

**Greeks in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway: A
comparative study in acculturation and language orientations.**

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Abstract

Day by day, our society becomes more and more culturally diverse. Immigration is a great contributor to this procedure. Throughout history, Greeks were immigrating around the world in search of better living conditions. Germany and the UK have always been common destinations for them. In the last decades though, Norway is getting more and more popular among the Greek immigrants. In this thesis, answers will be given to questions such as what acculturation orientations (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) are observed among Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway? What are the Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway main language orientations? Do they maintain their mother language, or is language shift detected? Although immigration policy in Greece is indeed a common research field, to date, there is no relative comparative study for all these countries. This necessity is reflected in the continuous flow of both educated and skilled immigrants to Germany, the UK and Norway in search of a better future. Consequently, this research attempts to contribute to the poorly existing knowledge base within a Greek context and demonstrate the current situation, through the empirical data that will emerge from contact with Greek immigrants living in the target areas. Due to the nature of this thesis, the researcher chose the unstructured interview approach as his research method, in order to obtain some useful qualitative data from the respondents. The results indicated that the immigrants had a different approach towards acculturation and language orientations from country to country. There are both positive and negative attitudes towards the culture of the host or home country, while attitudes towards the maintenance or not of the mother language also vary. The study concludes with some practical implications and recommendations for further research.

Περίληψη

Μέρα με τη μέρα, η κοινωνία μας γίνεται όλο και πιο πολιτισμικά ποικιλόμορφη. Η μετανάστευση συμβάλλει σημαντικά σε αυτή τη διαδικασία. Σε όλη τη διάρκεια της ιστορίας, οι Έλληνες μετανάστευαν σε όλο τον κόσμο αναζητώντας καλύτερες συνθήκες διαβίωσης. Η Γερμανία και το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο αποτελούσαν πάντα συνήθεις προορισμούς γι' αυτούς. Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες όμως, η Νορβηγία γίνεται όλο και πιο δημοφιλής μεταξύ των Ελλήνων μεταναστών. Στην παρούσα διατριβή θα δοθούν απαντήσεις σε ερωτήματα όπως: ποιο μοντέλο επιπολιτισμού (ενσωμάτωση, αφομοίωση, διαχωρισμός, περιθωριοποίηση) εντοπίζεται μεταξύ των Ελλήνων μεταναστών που ζουν στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, τη Γερμανία και τη Νορβηγία; Ποιοι είναι οι κυριότεροι γλωσσικοί προσανατολισμοί τους; Διατηρούν οι Έλληνες μετανάστες που ζουν στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, τη Γερμανία και τη Νορβηγία τη μητρική τους γλώσσα ή διαπιστώνεται γλωσσική μετατόπιση; Αν και η μεταναστευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα αποτελεί πράγματι ένα κοινό πεδίο έρευνας, μέχρι σήμερα δεν υπάρχει σχετική συγκριτική μελέτη για όλες αυτές τις χώρες. Η ανάγκη αυτή αντανακλάται στη συνεχή ροή επιστημονικού και μη προσωπικού προς τη Γερμανία, το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και τη Νορβηγία σε αναζήτηση ενός καλύτερου μέλλοντος. Κατά συνέπεια, η παρούσα έρευνα θα επιχειρήσει να συνεισφέρει στην ελλιπή υπάρχουσα βάση γνώσεων στην Ελλάδα και να αναδείξει την υφιστάμενη κατάσταση, μέσα από τα εμπειρικά δεδομένα που θα προκύψουν από την επαφή με τους Έλληνες μετανάστες που ζουν στις περιοχές αυτές. Λόγω της φύσης της παρούσας διατριβής, ο ερευνητής επέλεξε την προσέγγιση της μη δομημένης συνέντευξης ως ερευνητική μέθοδο, προκειμένου να λάβει κάποια χρήσιμα ποιοτικά δεδομένα από τους ερωτηθέντες. Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν ότι οι μετανάστες είχαν διαφορετική στάση ως προς τον επιπολιτισμό, καθώς και τους γλωσσικούς προσανατολισμούς τους από χώρα σε χώρα. Παρατηρούνται τόσο θετικές όσο και αρνητικές στάσεις απέναντι στον πολιτισμό της χώρας υποδοχής ή της χώρας καταγωγής, ενώ οι στάσεις απέναντι στη διατήρηση ή μη της μητρικής γλώσσας ποικίλλουν εξίσου. Η μελέτη ολοκληρώνεται με κάποιες πρακτικές συνέπειες και συστάσεις για περαιτέρω έρευνα.

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1.Introduction

Setting the Scene

Globalization and scientific research progress created new standards in global society. Society became more culturally diverse. Most people on earth have access to advanced technologies in their daily life. Therefore, immigration has become more commonplace than in earlier eras and, as a result, more and more people have had contact with immigrants.

The need to create new jobs and the need to fill these jobs with qualified staff is leading to a new reality. We live in an era where new inventions occur frequently and may cause changes in the way everyone lives. The most important change that can be brought about is the creation of new jobs. In a country like Greece, jobs in the labor market are limited and the lack of opportunities to work in what they have studied, leads young people to think about immigrating to a new country. Whether they find a job in their field of study or not.

Then there are, of course, cases of people of all ages, who are fit to work, who choose a new country in search of better working conditions. Such cases have reappeared in recent decades, after a long pause, due to the financial crisis, or the uncertainty caused by the pandemic of COVID-19. Besides, Greeks have been immigrating around the world in search of better living conditions since antiquity.

Germany and the UK have always been common destinations for them. In the last decades though, Norway is becoming increasingly popular among the Greek immigrants. Immigration to these countries is a common phenomenon, as they are countries that are constantly evolving and which offer the opportunity to develop individual professional skills.

However, in terms of studying acculturation and/or language orientations of the immigrants, the body of literature is limited. Since no specific studies to present have been found in the literature to be addressing acculturation models or language orientations among the Greek immigrants in the aforementioned countries, this study is a preliminary attempt to start contributing to a poorly existing knowledge base and

creating new horizons in the relative research field. This attempt will be achieved by conducting qualitative research using unstructured interviews with research participants.

In fact, this paper first states the research questions and the basic hypothesis that will be addressed herein, followed by a literature review, which aims to contribute to the existing literature base. Furthermore, the proposed methodology and research design of this study is introduced, followed by presentation, analysis and discussion of the results, along with the implications that occurred.

Research Questions and Hypothesis

The main aim of the research questions is, on the one hand, to deal with a very specific issue that the researcher is quite interested in and, on the other hand, to submit his personal research effort to the existing knowledge base. Through the answers given to these research questions, every concerned reader will have the opportunity to be informed about the current situation regarding the acculturation and language orientations of Greek research participants in Norway, the United Kingdom and Germany, while useful conclusions will be drawn from the comparison of the findings.

This thesis attempts to capture the aforementioned realities in the life of Greek research participants in these three areas and seeks to provide some answers to the following research questions:

1. What acculturation orientations (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) are observed among Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway?
2. What are the Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway main language orientations? Do they maintain their mother language, or is language shift detected?

The first question seeks answers to contemporary concerns related to the extent of assimilation or cultural integration of Greeks who immigrate to the target countries,

while the second one attempts to provide answers to such contemporary and important questions, such as the language maintenance or language shift of the immigrants' mother language.

The questions raised are the outcome of the main hypothesis that governs this thesis. The leading hypothesis, therefore, is that Greeks who immigrate to these three regions, value positively both the heritage and the new culture (integration), while avoiding the shift of their mother language (language maintenance), at least at the household level of everyday speech.

This hypothesis is based on two factors. Firstly, the researcher firmly believes that the Greek immigrants value their mother language highly, as it is not widely spoken and therefore, mastering it provides them and their descendants with a very important asset in the job market. This is the case in situations where multilingualism or knowledge of a language that is not widely spoken is required, such as in translation companies. Also, the Greek language is a respected language in the collective minds of speakers worldwide, as it carries a long history and therefore it is unlikely that anyone will be so uninterested as to lose it. Secondly, the researcher also believes that Greeks who immigrate abroad, especially in the reporting countries of this research, tend to accept elements of the host culture. However, he also believes that they may find it hard to separate themselves from their own culture, especially if they have decided to immigrate at a more mature stage, due to the strong bonds that Greeks usually build with their homeland.

Significance of the Problem/Justification for the research

As mentioned above, the main purpose of this research is to contribute to the poorly existing knowledge base within a Greek context and demonstrate the current situation in the target areas. Thus, there is a shortage in contemporary comparative research and the researcher was interested to seek more information about acculturation and language orientations. As a Greek, who grew up with the reality of immigration constantly in his everyday life, watching his peers from an early age choosing to immigrate abroad, the researcher was always intrigued to seek out aspects of this reality. In fact, the countries that were usually popular destinations for them to

immigrate were England and Germany. Recently, Norway has been added to this list. For the purposes of this research, the researcher will attempt to describe the reality experienced by those who immigrate to these areas, but he will limit the research to acculturation and language orientations. It is worth mentioning that for the purposes of the research, he himself traveled to both England and Norway, in order to understand more directly what people think and to draw even more empirical conclusions for the research. The findings will be used to draw some useful conclusions, as well as to compare them to each other.

Methodology-Research Design

Due to the nature of this thesis, the researcher will be choosing the unstructured interview approach as his research method. The interview is one of the most well-known methods of collecting data, where the researcher provides the interviewer with a series of questions to which the later is asked to answer (Τσιώλης, 2014). Unstructured interviews belong to the qualitative research approaches and will provide this research with open-ended questions, that will allow the respondent into some useful creativity while answering. Maybe in this way, it will be easier to approach the main target group of participants -ordinary people- as their own experience will provide this research with a unique insight.

Definitions

The definitions that govern the main points of this thesis are not in consistent use by the researchers. As a result of this, the main terms will be clarified below, and a more detailed presentation of different aspects of the terms will be provided in the next chapter, to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the research:

1. Immigration: according to Britannica, immigration is defined as the “process through which individuals become permanent residents or citizens of another country” (Parry, 2021).
2. Acculturation: refers to the changes that cultural groups undergo after being in contact over a period of time (Liu, Gallois, & Volčič, 2018: 210). Acculturation is often marked by physical and psychological changes that occur as a result of the adaptation required to function in a new and different cultural context (Liu, Gallois, & Volčič, 2018: 210). In the next chapter, a

detailed presentation regarding the most widely applied model of acculturation by Berry will be provided, including the terms integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Liu, Gallois, & Volčič, 2018: 210).

3. Language maintenance: in general, language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 129).
4. Language shift: language shift is the opposite of language maintenance, as it denotes the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication within a community (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 129).

Delimitations of Scope of the Study and Key Assumptions

It is important to set certain limitations that define the scope and range of this research. Moreover, all the outcomes produced by this research concern the reality as it is perceived only through the eyes of the subjects who participated, i.e. the interviewees. The interviewees live in specific environments with a certain everyday life. Any generalizations should be avoided. However, the fact that this research focuses on illustrating the research questions through the lives of a restricted number of participants, should not undermine its findings or be considered weak in terms of its validity. Instead, it should be treated as a testimony of personal experiences by people who live daily experiences where they "challenge" their cultural identity and their linguistic reality. Thus, the findings of this research, provide a rich understanding of one aspect of an immigrant's life and carry the unique value of a personal and direct experience.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter presented the principles of the thesis. Moreover, the research questions and the hypothesis of the author were set. Then, the reason why this research is done in the first place is presented and a brief description of the research design was provided. The basic terms were also briefly discussed and, finally, the delimitations of scope of this study were explained. At this point, the thesis can proceed into a more detailed analysis of the research.

2. Literature Review

Introduction

At this point, a review of the literature on the topic of this thesis will be conducted. First of all, emphasis will be given on the processes of immigrant adaptation and detailed reference will be made to the most widely accepted model of acculturation developed by Berry. This will explain integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization that were mentioned nominally in the previous chapter. A brief report will be made on the modern situation regarding immigration in the targeted countries. Thereafter, due to the lack of relevant research on the reporting countries, indicative examples of immigration cases of Greeks around the world will be given, in order to form a broader perspective. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the linguistic reality related to the attitude towards the native language of immigrants. Thus, language maintenance and language death are the two main language concepts that will be analyzed in this chapter.

Immigrant adaptation - Immigration in the reference countries

Immigration is usually the last resort for a person who does not feel that he or she can live in their own country, or that the world around them is not suitable for them. Mobility can bring opportunities for personal growth and financial stability. The aforementioned reasons along with studies are the main reasons that the immigration process takes place (Why Do People Migrate? - Migration Trends - GCSE Geography Revision, 2021). However, the adaptation in a new environment is not always that easy. Some people can adapt to a new environment immediately, but some do not. Every single immigrant has his or her own acculturation process. Based on their individual personalities, they continuously try to figure out the most suitable way in order to settle in the new environment (Kosic, 2006). A microsystem is a complex of interrelations within the immediate setting of the immigrant (Bronfenbrenner, 2006). In this particular microsystem, every single personality can create new horizons in the way of understanding the world around it, but can also raise barriers when it comes to overcoming its own customs.

It is worthy to mention two studies derived from Titzmann P. & Fuligni A. (2015: 408-409), that can capture reality in a brilliant way. Both of these studies embrace the microsystem theory that was mentioned in the previous paragraph, considering it a basic factor in immigrants' adaptation in a new environment. The first study refers to cultural socialization regarding families with adoptees from transracial environments. This study focused on strategies that foster parents use in order to strengthen the ethnic identity and self-esteem of adopted children. The outcome of this research indicated that transracial adoptive children profit from parents' encouragement to learn more about their heritage culture, because it can boost their ethnic identity affirmation, which may in turn be able to improve children's self-esteem as well, but only when they also develop a high level of national identity (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015: 408-409).

The second study, underlines the way that the immigrants perceive the attitudes of the native population against them and the level of the impact that these attitudes of the majority impact their adaptation process. This study states that such perceptions may be formed through peer contacts in school or work (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015: 408-409) and, hence, the results may represent the peer microsystem. On the one hand, this study shows that the immigrants that participated tend to fulfill what the majority expected from them. In the relevant literature, this is widely known as the self-fulfilling prophecy. According to Britannica, self-fulfilling prophecy is a "process through which an originally false expectation leads to its own confirmation. In a self-fulfilling prophecy an individual's expectations about another person or entity eventually result in the other person or entity acting in ways that confirm the expectations" (Jussim, 2016). Moreover, immigrants seemingly confirmed what the majority expected from them and adjusted their attitudes towards those expectations (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015: 408-409). On the other hand, this study presented the opposite result. A significant differentiation of the link that the individual immigrant had between acculturation orientation and the intergroup relations from the perception of the majority's expectations (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015: 408-409). These two studies show the perception that most people of the host country have about the immigrants, affects the way the immigrant interacts in society, and, of course, the process of

adaptation of the immigrant. In addition to this conclusion, the explanation offered by the aforementioned research on the effect that the interaction between immigrants and the host environment has, may explain the mixed findings, which could have been the result of the exposure of immigrants to different (perceived) attitudes of the majority of the host country (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015: 408-409).

Norway

Norway is a country where humanitarian policies rise and grow. Norway has been considered a liberal and fair society, as evidenced by the development of a strong welfare state and by the fact that it became the Scandinavian leader in world peacemaking and humanitarian aid (Moore, 2010: 355–364).

However, the country had not always adopted humanitarian policies regarding immigration. As Moore underlines (Moore, 2010: 355-356), Norway (along with Denmark) has also faced xenophobia and the rise of a far-right party combined with a similar increase in immigration. Fremskrittspartiet, a far-right and anti-immigrant political party, is still really popular among the Norwegians. At present, it is the second largest party in the Norwegian Parliament, but both the left and right parties of the Parliament resist its dominance and deny any association with them; whether it is to join them in promoting politics or in forming government (Moore, 2010: 355). A typical example of this kind of behavior comes from 1999, when then-Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik of the right-wing Christian Democratic Party (Norwegian: Kristelig Folkeparti) was asked if he would allow the Fremskrittsparti to influence immigration policy in order to remain in power and his response was “As a country with a Christian and humanist cultural heritage, we have to take part of the responsibility for these people, without transferring this into an internal political game for the national budget” (Moore, 2010: 355 - 356).

This level of acceptance of different culture that Norway has achieved comes as an outcome of a series of historical events. Moore states that Norway spent hundreds of years under the political control of either Denmark or Sweden and subsequently endured a German occupation as well (Moore, 2010: 360–361). Moore believes that those far-right policies pursued by the conquerors, have created a better understanding of the world for Norwegians. They have experienced what it is like to be powerless

and to lack prominence in the international community and therefore, they assumed the task of being a world leader in human rights and a mediator for peace (Moore, 2010: 361-364). This historical experience has helped Norway to avoid racist policies and embrace the different cultures. Norway presents legal protections for immigrants by outlawing discrimination based on race, religion, and ethnicity and actively promotes human rights in all forms both at home and abroad (Moore, 2010: 363).

Eastern and Central European (EU11 post-communist countries) labor immigrants traveled to Norway's rural regions following the EU enlargements in 2004, 2007 and 2013. This includes migrants from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia (2004 accession countries), Romania and Bulgaria (2007), and Croatia (2013) (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 128). These citizens have full access to the Norwegian labor market and only need to register their presence to obtain a work permit, while, since 1989, immigrants had to record their “main motivation” through the EEA-registration scheme (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 128). Categorization is often subjective, but in general, “labor immigrants” are those arriving for the explicit purpose of obtaining work, while “family immigrants” are those who declare a family relationship with an already established family member in Norway and are equally entitled to work in the country, as they often do (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 128). It is worth mentioning that these two categories are the largest part of EU11 immigrants in rural Norway, as 58.8% is registered as “labor immigrants” and 21.9% as “family immigrants” (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 128). The EU11 immigrant population in Norway tripled between 2000 and 2015, but these labor immigrants are distributed very unevenly across Norwegian rural space, as in other nations (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 130). In 2020, international immigrants are found everywhere in Norwegian society and labor immigrants are found where the most labor-intensive rural industries dominate – industry, agriculture, and hospitality sectors (Rye & Slettebak, 2020: 130). It is a matter of local efforts to bring people of different backgrounds together and contribute to the regeneration of a place in order to keep it attractive. A place able to offer opportunities for a better future, for the individual and the family, regardless of background, is a potentially attractive multicultural place to live in (Søholt, 2020).

Germany

Regarding immigration in Germany, an interesting study is presented by Diehl and Schnell. Diehl C. and Schnell R. (2006: 786–816) assume that labor immigrants in Germany turn away from integration and reaffirm their ethnicity. The data used was from the German Socio-economic Panel and presented the existing situation in the past fifteen years from the research date. Results are presented separately for first and second generation immigrants from Turkey, the EU, and the former Yugoslavia (Diehl&Schnell, 2006: 786–788). In their research, they state that, while not all assimilation-related indicators change a great deal over time, there is at least a substantial difference between the first and the second generation immigrants, while, in terms of indicators related to home, the results of the research do not, in any way, suggest that Turkish immigrants try to compensate for their comparative social disadvantage by reviving ethnic cultural habits or home-oriented identifications. (Diehl & Schnell, 2006: 787–791). Furthermore, the findings are less clear when it comes to other dimensions of immigrant adaptation, such as their social, cognitive, and identificational assimilation (Diehl & Schnell, 2006: 789). According to Diehl and Schnell, literature suggests that there is convincing evidence that Turks are less socially accepted, have less contact with Germans, and do not speak German as well as other ethnic groups (Diehl & Schnell, 2006: 789-790). The authors also state that the process of integration of these populations was interrupted in the early 90s in terms of cultural, identity, social and educational assimilation, as the labor immigrants' intentions to return to their home countries increased, language skills remained stagnant, interethnic relations among immigrants softened, and their intentions to remain in Germany declined (Diehl & Schnell, 2006: 789-790).

A very recent article by Bathke (2021) states that immigrants and refugees play a crucial role in the German labor market. Bathke claims that according to recent research, more and more immigrants and refugees in Germany not only start an on-the-job apprenticeship, but also play an increasingly important role in the so-called "Engpassberufe", occupations where there are more vacancies than applicants. The very same research concludes that, while in 2013 19.2% of immigrants and 14.9% of refugees were working in shortage occupations, these rates had risen to 49.4% and 42.2% by 2019, respectively.

This research, which was commissioned by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and carried out by the Competence Center for Securing Qualified Personnel (KOFA) at the Cologne Institute for Economic Research, examined only skilled occupations and excluded jobs requiring fewer qualifications or university education (Bathke, 2021). It surveyed roughly nine (9) million adults- or about 13% of the population - who live in Germany, but do not have German citizenship and, therefore, it did not survey people who immigrated or fled to Germany and later acquired citizenship (Bathke, 2021). Also, the researchers defined "refugees" as people with citizenship from the top eight countries of origin of asylum seekers in Germany: Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia and Syria (Bathke, 2021). The aforementioned details of the research are crucial, as the findings are interesting. First of all, among people undergoing professional training, the number of refugees and immigrants in shortage occupations was even higher, as more than 66% of refugees, who were new trainees, chose a shortage occupation and 62.4% of immigrants, compared to only 57.9% of Germans. Secondly, between 2013 and 2020, the percentage of workers without German citizenship in the whole country, increased by 75% to more than four million and about half of them worked in occupations that require two to three years of professional training. Also, during 2020, foreigners made up 23 percent (23%) of all professional drivers in Germany, which is about 132.000 people. Bathke concludes his article, stating that while the COVID-19 pandemic affected immigrants and refugees differently and led to a decrease in their share in occupations with shortages more than that of German citizens, the number of refugees in skilled occupations was increased in the crisis year of 2020, showing that the labor market integration was successful. Below (Table 1, Figure 1 & Figure 2) some tables and figures of regarding the current and past situation concerning immigration in Germany are provided:

Year	Total			Nationals			Foreigners		
	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance
2020	1 186 702	966 451	220 251	191 883	220 239	-28 356	994 819	746 212	248 607
2019	1 558 612	1 231 552	327 060	212 669	270 294	-57 625	1 345 943	961 258	384 685
2018	1 585 112	1 185 432	399 680	201 531	261 851	-60 320	1 383 581	923 581	460 000
2017	1 550 721	1 134 641	416 080	166 703	249 181	-82 478	1 384 018	885 460	498 558
2016 ¹	1 865 122	1 365 178	499,944	146 047	281 411	-135 364	1 719 075	1 083 767	635 308
2015	2 136 954	997 552	1 139 402	120 713	138 273	-17 560	2 016 241	859 279	1 156 962
2014	1 464 724	914 241	550 483	122 195	148 636	-26 441	1 342 529	765 605	576 924
2013	1 226 493	797 886	428 607	118 425	140 282	-21 857	1 108 068	657 604	450 464
2012	1 080 936	711 991	368 945	115,028	133 232	-18 204	965 908	578 759	387 149
2011	958 299	678 969	279 330	116,604	140 132	-23 528	841 695	538 837	302 858
2010 ²	798 282	670 605	127 677	114,752	141 000	-26 248	683 530	529 605	153 925
2009 ²	721 014	733 796	-12 782	114,700	154 988	-40 288	606 314	578 808	27 506
2008 ²	682 146	737 889	-55,743	108 331	174 759	-66 428	573 815	563 130	10 685
2007	680 766	636 854	43 912	106 014	161 105	-55 091	574 752	475 749	99 003
2006	661 855	639 064	22 791	103 388	155 290	-51 902	558 467	483 774	74 693
2005	707 352	628 399	78 953	128 051	144 815	-16 764	579 301	483 584	95 717
2004	780,175	697 632	82 543	177 993	150 667	27 326	602 182	546 965	55 217
2003	768,975	626 330	142 645	167 216	127 267	39 949	601 759	499 063	102 696
2002	842,543	623 255	219 288	184 202	117 683	66 519	658 341	505 572	152 769
2001	879,217	606 494	272 723	193 958	109 507	84 451	685 259	496 987	188 272
2000	841,158	674 038	167 120	191 909	111 244	80 665	649 249	562 794	86 455
1999	874 023	672,048	201 975	200 150	116 410	83 740	673 873	555 638	118 235
1998	802 456	755 358	47 098	196 956	116 403	80 553	605 500	638 955	-33 455
1997	840 633	746 969	93 664	225 335	109 903	115 432	615 298	637 066	-21 768
1996	959 691	677 494	282 197	251 737	118 430	133 307	707 954	559 064	148 890
1995	1 096 048	698 113	397 935	303 347	130 672	172 675	792 701	567 441	225 260
1994	1 082 553	767 555	314 998	305 037	138 280	166 757	777 516	629 275	148 241
1993	1 277 408	815 312	462 096	287 561	104 653	182 908	989 847	710 659	279 188
1992	1 502 198	720 127	782 071	290 850	105 171	185 679	1 211 348	614 956	596 392
1991	1 198 978	596 455	602 523	273 633	98 915	174 718	925 345	497 540	427 805

Table 1. Migration between Germany and Foreign Countries 1991 to 2020(Destatis, 2020).

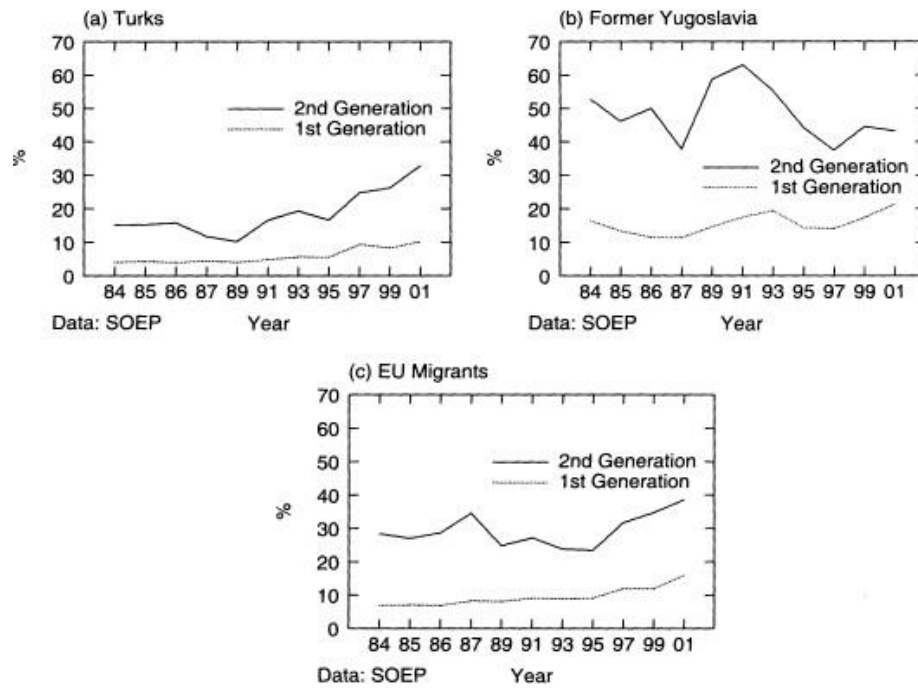


Figure 1. Share of Migrants Who "Feel Totally German" by Generational Status (in Percent, 1984-2001) (Diehl& Schnell, 2006).

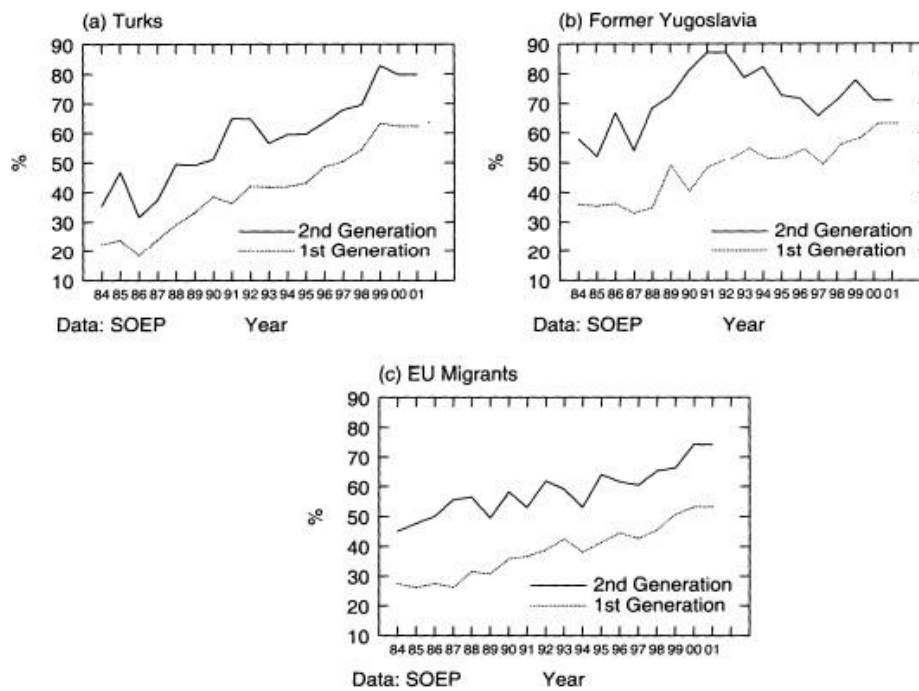


Figure 2. Share of Migrants Who Want to Stay in Germany Forever (in Percent, 1984-2001) (Diehl& Schnell, 2006).

United Kingdom

The demographic composition of Britain's ethnic minorities continues to be significantly shaped by Britain's imperial past and the subsequent decolonization and globalization that determined who, where and when immigrants settled in Britain (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). While there have been centuries of global contact, trade, immigration and settlement in United Kingdom, the groups we tend to think of as the main ethnic minorities in modern Britain are historically linked to the immigration of mainly non-white immigrants in the post-war period, that generally occupied their rights as colonial subjects to move to Britain(Shankley et al 2020: 15–34).

In the same study, the authors state that ethnic minorities are not distributed evenly throughout the United Kingdom and this is mainly a result of both their immigration history and the labor market needs at the time of their arrival(Shankley et al 2020: 15–34).Historically, ethnic minority groups have tended to settle in neighborhoods in inner urban areas across UK cities. Over the years, they have, to some extent, suburbanized (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). However, ethnic minority people remain in smaller proportions, compared to white British people, in rural and suburban neighborhoods, rather than in urban neighborhoods (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). The authors underline that, the younger immigrants subsequently moved into these ethnically diverse inner urban neighborhoods for a variety of reasons. Firstly, their choice of housing is formed by both social and kinship ties (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). Secondly, immigrants are attracted to the diversity offered in these neighborhoods and finally, these different neighborhoods offer immigrants a pool of local knowledge about housing and labor market opportunities (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34).

The study above also provides data, which suggests that overall ethnic minority segregation is decreasing across the country. However, at first there was a fear that the areas associated with ethnic minorities are also associated with multiple social problems, including crime, radicalization and certain anti-British ideologies, which are often linked to specific groups of immigrants (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34).In these cases, the residential segregation of groups is thought to indicate a lack of

meaningful engagement between groups, low rates of English language learning and poor ethnic relations (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). As opposed to the former situation, this recent study states that, reduction in levels of segregation across all groups, may be mainly explained by the spreading from the more centralized areas and the effect of natural change resulting from the number of births compared to the number of deaths in ethnic minority groups (Shankley et al 2020: 15–34). There has also been an increase in residential mixing between white British people and ethnic minority groups.

The United Kingdom is an increasingly popular destination for immigrants, because of the job opportunities it offers and the economic and social power it presents to the world. Like all developed countries around the world, the United Kingdom receives thousands of immigrants every year and statistics prove this.

Below (Figure 3,4 &5) some figures of unique interest regarding the current situation concerning immigration in the United Kingdom:

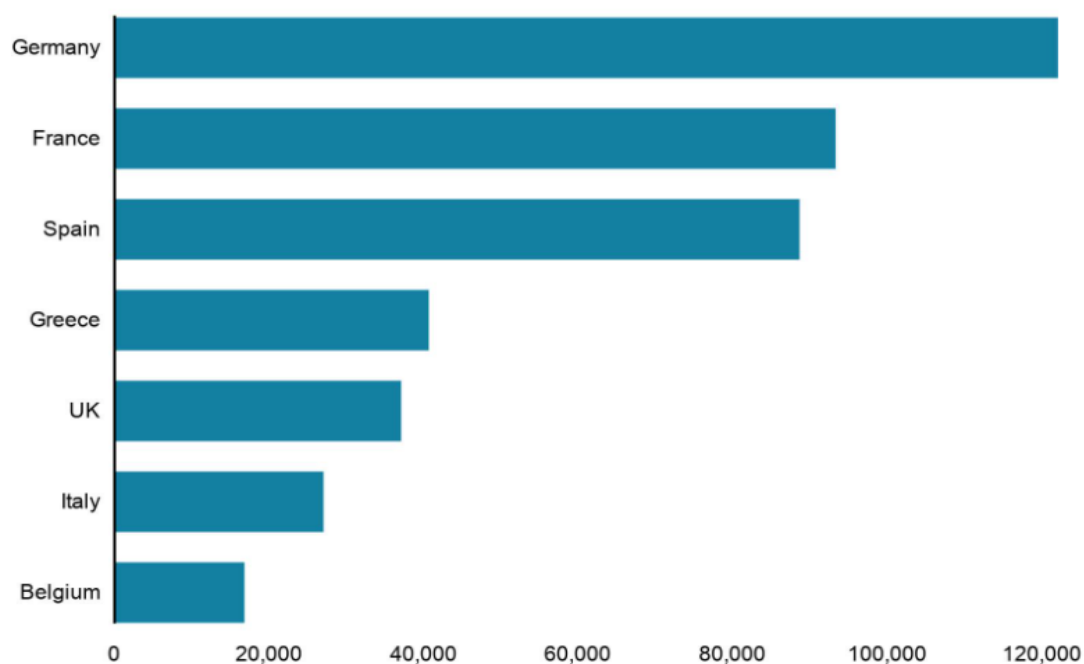


Figure 3. Number of asylum applicants in 2020 (Shankley, Hannemann&Ludi, 2020). You have to include all these citations in the bibliography

MEN	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (%)	EMPLOYMENT (%)	EMPLOYMENT (NO STUDENTS) (%)	UNEMPLOYMENT (%)	SELF-EMPLOYMENT (%)	MEAN EARNINGS (£/WEEK)
WHITE BRITISH	82.2	79.9	83.6	4.0	14.3	651.0
WHITE IRISH	84.7	83.8	85.1	2.5	17.4	853.5
OTHER WHITE	90.9	88.3	92.4	2.6	18.2	647.2
INDIAN	84.2	80.4	87.3	4.5	13.3	720.4
PAKISTANI	77.9	71.5	81.4	6.9	23.3	507.7
BANGLADESHI	77.8	71.9	81.7	6.6	17.5	385.6
CHINESE	68.7	66.5	82.2	3.6	13.5	744.8
BLACK AFRICAN	79.0	71.6	83.0	8.0	11.6	489.9
BLACK CARIBBEAN	81.9	73.7	77.9	10.0	12.7	505.6

Figure 4. Labor market characteristics of ethnic minority groups in the UK (men). January 2015 to June 2018 (Clark&Shankley, 2020).

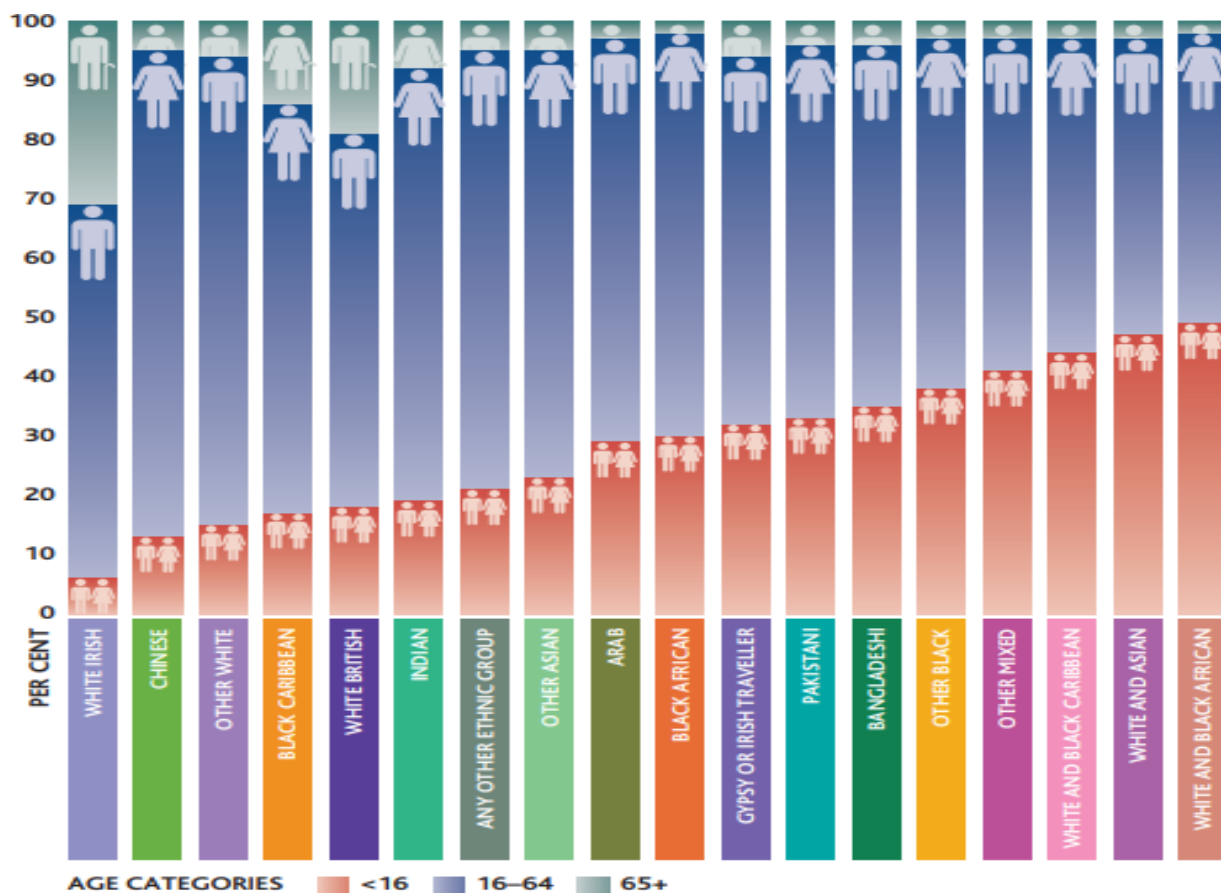


Figure 5. Age profile of ethnic groups in England and Wales (Shankley, Hannemann, &Ludi, 2020).

Acculturation model and immigrant adaptation according to Berry

John W. Berry is a psychologist, whose research on the acculturation of immigrants has significantly influenced modern intellectual thought. The outcomes of his research on immigrant adaptation, as well as his model that reflects the acculturation strategies of an immigrant, constitute mainly the theoretical part in which this thesis will be based.

First of all, Berry states that the outcome of the acculturation process for an immigrant depends mostly on a variety of characteristics related to individuals and groups of individuals, during immigration (Berry, 1992: 69-89). He defines *acculturation* as a culture change, which comes out of a continuous and first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, 1992: 69-89). He notices that most changes occur on the non-dominant, or acculturating, group of individuals, which collectively experiences acculturation through the contact with the influencing dominant side of the society of settlement. After all, the main focus of his research is to link the outcomes of acculturation between the group and the individual experience.

On a group level, physical changes appear, including a new place of residence, the increasing population density or a new type of house. Also, new eating habits and potentially new types of diseases appear, along with political changes that may control such non-dominant groups, economic changes regarding employment chances, social relationships alterations and, of course, cultural. Such cultural changes usually lead to differentiations over the original linguistic, religious, or educational institutions and introduction of new ones, mainly from the host culture (Berry, 1992: 69-89). Below, figure 6, shows the process of acculturation as group and individual level phenomena:

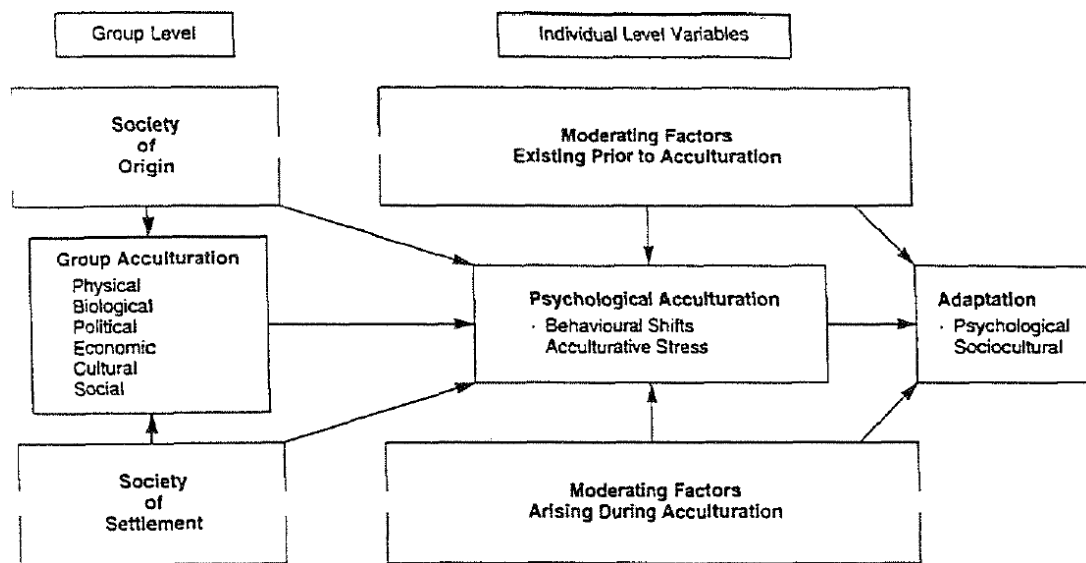


Figure 6. The process of acculturation as group and individual level phenomena (Berry, 1992: 69-89).

Individually, changes in behavior occur, including values, attitudes, abilities and motives, which are referred to as *behavioral shifts* (Berry, 1992: 69-89). Personal and ethnical identity often shift away from the prior ones, the ones the individual had before the contact with the host culture, along with lifestyle preferences, as the views over the way that the process of acculturation should take place, emerge (Berry, 1992: 69-89). At this point, Berry uses the term *acculturation stress*, to address any physical, psychological or social health consequences of acculturation, such as changes in diet, climate, housing, communication, roles, social networks, norms, and values. Below, figures 7&8, show the behavioral shifts in response to acculturation and the acculturative stress in response to acculturation:

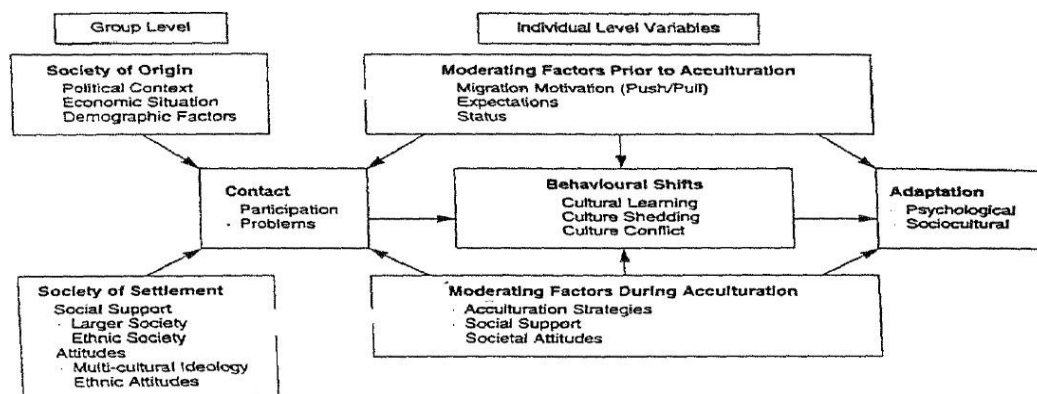


Figure 7. Behavioral shifts in response to acculturation (Berry, 1992: 69-89).

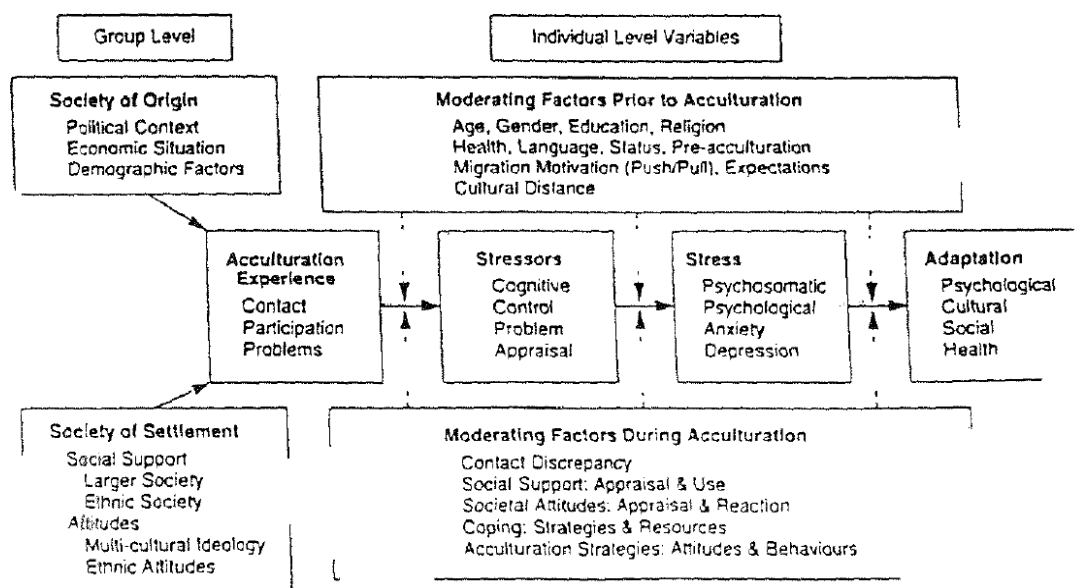


Figure 8. Acculturative stress in response to acculturation (Berry, 1992: 69-89).

Acculturation is often marked by physical and psychological changes that occur as a result of the adaptation required to function in a new and different cultural context (Liu, Gallois, &Volčič, 2018: 210). Berry's model of acculturation comes with two basic issues, the maintenance of the heritage culture and the maintenance of relationships with the host society (Liu, Gallois, &Volčič, 2018: 210).

Acculturation orientations range from a positive value placed on both the heritage and the new culture (integration), a negative value to the old and a positive value to the new (assimilation), a positive value to the old and a negative value to the new (separation), and a negative to both cultures (marginalization).

In this particular book, Liu, Volčič and Gallois provide the reader with some exceptional examples of the four aforementioned acculturation orientations, set by Berry. Firstly, as integrationists are defined immigrants who wish to maintain their ethnic traditions and become integral part of the host society, while the individuals who devalue their cultural heritage, but, also, do not contact psychologically with the host society, are defined as marginalized people. In fact, as the authors point out, marginalized individuals may feel that they do not belong anywhere, or even, in some cases, they may reject their ethnic identity overall, as a source of self-esteem (Liu, Gallois, &Volčič, 2018: 210). Furthermore, as the analysis goes on, a resemblance

appears between the two remaining orientations, as both assimilation and separation refer to the rejection of one culture and exclusive living in the other (Liu, Gallois, &Volčič, 2018: 210-211).

Finally, it is noticed that many immigrants fall between these orientations and over time lean towards one - most commonly integration or assimilation. Below, figure 9, shows the four acculturation strategies as a function of two issues, as presented by Berry:

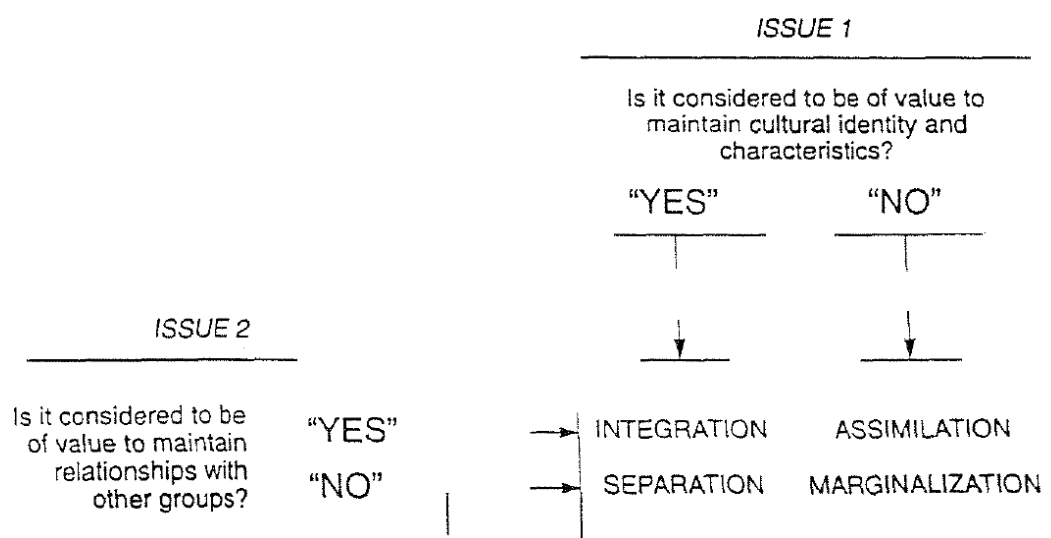


Figure 9. Four acculturation strategies as a function of two issues (Berry, 1992: 69-89).

Attitudes of immigrants towards their mother tongue

Each person carries a unique language system and a mother language that accompanies them in all their everyday conversations, as well as in their initial attempts to learn a new language. Mother language is the communication tool that every speaker has in order to communicate with his/her fellow human beings, as well as to describe himself/herself and the world around him/her. The importance of the mother language for each speaker is perhaps reflected in the attitude he or she has towards it when choosing immigration. It is the contact with a new language and a new culture that can trigger changes in the language system. Mostly, there are two options: language maintenance and language shift. In order to analyze these two basic

language choices of immigrants, the basis will be the quite instructive explanation of the terms language maintenance and language shift by Archakis and Kondyli (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011).

First of all, when two or more languages come in contact, the language that will dominate will be the one that is most functional. The degree to which a language is instrumentally dominant, as opposed to the speaker's emotion, determines its maintenance in everyday use (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 129). Regardless of the speakers' willingness to maintain their mother tongue for affective reasons, it is the necessity of the language that determines whether or not it will continue to be used. In other words, if, in a region, immigrants want to keep their mother tongue for affective reasons, but for their contacts with the government services and/or their work, they have to use the official language of the state they have immigrated to, then there is a language shift towards the language of the host country. Especially if the mother tongue of affective value is not transmitted to the younger generations, then language death may occur (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 129-130).

Furthermore, the social structure of the communities with which immigrants come into daily contact, is another key factor influencing the maintenance or shift of the mother tongue. For example, today English is the lingua franca. The strong economy of the United States, as well as the UK, and its social and political control around the world, has resulted in the maintenance and expansion of English and the simultaneous shift of the weaker languages with which it comes into contact. There have been similar instances in the past, however, timeless principle is that if a strong language is opposed to an equally culturally strong language, then it is possible that the latter will resist, even dominate.

Another factor that determines the maintenance or shift of a language is the value that the community of immigrant speakers places on the language and how highly they value it in their consciousness. For example, Greek immigrants in the United States are more likely to maintain their mother tongue even when attempting contact with English speakers, unlike other immigrant groups, such as Italians (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 131). This happens because Greek immigrants in this part of the world, value their mother tongue highly, perhaps because of the language tradition it carries, while, in fact, they use it as their identity in society. Greeks create strong

social networks, to which speakers conform and in which they unite , so that they are oriented towards the maintenance of their language tradition, as far as this is possible. The orientation towards the community as a whole, meaning the maintenance of strong family and social ties, as well as the respect of traditions, leads to a more favorable attitude towards the maintenance of the spoken language, as opposed to the emphasis on personal development and success, which rather leads to language shift. In general, it is difficult for an immigrant, let alone a Greek immigrant, to lose his/her mother tongue and identity, as this implies a traumatic experience and even a betrayal of his/her history. However, high values towards the mother language do not necessarily mean maintaining it. There is always the possibility that the language may not be useful in everyday life, with the result that speakers, no matter how highly they may hold it in their consciousness, do not use it and it shifts (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 131).

Last but not least, language shift usually goes through a stage of bilingualism, which gradually leads to monolingualism of the dominant language (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 132). Even though Greek immigrants usually maintain their mother language in the new living environment, there are cases in which they switch from the exclusive use of their mother language to the exclusive use of the language of the host country, after a period of bilingualism that does not exceed three generations (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 143). The above mentioned factors contribute to this, as well as the stigmatization from the state, which usually perceives any form of language diversity as a threat to language cohesion, or the self-repression of the language by speakers (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη, 2011: 132-133). Thus, it is worth mentioning that language planning and appropriate legislation, combined with education, are needed in order to preserve language diversity.

In conclusion, mother language and its maintenance is an important element of every immigrant's daily life. For a large majority of immigrants, it is their primary identity, and for an equally large number of immigrants, losing it is a shame or even a betrayal of their traditional values. It is the duty of any lawful State to maintain all forms of language and to promote language diversity, as this helps to preserve the culture of each individual in society and allows him or her to express themselves freely, while facilitating their adaptation to the host country.

Summary of the Chapter Two and Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, an overview of immigrant adaptation was given, while examples of the existing situation from the reference countries of this thesis were also provided, which will help the reader to understand the issue more thoroughly. Moreover, an overview of Greek immigration in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway, was presented with relative figures. Then, Berry's acculturation model was presented which provided a theoretical framework. His views on immigrant adaptation were also recorded at this point. Finally, an extensive reference to the terms language maintenance and language shift was provided. The terms were analyzed through examples, and the context became clearer about the reasons why a language can either be maintained or shifted in a society. In the following chapter, the research design will be presented and answers will be given on the methodology that lead to the final outcome of this thesis.

3. Research Design

Introduction

Having provided a literature review, Chapter 3 will discuss the research methodology employed. As stated in the first chapter, this thesis will attempt to capture the everyday life of Greeks in the specified countries and will seek to provide some answers to the following research questions:

1. What acculturation orientations (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) are observed among Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway?
2. What are the Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway main language orientations? Do they maintain their mother language, or is language shift detected?

The first question seeks answers to contemporary concerns related to the extent of assimilation or cultural separation of Greeks who migrate to the target countries, while the second one attempts to provide answers to such contemporary and important issues, such as language maintenance or language shift of the immigrants' mother tongue.

The strategy used to explore the above questions set the research framework and the methodology process. More specifically, the research method used is the unstructured interview. The unstructured interview is a tool for qualitative analysis and the reasons why it was chosen are also discussed below. This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used to draw the findings of this thesis.

Research Design: Unstructured Interview

The romantic perspective sees research interviews as a human encounter, encouraging interviewees to reveal their authentic experiences by establishing trust and commitment between the interviewer and interviewee (Alvesson, 2003).

The specific nature of research, such as the one conducted for the purposes of this thesis, requires direct contact with the participants. It is the duty of the researcher to listen to their philosophy of life directly, as well as to draw the empirical conclusions

needed. The most appropriate methodology for this purpose is the unstructured interview (Mcleod, 2014).

According to recent research, unstructured interviews generate qualitative data through the use of open questions (Mcleod, 2014). This allows the respondent to talk in some depth with the interviewer, choosing their own words and helps the researcher to develop a real sense of a person's understanding of a situation. In unstructured interviews, no set questions are used, but the interviewer asks open-ended questions based on a specific research topic and tries to let the interview flow like a natural conversation (Mcleod, 2014). Also, the interviewer modifies his or her questions to fit the candidate's specific experiences.

Unstructured interviews are sometimes called informal interviews. During the interviews conducted for this research, the interviewer and author of this thesis was able to gain a deeper understanding of the views of the research participants, as well as to detect any extra-linguistic elements that would have been impossible or more difficult to detect with any of the other research methods (Mcleod, 2014). More specifically, the unstructured interview provides the opportunity to clarify any ambiguous or unclear answers and also allows the interviewer to be more flexible, as questions can be adapted and modified according to the respondents' answers. Finally, the interview can accept additions at any time, mainly through the possibilities offered by modern technology which connects all the ends of the world directly, while it does not commit participants to time consuming or formal procedures, such as sterile memorization of rules or filling in a questionnaire that will probably leave them uninterested. Admittedly, there is an opinion that unstructured interviewing and analysis of qualitative data can also be time consuming (Mcleod, 2014), however, it was deemed appropriate by the author and interviewer to approach the population group involved in this research with this particular methodology for all of the aforementioned reasons.

Setting and Participants

The interviews were conducted in a variety of settings and conditions, as presented below. One can easily understand that it is almost impossible to carry out interviews in the same way and in the same setting in three different countries. The language was

determined by the participants' comfort in conversation, although most of the interviews were conducted in Greek. Therefore, due to reasonable constraints, the interviews in the UK and Norway were mainly conducted through face-to-face meetings, while the interviews with the participants from Germany were mostly conducted using the means of technology provided by the internet. With regard to Norway, the population of Greek immigrants is significantly smaller than in the other two countries. However, the researcher was fortunate enough to be in Oslo on the day of a national holiday celebration, which allowed him to reach a fair amount of immigrants, around 30 of them, which consists mainly of people working in high status jobs with correspondingly high salaries. The situation was similar in England's capital, London, as both trips took place around the same time. The participants in England were mainly students. However, data was also collected from people who live and work there. They were no more than 10 in total and were approached through individual contacts. Regarding Germany, the 12 participants were mainly from lower or working class backgrounds and the vast majority were second or third generation immigrants. It was not possible to interview them in person in their home country, but there was an opportunity to meet them during their visit in Greece, their country of origin, during their winter holidays. Of course, in this case also, the connectivity and direct communication that the internet offers was an important part of the process.

Interviews were mostly conducted in groups. Each interview lasted around 20–30 minutes, although there were a couple of sessions that lasted more. In order to overcome the interviewer effect and because most participants were rather reluctant at first to report their experiences, the interviews were largely unstructured and in a friendly atmosphere, in which the participants felt more comfortable and brought out their true selves. For this reason, the use of recording devices such as cameras or tape recorders was avoided. The questions asked, apart from the topics relevant to this research, such as issues of acculturation and language orientations, concerned mainly the social profiles of the individuals, such as their work and place of residence and how satisfied they were with the conditions of their daily life there. The environment surrounding an immigrant's life usually determines the view he or she will have of the host country and is therefore an important research criterion. For example, if an immigrant is not happy with his/her home or the food offered by the host country,

he/she may develop a negative opinion about the host country and thus refuse to integrate.

The discussion took place in a comfortable atmosphere to bring the participants closer to each other in order to unfold their true selves. The unstructured interview did not have specific questions, but instead focused on the following topics, which were chosen in order to draw empirical conclusions that would in no way affect the privacy or any sensitive data of the participants, especially since the collection of data is carried out anonymously. Below are the topics discussed in the unstructured interview:

- Circumstances under which the decision to immigrate was made.
- Contacts with relatives in Greece.
- Provision for learning their mother language in the host country and if communication in the mother language (Greek) encouraged among the immigrant peers.
- Participants' views on the general treatment they receive from the state mechanisms, as well as from their fellow citizens in the host country.
- Participants' level of satisfaction with the living conditions (accommodation, work, social interaction) in the host country.
- Existence or not of immigrant communities from the same country of origin (Greece) and whether or not they contribute to the maintenance of the mother language, as well as positive attitudes towards the culture of origin.

The data presented in this thesis was gathered through personal notes. More specifically, out of the entire discussion with the participants in the unstructured interview, the researcher took notes of what they outlined to him. These notes were collected after the interviews were over and subjected to content analysis in order to draw the conclusions that will be presented in this thesis. Content analysis enables researchers to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion, while it can be a useful technique in order to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention (Stemler, 2020). Content analysis was conducted in order to isolate only useful information, as the discussion often went

beyond the context of the research, and also to ensure the anonymity of the participants. The above were the main reasons why the researcher chose the method of content analysis in order to analyze the research data.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter addressed the research methodology used in order to obtain the necessary data. Detailed explanations were given as to why this method was chosen, as well as of the exact methodology that the researcher followed. A detailed presentation of the setting and the group of participants was also provided. In the next chapter, Chapter 4, the findings of the research will be presented.

4. Research Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the research. The sequence in which the results will be presented is random and country-specific. As indicated, the researcher traveled to both Norway and the UK in order to collect the data directly. A description of the findings collected for each country will be given here. The unstructured interview, is considered to have contributed sufficiently to the participants' feeling of ease especially since no recording devices were used and the participants were assured that anonymity would be maintained.

Below is a detailed presentation of the research findings by country. Each interviewee is assigned initials, as their complete names are disclosed.

United Kingdom

In this respect, the interviews in the UK evolved into honest testimony from the participants, which generated a rather interesting outcome. As A.N says: "this conversation helped me to remember some experiences from the past more clearly and put them in order in my mind". Those words are perhaps reasonable, as the majority of participants in this country had no similar experience of participating in an unstructured interview. As for the circumstances under which they decided to immigrate to the UK, most of the interviewees answered that the main reason was to seek better financial conditions. J.G. stated that "I felt like my country was pushing me to immigrate, like I had no future there", while AA. also stated that "I didn't feel I had a choice". Only a few responded that pursuing studies was the main reason, although they later agreed that a more reputable university will result in higher earnings through a well-paid job. "I just can't start my day without talking with my parents (in Greek) in the morning. It's a routine that I don't want to break" stated M.P. All of the participants have friends or family in Greece, so daily contact with them mainly via the internet is a daily reality. K.E., the longest-

standing immigrant among the participants, provided us with information regarding the Greek Schools in the UK. He stated that most of them are part-time schools that operate twice a week and there are only a few full-time schools, like the Pre-School and Primary School of London in Acton. Most of them are private schools or are run by the Greek Embassy in London. "Luckily, English is an international language and can be found everywhere. We all speak English and we can all communicate perfectly under any circumstances. This also helps in finding a job. However, at home we speak Greek" was the statement of K.E. when asked if the conversation in the mother language (Greek) is encouraged among immigrant peers. His statement was shared by everyone else as well, except from T.A. whose opinion was that "I don't think so. Greek is of no use in my daily life, so we don't speak it often at home. My kids are attending English schools and this won't change in the future. I think this is the best for them and I believe that this is how things work when someone immigrates". He also stated that the general treatment he has received from the state services is perfect, so he is really satisfied with the current living conditions, even if Brexit is a reality now. Actually, the majority of the participants agree with his point of view and J.G. stated that "I think that my current living conditions would not have been better in Greece", while M.P. agreed that "although rent is pretty high in the centre of London, the living conditions are way better here. It is easier to build a wider social network and everyone respects you at work as an equal human being". Finally, regarding the existence or not of Greek communities and whether or not they contribute to the maintenance of the mother language, as well as positive attitudes towards the culture of origin, M.P., J.G. and K.N. agreed that they are not aware of any such community, while T.A. and K.E. argued that there are lots of informal groups of people with Greek origins that create events or organize trips together. It is worth mentioning that all interviews were carried out in Greek, although sometimes, in order to understand certain specific terms, the language was alternated between Greek and English.

In the following paragraph, the research findings from Germany will be presented.

Germany

The results of the research in the UK have been presented above. The situation remains more or less the same in Germany. In general, the participants were a highly cooperative and flexible group, although some were reluctant, given that the approach was carried out via the internet and in some cases had to be repeated due to the need for further clarifications.

First of all, the majority of the participants agreed that the main reason their ancestors chose to immigrate to Germany was to find a job and they themselves stayed there for the same reason. “Germany is a destination that Greeks have been choosing to immigrate to for decades. This is where we raised our families” stated J.K. and M.N. added that “I have been living in Germany since 1970. Almost my entire life is here, my kids were born here, my husband is German, so I almost feel like a German. The reason why me and my father decided to immigrate to Germany was to find a job. We come from a small town in Northern Greece and the future was not that bright for us there”. This view was also supported by G.G., a 75-year-old pensioner, who was born and has lived his entire life in Stuttgart. He added that, even though the Greek language was not being taught by any official institution in Stuttgart when he was young, his parents only spoke Greek at home. “They kept the Greek spirit in us. They were talking Greek to me and my siblings every day at home. Until now, I often visit Greece when I am able to” stated G.G, while N.K., a 45-year old worker in a wool factory, added that “Everyday life here is demanding. We must keep our Greek origins and language alive and that’s why we send our kids to learn Greek in school. At home, we speak only Greek and when I am around my colleagues from Greece, we usually communicate only in Greek”. No one had something negative to say about the treatment he/she received from both the German government and his/her fellow Germans in his/her daily life. In fact, I.K. indicated that “in Germany people respect you. They don't care where you come from or what religion you believe in. If you are not a social burden or if you are not rude to them, they respect you and consider you an equal member

of society. That's what I loved about this place and that's what I pass on to my children". Also, no one expressed negative feelings about the level of satisfaction they have from their living conditions. They all agreed that it is better than Greece, although they miss the sun and the beaches, especially in terms of raising a family. "When I had my baby, both my husband and I took maternity leave. In fact, I was paid my regular salary, while my husband had a small reduction in his wages. This was the case for two years! Where would you find this in Greece? There, they usually fire you if you get pregnant" stated M.P., a 43-year old mother of two, while her husband, G.R., added that "business has been slow lately. Germany is getting hit by the general crisis in Europe, but it is still holding its standards high. I make no secret of the fact that as soon as the coronavirus broke out, I thought about taking the wife and kids and moving down to Greece. In the end we decided to stay here. One way or another, it's better here. They pay you on time, they pay you even better than in Greece, and the family is happy as I can spend time with them". Finally, it should be noted that every single participant of this research is a member of at least one community of Greeks, whether it is a sports community, a pensioners community or a community of people who love to go fishing. In these communities, people usually communicate in Greek, in order to maintain their mother language at a high level as much as possible, although some actually feel more fluent in Greek. However, there was the opinion of L.K., a 35 year-old electrician who is the youngest participant of this group, who stated that "what's the point on retaining the Greek language? I was born here, but my parents spoke Greek to me and I attended Greek language lessons, so I can communicate in Greek quite well. However, I don't need Greek at work, nor do I speak it with my family. My wife is Italian and we decided that our children should learn mainly German". These last words of L.K., will be used as an example that, for some immigrants, their heritage language is not perceived as something important. Yet, the researcher believes that such cases are unique and are caused by other factors, such as frustration or anger about their country of origin and the fact that it forced them to immigrate. In most cases, Greek immigrants in Germany have a positive approach towards their mother

language, as well as their culture of origin and the same positive approach is also held towards the host culture. These findings, however, which will be analyzed in more detail in the next chapter.

In the following paragraph, the findings of the research in Norway will be presented

Norway

Research in Norway was a unique experience. First of all, the occasion of the national holiday celebration allowed the researcher to reach a fair amount of immigrants. Secondly, the differences between the aforementioned cases of Greek immigrants and the immigrants in Norway are several. Greek immigrants in Norway have immigrated there more recently than the ones in Germany or in the UK and the general context of their immigration also differs. The immigrants are mainly people with expertise in a certain professional field, which is sought after in Norway. Also, the choice to immigrate there is not due to historical or social reasons, but solely due to their own personal ambitions.

The unstructured interviews were conducted in groups. This is due to the fact that, because of the occasion mentioned above, almost all the Greek immigrants in the Oslo area were gathered at church.

Useful information was gathered from the discussion with the community leader. He described in detail the situation that prevailed historically regarding the Greek community in the area, while he also presented the situation that prevails today, as well as the current problems. He mentioned that “the older generations of immigrants were isolated and did not want to create organized communities. There was something like a cultural club (Gresk-NorskKulturklubb) where they would gather and hang out, but they had no unity and willingness to organize something as a whole. In the last decades, with the arrival of more and more Greek immigrants, the need for an organized community emerged. So we created this community, in which we host many activities and we can now request anything from the state through an organized body”. Indeed, the activities that take place, in compliance with the precautionary measures against the COVID pandemic, include learning to

dance, cooking, learning both Greek and Norwegian, as well as other artistic activities such as painting. “Norway is a strict country with laws that everyone obeys. If you don't follow them, then you will face the consequences”, stated A.G., a middle-aged woman, who is one of the oldest members of the community. Later, A.G. stated that “I'm part of a family of five. Our parents immigrated here and started a family. My brothers and sisters live in other cities in Norway, but I have stayed in Oslo, because I am married here to a Norwegian man. I also have two sons! Unfortunately, although we have a few relatives in Greece, we have almost no contact with them. My children, however, do understand and speak Greek as both my husband and I are strong supporters of the Greek language and culture. In fact, nowadays there are several ways to learn Greek. Either through the internet with Greek teachers, or through classes in the community, and there is also a Greek school. When I was young, these facilities were not available, but my parents' persistence helped me to maintain a good level of Greek”. At this point, it is worth mentioning that the conversation with A.G. alternated between Greek and English. Then, the floor was given to G.P., also born in Norway, who confirmed what A.G. said, and added that “various official or unofficial groups of Greeks have been created here. The treatment any immigrant receives in Norway is excellent. There is no discrimination, no barriers. This well-ordered situation sets the stage for starting activities like the ones we did before and helps the new immigrant to adapt more easily to the country, as well as to set up a family with more comforts. Of course, COVID, has deprived us from some of these, while objectively it has troubled all of us immigrants. However, the state is quite cooperative towards any problem that may arise”. While one of the group members was speaking, the other members nodded in agreement and showed willingness to add their personal experiences. H.A. added her personal experience as follows: “Everyone in my family is very happy with the living conditions here in Oslo. There is health care, and the state takes care of any difficulties that may arise. We are also happy that there are communities like the one we are in right now, where we can always turn to for any issue that may arise, such as paperwork or looking for a house”. In another group, which consisted mainly of immigrants

who have settled in Oslo in the last 10-15 years, K.T. said that “for an immigrant who chose to come here as soon as the financial crisis broke out in Greece, Oslo is the ideal choice. We are completely satisfied with both the working conditions and our social environment, our fellow citizens. I can't say that my priority is for my children, who were born and raised here, to learn Greek, but my wife, who is also Greek, thinks it is important to speak Greek to them at home. The children go to a Norwegian school. I would like to thank the community from the bottom of my heart for the help they have given us since we first came to Oslo. It does an excellent job in terms of helping a new immigrant settle in”. This was the general feeling of this generation of immigrants. On the whole, they are happy that they escaped the financial crisis in Greece and found the right destination in such an organized country. Of course, there was also the opinion of I.P. who stated that she is thinking of returning to Greece because the adaptation to both the climate and the strict daily life that exists in Oslo makes it quite difficult.

Comparisons will be made among the countries and all this will be presented in the next chapter.

Summary

In this chapter, the research findings obtained from the Greek immigrants of the UK, Germany and Norway were presented. The findings presented, were derived from unstructured interviews conducted with the aforementioned participants. As such, the experiences of the participants were documented in a more direct way. Many useful conclusions from these findings were drawn and will be presented and analyzed thoroughly in the next chapter.

5. Discussion of Findings and Comparison

Introduction

In this chapter, a discussion of the research findings presented in the previous chapter will be put forward. Also, a comparison of all the findings in each country will be presented. The analysis of these findings are based on the research questions, as presented in previous chapters.

Below is a discussion on the implications of the findings. Each country is addressed separately before a comparison among them is made.

United Kingdom

Regarding the situation in the UK, the data is clear. Most of the interviewed respondents gave answers that explain many of the unique features of life there. First of all, they seem to particularly like life in the UK and it seems to suit them. All of them immigrated there in order to have a better life with a better future, both economically and socially. Most seem determined to stay in the country and fight for what they deserve. They are not thinking of returning to their motherland, Greece, and most of them have already raised a family there.

Due to the constraints caused by the COVID pandemic, the population approached was less than originally planned. Also, due to these circumstances, a number of the interviewees were postgraduate students, who, however, have been studying there for years and intend to stay in the UK permanently, as mentioned in the previous chapter. However, despite the limited number of interviewees, the conclusions drawn are consistent and indicative.

First of all, there is a tendency towards assimilation. The acculturation orientations that the interviewees in the UK had were closer to assimilation, as they put more value on their new culture of heritage compared to their old one. As presented in Chapter Four, when asked about their living conditions in the UK, J.G. stated that “I think that my current living conditions would not have been better in Greece”, while M.P. agreed that “although rent is pretty high in the centre of London, the living conditions are way better here. It is easier to

build a wider social network and everyone respects you at work as an equal human being". These opinions were shared among the rest of the interviewees as well. Their view was that the culture of Greece had nothing to contribute to their new home. Something useful that would help their development as individuals and as professionals. The researcher also observed a tendency of antipathy towards the culture of the country of origin. This was mainly due to the fact that these immigrants felt that Greece itself was pushing them to immigrate and that they had no other choice if they wanted to progress and develop professionally. In particular, J.G. stated that "I felt like my country was pushing me to immigrate, like I had no future there", while A.A. also stated that "I didn't feel I had a choice". Both J.G. and A.A. are living in the UK since early childhood and share the same opinion with the rest of the interviewees. However, the statement of M.P. that "I just can't start my day without talking with my parents (in Greek) in the morning. It's a routine that I don't want to break" indicates that there are certain circumstances under which contact with the country of origin is maintained, such as the need to keep in touch with parents. This factor on its own, of course, is not enough to convince the researcher that this individual or other people involved are showing signs of integration.

Regarding the language orientations of these people, the situation is as follows. Although English is the international language of communication around the world, and although it is the main language of communication in their work, there is a positive attitude towards the Greek language. This may be due to a number of factors. For example, as K.E., the oldest of the participants, who has lived in London his whole life, when asked about Greek Schools in the UK, stated that most of them are part-time schools that operate twice a week and there are only a few full time schools. That means that there are options for an immigrant to learn Greek, but this fact alone does not prove anything. What does prove the positive attitude of these immigrants towards their mother language is the fact that almost all the interviews were conducted entirely in Greek, while most of the people either learn Greek or use it at home. In this way, they give a positive value to their mother language and this shows signs of

an effort to keep the language alive. However, to the question whether the conversation in the mother language (Greek) is encouraged among immigrant peers there were mixed answers. On the one hand there is K.E.'s view that "...at home we speak Greek", while on the other hand there is T.A.'s view that "I don't think so. Greek is of no use in my daily life, so we don't speak it often at home. My kids are attending English schools and this won't change in the future. I think this is the best for them and I believe that this is how things work when someone immigrates". Last but not least, the fact that some of the participants in the unstructured interviews, such as J.G., M.P. and K.N., were not aware of the existence of any Greek communities that would possibly contribute to language maintenance shows that this policy is probably not so widespread in the UK. As T.A. and K.E. argued that there are lots of informal groups of people with Greek origins that organize events or trips together.

In conclusion, in response to the research questions, it seems initially that there is a tendency towards assimilation among immigrants in the UK, as there is no strong evidence of integration. However, they themselves seem to want to maintain at least a standard level of Greek in their daily lives, as they often use it at home or with their relatives in Greece.

Germany

In this section, an analysis of the findings of the research carried out in Germany will be provided. The highly cooperative group of participants provided the researcher with some useful insights regarding their acculturation adaptation and their language orientations. The unstructured interviews were conducted mostly online, as face-to-face contact with all participants in the research could not be achieved.

To begin with, Germany has been a common destination for Greek immigrants over the past decades, due to the abundance of job opportunities it provided. The total amount of the Greek population that immigrated from 1955 to 1977 to Western Europe was 758,351, i.e. 61% of the total immigration. Of those 638,141, i.e. 84%, left for Federal Germany (Ναβρουζόγλου, 2004). The

participants in the research were also descendants of this vast immigration movement.

In fact, as J.K. mentioned “Germany is a destination that Greeks have been choosing to immigrate to for decades. This is where we raised our families”. To contribute to the statement of J.K., M.N. added that “I have been living in Germany since 1970. Almost my entire life is here, my kids were born here, my husband is German, so I almost feel like a German. The reason why me and my father decided to immigrate to Germany was to find a job. We come from a small town in Northern Greece and the future was not that bright for us there”. As resulted from the above statements, indeed Germany has been a common destination for Greek immigrants over the past decades. This is due to the abundance of job opportunities provided in the country, which was the main reason that immigrants decided to choose this country in order to seek a better future for themselves and their families.

All the findings of this research lead to the conclusion that, in terms of acculturation, Greek immigrants have become integrated with the culture of the host country. This means that they attach high value to both Greek and German culture. In fact, they actively are involved in the various Greek communities that exist in the area where they live in Germany in order to keep their Greek identity alive. This is something they seek to pass on to their children. Also, the fact that they try to maintain the Greek language, as well as to pass it on to the next generations, is an important sign that proves the tendency of these people towards the language maintenance of their mother language.

For example, N.K., a 45-year-old worker in a wool factory, said that “...We must keep our Greek origins and language alive and that’s why we send our kids to learn Greek in school. At home, we speak only Greek and when I am around my colleagues from Greece, we usually communicate only in Greek”, while also G.G., a 75-year-old pensioner who was born and lived all his life in Stuttgart, stated that even though the Greek language was not being taught by any official institution in Stuttgart when he was young, his parents were speaking only Greek at home. He underlined that “They kept the Greek spirit in us. They were talking Greek to me and my siblings everyday at home...”.

Everyone is kept up to date on a daily basis about what is happening in Greece, either through the internet or by communicating with family and friends living in Greece. The above is a great example of immigrants trying to maintain the Greek language, as well as to pass it on to the next generations. They consider it as something important, which proves the tendency of these people towards language maintenance of their mother language.

The strong bond they have established with the culture in Germany is evident both from the unique interpersonal relationships they have built with their fellow Germans, and from the high regard they have for the country's state mechanism. No one spoke negatively about the treatment he/she received from both the German government and his/her fellow Germans in his/her daily life. In fact, I.K. indicated that "...in Germany people respect you. They don't care where you come from or what religion you believe in. If you are not a social burden or if you are not rude to them, they respect you and consider you an equal member of the society. That's what I loved about this place and that's what I pass on to my children". This is the general feeling between the participants of this research. They wish to maintain their culture of heritage as much as possible, while they are open to accept and value the culture of Germany positively.

However, as the Romans used to say, *audiat et altera pars*. In the previous chapter, the words of L.K., a 35-year old electrician who is the younger participant of this group, were stated. He mentioned that what's the point of retaining the Greek language? I was born here, but my parents spoke Greek to me and I attended Greek language lessons, so I can communicate in Greek quite well. However, I don't need Greek at work, nor do I speak it with my family. My wife is Italian and we decided that our children should learn mainly German". The researcher believes that this is the modern voice of the immigrants. The new immigrants that arrive in Germany come from a different background. Recent political and economic events in Greece over the last 10-12 years have certainly led to a certain aversion of the country among younger Greeks. This, of course, may have an impact on those who immigrate too, who, in an attempt to escape the bad living conditions in their home country,

immigrate carrying with them negative feelings for their culture of origin. It should be noted that the above interpretation is a personal judgment of the researcher, based on what he has noticed in attitudes of individuals such as L.K.

In conclusion, findings in Germany seem to differ a little from the ones in the UK in terms of acculturation. Immigrants tend to integrate both the Greek and the German cultures in their daily life. This is the case because the immigrants tend to carry positive feelings for the culture of origin, as well as for the host culture, which provides them with a high quality standard of living. In terms of language maintenance, immigrants mainly aim to maintain their mother language, either by school or speaking it at home.

Norway

In this section, an analysis of the findings of the research carried out in Norway will be provided. The ideal circumstances under which the interviews were conducted, as well as the exceptional willingness of all members of the community to cooperate, with excessive eagerness at times, provided a breadth of views. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the unstructured interviews were conducted in groups, as the number of participants was large, the largest in all three countries.

The atmosphere is positive and the organization of all daily activities, as far as the restrictions imposed by the protection against COVID-19 allow, is carried out in an orderly manner.

This helps the immigrants' faster and more complete integration into the culture of Oslo, resulting in a smoother transition from one culture to another. Of course, this also leads to a positive attitude towards the host culture, as there is guidance from the community for all the procedures required for settling there, making things easier for the immigrants. Perhaps the overall small number of immigrants contributes to a better settlement in the community. To support the above conclusion, some of the words of the community leader from the previous chapter are quoted: "...In the last decades, with the arrival of more and more Greek immigrants, the need for an organized community emerged. So we

created this community, in which we host many activities and we can now request anything from the state through an organized body”.

However, despite the modern situation, things have not always been this way. As the leader of the community mentions “the older generations of immigrants were isolated and did not want to create organized communities. There was something like a cultural club (Gresk-NorskKulturklubb) where they would gather and socialize, but they had no unity and willingness to organize something as a whole...”. Therefore, in the past, immigrants had a more distant attitude and did not organize themselves into communities. This perhaps happened because of the small number of Greeks immigrating to Norway.

As a result of this, the process of acculturation has not been the same. At first, immigrants used to assimilate. They had a negative attitude towards the old culture and a positive attitude towards the new one. The researcher assumes that this happened because in the older generations of immigrants, the idea of immigrating somewhere that far from one’s homeland meant commitment. Especially if we take into account the fact that very few people immigrated there compared to other countries such as Germany. Maybe this was the only way to adapt to such a new and different culture, separated from the culture of Greece. Maybe the fact that the means of communication, such as the internet, were not developed enough to make it easier for immigrants to meet each other. Also, there was no organized community of Greeks to arrange, as mentioned earlier, the informal processes of helping immigrants settle in the host country.

In contrast, more recent generations of immigrants have a tendency towards integration. Immigrants now adapt more easily and the community itself makes a decisive contribution to this. Let’s recall the statement of K.T., one of the latest members in the Greek community in Oslo: “...I would like to thank the community from the bottom of my heart for the help they have given us since we first came to Oslo. It does an excellent job in terms of helping a new immigrant settle in”. This opinion is shared among every latest member of the community as well. The fact that the adaptation in a new culture is easier, maybe helps the immigrants to accept both cultures. In order to compare younger and older generations of immigrants, in terms of adaptation in the new

culture, it is of particular interest to quote again the words of A.G., a middle-aged woman, who is one of the oldest members of the community: “Norway is a strict country with laws that everyone obeys. If you don't follow them, then you will face the consequences... I'm part of a family of five. Our parents immigrated here and started a family. My brothers and sisters live in other cities in Norway, but I have stayed in Oslo, because I am married here to a Norwegian man. I also have two sons! Unfortunately, although we have a few relatives in Greece, we have almost no contact with them. My children, however, do understand and speak Greek as both my husband and I are strong supporters of the Greek language and culture. In fact, nowadays there are several ways to learn Greek. Either through the internet with Greek teachers, or through classes in the community, and there is also a Greek school. When I was young, these facilities were not available, but my parents' persistence helped me to maintain a good level of Greek”.

At this point, the attitude of immigrants concerning the maintenance of their mother language will be discussed. Data shows that attempts towards language maintenance are made. The Greek community takes initiatives to maintain and pass on the language to younger generations either through educational programs or through activities involving the language and history of Greece. As stated by the leader of the community: “...In the last decades, with the arrival of more and more Greek immigrants, the need for an organized community emerged. So we created this community, in which we host many activities and we can now request anything from the state through an organized body”. Indeed, the researcher can confirm that the activities that take place, in compliance with the precautionary measures against the COVID pandemic, include learning to dance, cooking, learning both Greek and Norwegian, as well as other artistic activities such as painting. Also, during the researcher's presence in the country, events on the occasion of the national holiday celebration took place. Educational speeches were also held, while representatives of the Greek embassy in Oslo visited the community, which shows the direction that the community has taken in favor of the cohesion of the Greek population.

However, the researcher's opinion is that, although the community makes efforts towards language maintenance, the immigrants will probably not maintain their mother language. Older generations of immigrants have already abandoned a considerable part of the Greek culture, while some of them do not speak Greek. Regarding the younger generations, the general mood is that they do not wish to return to mother Greece, as they are happy with the situation in Norway. This of course has an impact on the maintenance of the language. Of particular interest are the words of K.T. : "...I can't say that my priority is for my children, who were born and raised here, to learn Greek, but my wife, who is also Greek, thinks it is important to speak Greek to them at home. The children go to a Norwegian school...". These words capture in the most representative way the concept of language maintenance. There is a group of immigrants who are not concerned about the maintenance of the mother tongue, while there is another smaller group that is interested. The ones who are interested usually seek out community classes. As discussed with the community leader, the problem is that these classes are often canceled, as they are offered by volunteers who are not language teachers. It is worth mentioning that another factor that discourages children from attending these classes is that they attend only Norwegian schools. On the one hand, the above show the willingness to maintain, but on the other hand, they are a warning that the right conditions for this to happen do not exist in the long term.

In conclusion, the researcher suggests that it is difficult to maintain the Greek language among younger generations of immigrants, although there is interest towards this direction from some immigrants. Thus, he believes that language shift will be detected in the forthcoming future. Regarding acculturation, immigrants tend towards integration, while there is the example of I.P., who said that she is thinking of returning to Greece because the adaptation to both the climate and the strict daily life that exists in Oslo makes it quite difficult

After the analysis of the research findings from the UK, Germany and Norway, a comparison of these findings will follow. In addition, the research will examine whether the initial hypothesis was confirmed or not.

Comparison

In this section, a comparison of all these findings will be conducted. This chapter will also provide a comparison between the findings and the hypothesis of the researcher, which is presented in more detail in chapter one.

At this point, it is important to list the research questions once again. Below, the research questions are listed, as captured in chapter one:

1. What acculturation orientations (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) are observed among Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway?
2. What are the Greek immigrants living in the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway main language orientations? Do they maintain their mother language, or is language shift detected?

The first question seeks answers to contemporary concerns related to the extent of assimilation or cultural separation of Greeks who immigrate to the target countries, while the second one attempts to provide answers to such contemporary and important questions, as the language maintenance or language shift of the migrants' mother tongue.

The research questions raised are the outcome of the main hypothesis that guides this thesis. The leading hypothesis, therefore, is that Greeks who immigrate to these three regions, value both the heritage and the new culture (integration), while avoiding the shift of their mother language (language maintenance), at least at the household level of everyday use of language.

The research findings in the UK, Germany and Norway differ from each other. Firstly, in the UK, as the analysis of the research findings suggests, it seems that there is a tendency towards assimilation among immigrants, as there is no strong evidence of integration. However, the immigrants themselves seem to want to maintain at least a standard level of Greek in their daily lives, as they often use it at home or with their relatives in Greece. The findings in Germany seem to differ a little from the ones in the UK in terms of acculturation. Immigrants tend to integrate both the Greek and the German cultures in their daily life. In terms of language maintenance, immigrants

mainly aim to maintain their mother language, either by school or speaking it at home. Finally, in Norway, the researcher believes that it is difficult to maintain the Greek language among younger generations of immigrants, although there is interest towards this direction from some immigrants. Hence, language shift will be detected in the forthcoming future. However, regarding acculturation, immigrants lean towards integration, while there is the example of I.P., who said that she is thinking of returning to Greece because the adaptation to both the climate and the strict daily life that exists in Oslo makes it quite difficult. Below is the comparison of the findings.

First of all, regarding acculturation, immigrants in both Germany and Norway, who participated in this research, seem to integrate both cultures. They seem to lean towards integration, which means that they regard both the heritage and the host culture in a positive. Instead, in the UK, immigrants seem to assimilate, which means that they place a negative value on the old and a positive value on the new culture.

With regard to the maintenance or the shift of the mother language, immigrants in both the UK and Germany seem to strive for maintenance. The difference is that in the UK the immigrants want to maintain at least a standard level of Greek in their daily lives, as they often use it at home or with their relatives in Greece, while in Germany they want to maintain their mother language to a greater extent, as for example, in their daily life and pass it onto the next generation. However, the findings from the research in Norway show that the immigrants who participated in the research are unlikely to maintain their mother language, although there is a formal interest in maintaining it among some. Therefore, according to the opinion of the researcher, it is likely that language shift will be detected in the forthcoming future.

Regarding the leading hypothesis of the researcher, the comparison of the findings provides the following results. First of all, the hypothesis stated that Greeks who immigrate in the UK, Germany and Norway, value positively both the heritage and the new culture (integration). This part of the hypothesis was confirmed in Norway and Germany, while in the UK the data indicates that assimilation exists. The hypothesis was not confirmed in the case of the UK, probably because the immigrants who participated in the research were people who had been there for many years and had already adopted the way of life there.

Then, concerning language maintenance or language shift, the hypothesis of the researcher was that the immigrants would avoid the shift of their mother language (language maintenance), at least at the household level of everyday speech. This part of the hypothesis was confirmed partly in the UK and especially in Germany. In Germany, immigrants were strong supporters of maintaining their mother language, while in the UK, they wanted to maintain it, if only to the necessary extent required to communicate with loved ones. However, the hypothesis of the researcher in Norway was rejected, as immigrants there may be led to language shift, whereas older generations of immigrants have already been led there.

Limitations of the Study

It is important to set certain limitations that define the scope and range of this research. All the outcomes produced by this research concern the reality as it is perceived only through the eyes of the subjects who participated, i.e. the interviewees and the research. The interviewees live in specific environments with a certain everyday life. Any generalizations should be avoided. To this effect, Khan and VanWynsberghe (2008: 25) claim that "...it is far easier, and more epistemologically sound, simply to give up on the idea of generalization". Bearing this stance in mind, the reader should not make generalizable claims across all immigrant populations in the reported countries, although partial generalizations may be possible to similar immigrant populations. Moreover, the fact that this research focuses on illustrating the research questions through the lives of a restricted number of participants, should not undermine its findings or be considered weak in terms of its validity. Instead, it should be treated as a testimony of personal experiences by people who live daily experiences where they "challenge" their cultural identity and their linguistic reality. Also, it is worth mentioning that another limitation in this research was the COVID-19 pandemic. The restrictions that applied in all the countries involved in the research regarding crowded gatherings, as well as transportation, led to delays, and in some cases led to a total redesign of the researcher's design. Thus, the findings of this research provide a rich understanding of one aspect of an immigrant's life and carry the unique value of a personal and direct experience, while any generalizations should be avoided.

Suggestions for Further Research

Multiple issues stemming from this thesis can be explored in future research and therefore some suggestions for further research can be made. Both acculturation and language orientations of an immigrant's life have many areas that are conducive to further investigation. First of all, more empirical studies like the one presented in this thesis using qualitative instruments such as personal observation and interviews may be carried out. In addition, the research could be carried out in other cities or even in other countries if we were to extend the boundaries of the research. Thus, the reader of the research would have an even more complete insight into the data that is applicable regarding the patterns of acculturation, as well as the language orientations of Greek immigrants. A further recommendation involves the perspectives on young people's literacies across home and school. It would be interesting to develop further research on new literacies among young students. Several studies have been conducted in this direction, such as the one by Bulfin & Koutsogiannis (Bulfin & Koutsogiannis, 2012) on 14-16 year students in Australia and Greece. A similar study could be conducted among the population of young Greek immigrants attending schools abroad. Furthermore, acculturation is a great field for study, especially concerning immigrants. One suggestion for further research on this topic would be a comparative study of all the aspects of an immigrant's acculturation in countries on different continents, where one host culture will certainly differ from the other. Finally, the researcher believes that it will be of particular interest to present a research that will include an even larger sample of the population, perhaps even the entire population of Greek immigrants. This should be carried out using qualitative methods, so that the result is less standardized and emphasizes the individuality of each immigrant. Thus, it becomes readily apparent that the field for further research is large and has much to offer.

Summary

This chapter presented a discussion of the research findings and drew comparisons in terms of acculturation and language orientations. Findings in all three countries

indicated that there are several similarities, but also several differences among them. It is impossible to draw a general conclusion, as each case is unique and must also be studied separately. In the same way, the hypothesis of the researcher in some cases was conformed, while in others it was disproved. Generally, further research in these countries will provide additional insights to the researcher.

6. Conclusion

Living in a culturally diverse society is now the norm. Globalization and immigration contribute towards that direction. What is more, the most important reasons for international immigration are differences in income and economic opportunities between countries, varying levels of social and human security as well as existing ethnic and diaspora networks (Increasing Significance of Migration | Knowledge for Policy, n.d.). It appears that Greek immigrants in the UK, Germany and Norway tend to adapt different acculturation models and language orientations. This is due to many factors, for example the level of tolerance towards immigration that the society that each immigrant lives in has or the willingness of the immigrants to adapt or not. The uncertainty of the pandemic has been equally important, as it has redefined the relationships between immigrants and created a new and different daily routine from the one they were used to living in. Some considered returning to Greece, while others saw this new situation as an opportunity to have a different daily life that meets their goals. Some immigrants found it easier to integrate, while others preferred to keep their beliefs firm. Also, language orientations differ from country to country and are affected by the preferences of the individual immigrant.

The researcher is of the opinion that immigration to the UK, Germany and Norway will continue as Greeks are unable to define their status within the new globalized society. These bipolar questions: Integration or assimilation? Maybe separation and marginalization? Mother language maintenance or shift? These attitudes of immigrants towards a new culture will continue to differ from generation to generation. Each person brings a unique culture with them that is different from any other.

Although acculturation and language orientations of immigrants are multidimensional and multifaceted, it is hoped that this thesis, through the research conducted, has added to the scarce body of literature pertaining to acculturation and language orientations of Greeks in the UK, Germany and Norway context and has laid the foundation for further exploration.

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