

CAPÍTULO 9

DIFFERENT WAYS TO RELATE WITH THE 'OTHER': PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IDEAS ABOUT TEACHING HISTORY TO REFUGEE YOUTH, A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Introduction: immigration/emigration in Greece and Portugal

As Christopoulos put it, in Greece people associate “migrate” more with “emigrate” than “immigrate” (2012: 161). Traditionally Greece, like other Mediterranean countries, has been a source of immigrants mainly for the U.S.A., as, till 1925, 500.000 Greek people had settled in America (ibid: 167). Another 1.500.000 people migrated to the U.S.A. between the 1940s and the 1970s. The situation changed in the 1990s with the fall of the communist regimes, when there was a flow of economic immigrants to Greece originating in Eastern Europe. A second flow of immigrants reached a peak in the period 2013-2017 when 1.112.332 refugees crossed the borders of Greece (Kotsiou et al, 2018). The latter immigration flow was due to the Arab Spring and the Syrian Civil War that started in 2011. At the moment 57.042 refugees are hosted in

Greece (ibid). According to a European survey¹⁵ conducted in 2009, the Greek society appears to be remarkably uninviting in relation to immigrants (Consta, 2017¹⁶). Nevertheless, Avraamidou et al, that conducted a survey in the Greek – Cypriot Press for the period 2011-2015, report that “in the data set of 2015 pro-migration/refugee articles clearly outnumber anti-migration/refugee opinion articles” (Avraamidou et al, 2017).

Portugal, a traditional country of emigrants, is nowadays, and increasingly, a country of immigrants. According to Barreto (2005) historically Portugal can be defined as a country of emigration, but since the early 1990s it has become an attractive territory for international migrations. At present, we find in Portugal a greater variety of migratory dynamics (Ferreira & Rodrigues 2014).

Traditionally Portugal has been a source of immigrants mainly for Europe, America and Africa. After 25 April 1974 several migratory movements took place-in Portugal, and 600 thousands of returnees¹⁷ and expatriates¹⁸ from the colonies returned to Portugal (1974/76). Additionally, the emigration to Europe decreased after the revolution while the immigration of Africans people from Portuguese speaking countries, mainly from Brazil, Central and Eastern Europe (Ukrainians, Russians) increased in the 1980's and 1990's (70.000), (Barreto, 2016).

According to PORDATA data a total of 32,318 Portuguese emigrated in 1960, having increased in 1970 to 66,360. In the following decades it decreases, while from 2011 it rises reaching more than 100,000 emigrants. If in the 1960s and 1970s emigration was essentially to European countries, such as France, Germany, Switzerland and Luxembourg, in 2011, with the beginning of the crisis in Portugal, there is a massive emigration to England and other European countries (France, Spain, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and Luxembourg), America (Brazil and USA) and Portuguese-speaking African countries (Angola and Mozambique), reaching 134,624 emigrants in 2014 (Justino, 2016). According to

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<http://ess.nsd.uib.no>

http://www.esdi.gr/nex/images/stories/pdf/epimorfosi/2017/programma_seminariou_metanastes.pdf

¹⁷ Returnees is the designation given to the Portuguese who lived in the Portuguese colonies and who came to Portugal after the 25th of April with decolonization.

¹⁸ Expatriates represent the Portuguese workers who were working outside the country in the colonies when decolonization took place.

the last general census of the population of 2011, 394,496 foreigners resided in Portugal, and constitute 3.7% of the total population.

Since 2015, the European Union has been experiencing an unprecedented influx of refugees fleeing war, persecution and extreme poverty, with the greatest humanitarian crisis since World War II. The report on the refugee reception program¹⁹ states that from the end of 2015 until February 2018, Portugal received 1,674 refugees: (1,192 people from Greece and 340 people from Italy), and accommodated 142 refugees under the Turkish Resettlement Program. PAR (Shelter support platform) welcomed 671 people out of a total of 1,674 refugees, that were resettled and reinstated in Portugal. More than 50% of refugees left the country. The Government justifies this abandonment with difficulties in language learning and cultural adaptation, as well as the absence in Portugal of communities from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea, the three main countries-refugees that originated from.

In the above context, amidst a European Refugee Crisis, we wished to describe students', prospective teachers' stances in relation to refugees. We detected tendencies in an indirect way of asking, actually demanding from them to form criteria for the refugees' acceptance by and integration in the Greek / Portuguese society. History is not considered culturally 'neutral', encouraging our students to indicate aims and appropriate history content for the refugee youth we expected to detect criteria for their inclusion/exclusion in the two European societies.

Methodology-Procedures

The sample accounted for in this paper is comprised of seventy- students from the primary education departments of the Universities of Ioannina and Minho. It is a "convenience" sample (Cohen, and Manion, 2000: 102), students volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Data collection took place in spring 2018 within the context of the augmenting refugees crisis for the whole Europe. The present work identifies with the comparative research model which asks the same question in two different places (Cowen,2014, Nóvoa & Mashal, 2010) while it seeks to locate commonalities and differences in the ideas students from these two different

<http://www.refugiados.pt/refugiadosempportugal/>

countries hold within the context of the European refugees crisis but in different cultural and political environments. Stances towards immigrants and refugees imply preceptions of national identity. Differences in the history and historical consciousness of respective countries, Portugal and Greece, are expected to indicate different perceptions of the 'other', in our case the refugees' youth.

General Aims of School History: First Task

At the first task students were asked to give the reasons why history should be taught at school. The reason why this general question about the aims of school history was put to students was that they were education students, prospective teachers. We wished to consider whether their initial epistemology of history would be affected by their role in a socially critical situation like the one of receiving refugees' students in their school. McCully and Montgomery took their students-prospective teachers to a field trip and exposed them to controversial versions of their own past seeking whether this would affect their own thinking about that controversial past also their way of teaching history (McCully & Montgomery, 2009). In the same way we sought to check our students pedagogical and epistemological stances 'before' and 'after' their exposure to the critical situation of the refugees' students in their own classrooms.

The findings were alike between the Greek and the Portuguese sample: students that expressed a 'traditional' epistemology slightly outnumbered students that expressed a more critical one. Typical excerpts of both the Greek and the Portuguese samples are the following:

[History] is our past, our culture, the values our ancestors have left to us and which we endorse. The origin of our development, our roots, (Greek student 26).

In order for the students to learn the past mistakes and not to repeat them, to teach the students their roots and the history of their country, (Greek student 7).

History must be taught in school in order to convey what has been done and can be repeated and what has been done poorly, so we should learn from it, also to transmit culture, (Portuguese student 13).

And some 'critical' excerpts:

To develop critical capacity on motives, causes and consequences of peoples' actions, so that different peoples may peacefully coexist and so that tolerance and positive predisposition are fostered among them, (Greeke student 8).

History should be taught in school mainly because of culture issue. History contextualizes the problems and events of the present through past situations, (Portuguese student 17).

We use the terms ‘traditional’, ‘exemplary’ and ‘critical’ in the sense that Rüsen used them to define types of historical consciousness. ‘Traditional’ and ‘paradigmatic’ historical consciousness is characterized by “repetition of obligatory forms of life” (2005: 31) while the ‘critical’ one by the “problematization of actual forms of life and value systems” (ibid). Students express themselves in traditional terms seeing history as successful past examples that can lead them in the present and the future. Students can be considered ‘critical’ when they see history as creating frames of comparison between the past and the present so that they can decide the best about present problems.

Table 1. Reasons why history should be taught at school

Categories	Descriptors	Portugal		Greece	
		no	%	no	%
Traditional	Refer to ‘roots’, ‘ancestors, sacrifices’, e.t.c. or to ‘paradigmatic’ uses of the past (‘to avoid mistakes’)	19	54	21	60
Critical	The ‘critical’ speak about ‘how time has evolved from the past’, ‘multiperspectivity’, ‘empathy’, ‘comparisons between past and present’, and other things alike	16	46	14	40
Total		35	100%	35	100%

Aims for School History for the Refugees’ Youth: Second Task

Empathy as “caring” (category 1)

In this category we recorded students’ excerpts that advocated for history to be taught to immigrants but for different reasons in the two countries. Greek students’

excerpts while referring to the wars in which Greece was involved, did not emphasize warfare or ancestors' exploits but the bad side of the war and the affinity that they saw between their own pain and the pain of the 'other', the refugees. The above reminds me of Barton & Levstik's conceptualization of empathy as "care"²⁰, interest in the other, and as the motivation to advance historical understanding.

Even though immigrants may have experienced difficult situations with war and violence, getting into the process of learning the story of another people will give them the opportunity to see that they are not alone and are not the only ones who have been through difficult times, but other peoples despite the disasters they experienced have been able to stand on their feet ..."(Greek student 32).

As for people who have experienced violence and war, poverty and weakness, they realize that such events may happen in other countries too ... "(Greek student 25b).

The above excerpts could also remind us of Rösen's reference to the "emotive" dimension of historical understanding; thus, Rösen speaks of the cognitive work the historian has to execute to sooth "the disturbing awareness of suffering and pain" (2008: 2). Within the same context, Greeks' past pain and refugees' present pain could lead to the understanding and historization of similar war and refugeeism experiences.

Portuguese students saw Portuguese history teaching as a way for refugees to feel more 'at home' but mainly to "participate in civic life" (student 21). So, while it is for the refugees' advantage that they will be taught Portuguese history, there could be an overlapping with categories 2 and 3 ("liberal & cognitive" and "civic republicanism") since learning history stands as a prerequisite for active citizenship.

Two excerpts:

History must be taught to immigrants and refugees because when they arrive in a new and culturally different country, they should feel a bit off the mark and, knowing the history and culture of a country besides enriching their knowledge, can actively participate in civic life of that country, (Portuguese student 21).

To get to know a little of the culture and ideals of the country where they have just arrived, in order to have a safer stay with the least possible conflicts, (Portuguese student 30).

There have been only four Portuguese students classified in this category, possible reasons: no traumatic events in Portuguese history like the Minor Asia refugees'

²⁰ Empathy as "care" and in contrast to empathy as "perspective taking", (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

wave in Greece (1922), no exchange of populations²¹ like the ones that took place in Balkans in the same mid-war period. While Portugal has a long history of emigration (Justino, 2016), this might not have been perceived in a traumatic way. There ought to be differences between the Portuguese and Greek peoples, either in actual history, or in historical consciousness.

Liberalism and ‘cognitive’ approach in relation to the ‘other’ (category 2)

Here there are common trends between Greece and Portugal: Refugees should be familiarized with the Greek and Portuguese culture and the Greek and Portuguese way of life; equally, Greeks and Portuguese would get to know newcomers’ habits, values, ideas. In this cognitive approach mutual respect is implied on both sides, also interest in each other. We learn history to understand the ‘other’. I believe that this category is covered by what Abowitz & Harnish call ‘liberal citizenship’ (2016: 661). As they explain,

“In this discourse ... [one meets] the belief that there is less relative social agreement on values, chosen identities, and forms of democratic participation than is assumed by the civic republican discourse (McLaughlin, 1992; Strike, 1994). Whereas civic republican discourse values the common good of political communities, political liberalism envisions a more limited political arena, with greater focus on procedures that would ensure fair, inclusive deliberation about governance and policy (Gutmann, 2000) “... Liberals want students to think critically, to be able to detect conflicts between “our inclusive political ideals and . . . their particular moral and religious convictions” (Macedo, 2000, p. 238). Political liberalism envisions citizenship that takes a certain critical attitude toward all authority, consistent with its focus on liberty (Kymlicka, 1999b) (Abowitz and Harnish, 2016: 661-664)”.

Typical extracts of the above category in the Greek sample could be the following:

At the same time, there could be a program in which students coming from other countries would be taught their own history in a way they wouldn’t forget their origin and roots ... (student 19)

It is necessary for refugees coming to our country to be taught both our history and their own history, not only to preserve their particular cultural characteristics but to develop them, also to identify the similarities between peoples, in the circumstances and the elements that shaped them, ..., (student 8).

²¹ The Greek-Turkish exchange was a result of the 1918-1922 Greek-Turkish War. After Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s entry to Smyrna followed by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in November 1, 1922, an official treaty of peace with Greece was signed after months of negotiations in Lausanne on July 24, 1923. It was a mandatory large-scale populations exchange, the only one in world history that was dictated by a transnational convention.

And as one of the Portuguese students put it:

History must be taught to immigrants and refugees who come to our country so that there are no cultural differences. In the same way they must know our history, we must know theirs too, (Portuguese student 18).

Civic Republicanism (category 3)

The emphasis on rules, on the prerequisites for acquiring citizenship rights in a country, therefore history is necessary in order for refugees to familiarize with the country they will settle in. People from abroad wishing to remain in the country ought to change in a way that the host country itself remains homogeneous. The above could be an echo of the “assimilation” and the “melting pot” strategies adopted by the U.S.A. government in relation to immigrants in different time periods; as Foster (1999: 258) cites: “In this [the melting pot] alternative version America was portrayed as God’s crucible’, a land in which the best traits of various ethnic groups would be fused together to fashion a new and celebratory American identity”²². In relation to Greece and the role of history in this process, Christopoulos finds it controversial: in the 2010 legal reform in relation to recognition of citizenship rights to refugees, the role of history is described both in social and political terms. The knowledge of Greek history is considered advantageous from the societal point of view as it allows immigrants to participate or know about public celebrations and generally makes public life in Greece meaningful. The knowledge of Greek history is also identified with political principles and values that are dominant in the country and possibly with the official national narrative. Could one answer to the question, “What happened in the Greek Civil War”, without forming an interpretation (Christopoulos, 2012: 258, a publication in Greek). Abowitz & Harnish on their part comment:

"Civil republican discourse usually expresses the values of love and offer to the political community (local, state and national)? in relation to the integration of the citizens in the political community, the relative rhetoric is characterized by exclusivity [With regard to the pupils] this reason underlines the need for better citizenship education and the importance of the prerequisite common political knowledge "(Abowitz & Harnish, 2016, p. 657).

²² Foster cites L.A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York, 1964), 72.

Typical excerpts:

... it is important to teach history for their easier assimilation into the new country ..., (Greek student 11)

... it is important for refugees to know the history of Greece as they are about to stay for a period of time and have to comply with the rules and the circumstances ..., (Greek student 20).

There is a great difference in numbers between Greek and Portuguese students. Portuguese students outnumber Greek students in the 'republican' construct to the same extent Greek students outnumbered them in the 'empathy' construct. A hypothesis accounting for the latter discrepancy would refer to the fact that Greece had not had citizenship originating to "civic republicanism". Theorists mention that actually till 2010 Greece has been outside the state of justice (Christopoulos, 2012: 41, Repoussi, 2016). Difference in historical experiences and the traumatic events after 1922 for Greece might also explain the present supportive stance of Greek students towards refugees' children. Apart from numbers a typical Portuguese excerpt from the 'republican' construct seems to be quite similar to the Greek ones:

Because it is important that they know our traditions and stories so that they can integrate (Portuguese student 19).

Paternalism (category 4)

This could remind us of the 'empathy' category. Students participating in the study start by accounting of what refugees have been through. Referring to history that should be taught, they end up emphasizing the national achievements of the Greeks, especially how Greeks have overcome their own difficulties when they were in similar past situations. In the end they use the "resistance" pattern of the Greek national narrative: in the same way Greeks overcame all sorts of obstacles, refugees will overcome their difficulties too. In that sense Greeks were the ones to show the way for action and they formed a 'model'. The student's speech reminds us of Foster commenting on the Anglo-Saxon attitude in the United States. Foster says:

"The first alternative considered was to divest recent arrivals of their native culture and compel them to conform to the 'virtues' of Anglo-Saxon traditions" (Foster, 1999, p. 258).

Typical examples:

So, refugees coming to our country, who come from a completely different culture, after learning our history may well be able to homogenize, ... (Greek student 38)

It is essential for immigrants and refugees to learn history; knowing our civilization and what Hellenism has offered so far on an international level, immigrants will develop higher respect for the country that hosts them. It would be better if they were initially taught ancient Greek history, about the great philosophers (Plato and Aristoteles) but also modern history in order to realize that we are a people that has so far endured a lot (ottoman occupation, junta), thus we empathize and realize what they themselves have been through, (Greek student 62).

In my opinion, we must teach history to the immigrants and refugees who come to our country, so they have a sense of our culture, customs, or our history. It is important to know the history of the country you are in. (Portuguese student 16)

To know what the country is (economic and social bases) and from there to extract standards from society. One should never be "blind" when one leaves and enters a country, since each country has its characteristics that are easier to understand if one knows its history. (Portuguese student 3).

Table 2. Aims for School History for the Refugees' Youth

Categories	Descriptors	Portugal		Greece	
		no	%	no	%
Empathy	Speech orientated to the immigrants even when they refer to Greek/Portuguese history, emphasis on what the immigrants have been through	4	11,4	17	49
Tolerance, Pluralisme, Liberal Paradigm	Emphasis on culture, OUR culture, (cognitive) THEIR culture, you learn history to learn about cultures, you compare peoples' cultures	7	20	10	28
Assimilation, Civic Republicanism	If they are to be in Greece/Portugal they SHOULD learn Greek/Portuguese History	13	37,1	5	14
Paternalism-"resistance"	Emphasis on what Greeks/Portugueses have accomplished, 'they are lucky to be here'	11	31,4	3	3
Total		35	100	35	100

Topics selected: Third Task

The last question given to Greek and Portuguese students was about indicating topics and events that would be most appropriate for the refugees' youth.

Greek students mostly selected the two World Wars, Dictatorship, the 1821 Liberation War and the 1944-1949 Civil War; their rationale was that those situations are comparable to the present experiences of the refugees; as one student said:

Because these situations took place here (the Liberation War of 1821, the Civil War, Dictatorship), they had immense consequences and they will be very interesting for all these people that are going through similar experiences, (Greek student 18).

A special case for the Greek sample is the Greek-Turkish War of 1918-1922 that ended up to the expulsion of Greek populations from Minor Asia. One of the three excerpts that refer to the Minor Asia case is the following:

A subject that could be referred to is the immigration move of the Minor Asia populations after the Minor Asia Catastrophe, I think that this would be the best subject to be analyzed and compared with various immigration waves in our country today and it would contribute to coping with racist behavior; Greek students realize that Greek people were in the same situation years ago (Greek student 3).

Portuguese students mostly selected the national history related to the beginning of nationality, the period of discoveries, maritime expansion, and the Portuguese empire, topics that may in some way evidence a nationalist perspective of history: students seemed to have valued as relevant moments of national history the ones related with the origins of nationality and the golden period of the History of Portugal, but also periods of great political change, such as the establishment of the Republic (1910), the dictatorship (1933-74), and the April 1974 revolution that ended the dictatorship and established democracy, and Portugal's integration into the European Union (1986).

The following excerpt in addition to the 'nationalist' approach also highlights World War II as one of the relevant milestones in history which, (according to Portuguese students), must be taken into account to avoid repeating the same mistakes.

The formation of Portugal and the Portuguese discoveries /expansion are important to take into account indicating our origin and our importance in the past. The dictatorship in Portugal (1933-74) serves to learn that our most recent past was not good and that we have overcome several difficulties, and that the April revolution is an important milestone in understanding the power of democracy and freedom. The Second World War and resistance against the Axis must be taught in order to

understand the European past and the mistakes made in Europe (Portuguese student 13).

Freedom is one of the values most pointed by Portuguese students when most of them indicate the relevance of studying the Revolution of April 25, as one of the students said:

The April Revolution (1974) was a milestone that brought freedom of rights and duties of the Portuguese people to this day (Portuguese student 31).

Table 3. Topics and events that would be most appropriate for the refugees' youth

Themes	Greece		Themes	Portugal	
	No	%		no	%
WW I	14	40%	Formation of Portugal	26	73%
WWII	12	34%	Revolution of April (1974)	23	66%
			Discoveries / Portuguese expansion	22	63%
Liberation War of 1821			Dictatorship in Portugal	20	57%
			I Republic (Portugal)	16	46%
			Colonialism / colonial empire	8	23%
Post/Dictatorship years			WW II	8	22%
			Liberal revolution of 1820	7	20%
			Colonial War (1961-1974)	7	20%
			Decolonization	7	20%
			WW I	6	17%
Antiquity (ways of production)			Renaissance	5	
1922 Minor Asia catastrophe/Greek refugeeism			French Revolution	5	
			Economic crisis (1929).	5	
Ottoman years (institutions)			Antiquity (slavery)	4	
Byzantine years (institutions)			Roman Empire	3	
			Cold War	3	
			Antiquity (ways of production)	2	

			Enlightenment period	2	
Total	113		Total	179	

Discussion

The motivation for this common research, and paper, has been the similar past and present of two southern European countries, Greece and Portugal. Both in economic crisis, and as regards Greece, also the epicenter of the refugees' crisis in Europe, they seem to stand in the 'eye of the storm' while constituting "demographic bombs" (Justino, 2016). Portugal and Greece with a tradition in periodic waves of emigration and immigration, are now suffering a brain-drain, while receiving much fewer economic immigrants. They are receiving instead, especially Greece, refugees originating in the civil wars of Africa and Middle East.

Our questions about teaching history aims played a double role: to assess our students', prospective teachers' epistemology, also their way of conceptualizing their identity. Would they use the knowledge of history as a tool to facilitate relationships between them and the refugees' youth or as a means for exclusion and one-sided obligations of the new-comers towards the host countries?

The prevailing tendency among our students and a common one was the 'Liberal and Cognitive' category within which students saw refugees as a source of knowledge thus they expected that refugees would retain their cultural characteristics. Portuguese students ranged more between the 'liberal' and the 'republican' types. The 'republican' type tends to be the prevailing one in those countries where a strong commitment to community is expected. Greek students expressed themselves through the 'Liberal and Cognitive' category and the 'Empathy' one. The latter could be identified with aspects of Greece's past and historical consciousness: students seem to see compassion and relief in common circumstances in which, Greek people in the past, and currently the refugees find themselves.

The latter stance could indicate possible strategies in history teaching where common 'frameworks' could be created to allow understanding and caring for the 'other'. The classroom, as an environment for exchange of experiences and ideas

between students of different communities, seems to be an important and viable way to make different cultures meet.

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