educators (Althusser, 1979; Gravaris & Papadakis, 2005) and mediate the subjectivity of teachers and their self-perception (Whitty, 2007).

5.1. The theoretical and practical implications

In conclusion, there is a contradiction between the democratic nature of the education system, as expressed in public discourse, and the policies implemented as part of the alienated lives of PDMR. The teachers in our research pointed out that the right of disabled migrants to be included in education is lost in the context of evaluation criteria, inadequate educational policies and the fear of individuals resisting the dominant discourse of ableism

and hyper-socialised reality. It is, therefore, necessary to have an education policy based on social justice in which the education system will treat its members so that their accessibility to the resources provided is without difficulty and without 'filters' of rejection and marginalisation. The theoretical and practical implications of the above findings highlight the necessity of a) an educational policy that deconstructs dominant norms (ableism, cultural) and values equal accessibility opportunities and the elimination of educational exclusions; b) national studies to map the challenges of groups "hidden" behind general categorisations (e.g. vulnerable groups); c) better and more effective education and training of teachers; and d) policymakers to design implementable intercultural policies and educational leaders to design curricula and educational materials that recognise the diversity of the student population (Byram et al., 2023). It is necessary to reintroduce the debate to educational policy, highlighting the power relations and conflicts of interest inherent in it, to transform policies for disabled people and teachers. An educational policy that considers the cultural elements and experiences that individuals (teachers and students) bring with them and provides them with adequate and effective resources (Macionis, 2007). Finally, an inclusive and democratic education must be grounded in principles related to social justice, solidarity and the deconstruction of hegemonic social norms (Giavrimis, 2022).

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Ethics committee approval

All responsibility belongs to the researchers. All parties were involved in the research of their own free will. The author declares that ethics committee approval is not required for such studies in her/his country.