# Schools' sit-ins as a result of students' political socialization: empirical research in schools of central Macedonia in Greece.

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#### Abstract

This paper presents a research that was carried out in autumn 2016 by school of Political Science of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki about students' sit-ins in secondary education schools. In the introduction, the notion of political socialization is explained and it is associated with the students' option to sit-in their schools as a form of unconventional political demonstration (Gimpel, Lay, & Schuknecht, 2003: Dahlgren, 2009). Also, the legitimacy of sit-ins is questioned according to the laws that recently were voted by the Greek parliament (4386/17). The purpose of this research was to examine the factors that influence students to occupy schools every autumn and to describe the profile of the students that act in this way. Ted Gurr's book "Why Men Rebel" (1971) was used as the theoretical frame for this analysis. The sample consisted of 2672 senior high school pupils that were collected from schools of central Macedonia. A questionnaire was used which was completed by senior high school students from the prefectures of Katerini and Thessaloniki. The variables were grouped into three main categories which represent the justification of schools' sit-ins by students, their frequency index and the social support index. Multiple statistical analyses were conducted with students' political self-conscience. The findings of this research stress the fact that most students are in a state of confusion as far as the sit-ins are concerned. Our analysis of political socialization is based on the assumption that next to a rational-choice utilitarian process, which guides us in matters of party preference and voting behavior, lays a less-than-rational cognitive process of moral decisions, which is based on definite notions of good and evil. This analysis allowed us to capture visually these discourses in the form of "semantic maps."

**Key Words**: secondary education, political socialization, schools' sit-ins

#### Introduction

The first attempt of systematical approach to the role of politicization and its impact on the normal function of the political system and of the institutions, is owed to Plato, who pursued to include in his system of thought a sum of theories that aimed at the best preparation of the individual for the undertaking of his/her political roles within the society where he/she acted (Almond & Verba, 1963. Barnes & Kaase, 1979. Berndt, 1982). Apart from the contribution of many of the classical philosophers to the phenomenon of youth political socialization, the first reports of political socialization as an independent field of research took place in studies during the 20s and 30s which referred to civics education, as well as in researches which dealt with issues that concerned with the formation of national identities during second world war (Campbell, 2004 · Botsch, 2011). However, the systematical reference to political socialization as a sociological field takes place during 1950s, when the electoral behavior of the citizens is connected with their social, psychological and economic conditions (Sherrod, Flanagan & Youniss, 2002 · Givalos, 2005). As far as political socialization is concerned school is one of the most important because apart from conveying knowledge and developing the skills of students, aims at transmitting values and rules that govern the function of society as a whole. Herbert Hyman, who for the first time referred to the notion of political socialization, described it as "the learning of social patterns, corresponding to (...) social positions as mediated through various agencies of society" (1959: 25). Rush and Althoff (1971) definition of political socialization is followed which defines political socialization as "the process that results in the acquisition of all the politically oriented experiences the individual needs. These experiences are not only political in the narrow sense, but they are relevant because they shape their political behavior"(p. 3).

It is obvious that socialization is an important factor of transmitting political interest. Different actors play an important role in this process, in parallel with the mass media (Adoni, 1979· Beck & Jennings, 1982· Lupia & Philpot, 2005) and the political climate (Sears & Valentino, 1997· Muxel, 2001, 2002· Norris, 2011). An important parameter of sensitization is that of social networks that comes from the field of sociology. Lazega

(1994: 293) describes it as the sum of special type relations among the actors. Whereas parents typically are recognized as the primary factor of social network, two others should not be neglected: the peer groups and the teachers. The influence of these three factors is not the same, due to the fact that their role in adolescents' life is different and evolves as time goes by. Parents typically are considered as the most important socialization factor, at least for the adolescents (Sapiro, 2004). The first studies in relation with political socialization, which were conducted in 60s and 70s, emphasized the relation between the parents and the youngsters (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969. Jaros, 1973: Campbell, 1980: Alexander & Colomy, 1985), and referred to the influence of the former to the latter. The first results regarding the influence of school on political socialization were pretty disappointing. Langton and Jennings figured that civic education as a subject did not have in any way an impact on political socialization. They considered that the link between the number of civic education subjects and variables such as general political knowledge and interest for political discussions is so impossible that persons in charge should seriously think the abolishment of these subjects. Their conclusion is obvious: "Our findings do not support those who believe that curricula of civic education in American high schools are a source of political socialization" (Langton & Jennings, 1968: 863).

Since then this point of view has been confuted and school gains its status as an important factor in the process of political socialization. Many contemporary researches have proved the essential role of civic education as a subject in the development of political conscience (Denver & Hands, 1990· Niemi & Junn, 1998· Claes, Stolle & Hooghe, 2007). Apart from learning procedure, Tournier (1997) reached the conclusion that school and family interact, so as to develop the ideological preferences (left or right) of French students while David Campbell (2006) remind us that the social frame often is not taken into account in the procedure of socialization. Adolescent experiences have an impact on the adult behavior with the civic norms that are learnt in young age having a long-term result, especially as the participation is concerned. Despite the fact that school impact shows to regain its power, studies do not reach the same conclusion as the teachers' impact is concerned. In a relevant research it has been deducted that political discussions are not an important part of teachers' role. Even though teachers believe that school is an essential factor of political socialization, they attribute a more

important role to family and to mass media for this purpose (Trottier, 1982· Inglehart, 1990· Kelpanides, 1991· Kim, Y. 2007· Papaoikonomou, 2015).

Some researchers believe that school is the most crucial entity of socialization because its defined role is the promotion of knowledge (Coleman, 1961· Bitsaki & Tsaggari, 2000· Milonas, 1998 / 2006). In Greek educational system political learning takes place through teaching subjects such as Civic Education in the third grade of Gymnasium, Civic Education in the first and second grade of Lyceum, Politics and Law in theoretical field of second grade of Lyceum, Basic Principles of Social Sciences in the second grade, Sociology in the third grade of Lyceum and History in all grades of Gymnasium and Lyceum.

#### **Political Demonstration**

In western democracies there is the prediction by the labor legislation that workers can go on strike aiming at exerting pressure, so as to safeguard their rights against their employers (Kelpanides, 1999· Lange, 2002). The right of strike is an ultimate resort and is applied in those cases in which efforts to mutual understanding and compromise between workers and employers fail. The meaning of this right consists in the fact that it realizes the scope for which it was created as long as it is used prudently. To substantiate the last argument the international statistical analyses show that the more a country prosper and its economy indices are high, the less its workers use this right (OECD, 2012).

In this paper Ted Gurr's theory on political violence and political demonstration was used. According to him violence varies according to magnitude and form. Magnitude includes scope (how many participate), intensity (destructiveness), and duration. Form includes three categories: turmoil, conspiracy, and internal war. But from the way Gurr describes these, they are simply types along two dimensions: level of organization, and level of participation. His main argument is that "men are quick to aspire beyond their social means and quick to anger when those means prove inadequate, but slow to accept their limitations" (58). Important role in his study plays relative deprivation: this is the tension between your actual state, and what you feel you should be able to achieve; as Gurr says it, "perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities"

(37). The intensity and scope of relative deprivation strongly determine the potential for collective violence. Gurr gives a long review of psychological research on aggression and concludes that frustration-aggression is the "primary source of the human capacity for violence" (pg 36), although aggression is neither necessary nor sufficient. The more intense and prolonged a feeling of frustration, the greater the probability of aggression. Gurr also considers three competing explanations and finds them either irrelevant or not in conflict with relative deprivation (page 41): cognitive dissonance, anomie (normlessness), and conflict (essentially, relative deprivation caused by competition with another group).

According to Ted Gurr's theory the main hypotheses of this research are summarized as follows:

- The justification of schools' sit-ins as a form of political demonstration differs
  according to the emphasis on social support. In other words, the more the society
  supports this kind of demonstration, the more students tend to sit in their
  schools.
- The more frequent the sit-ins are, the more often the expectation that they are going to happen again.
- The justification of schools' sit-ins depends on the existence of political reasons with which the students identify themselves with.
- The schools' sit-ins depend on their success in the past (lack of sanctions)

In this research the main researching problem dealt with the causes of school sit-ins in Greek educational reality every autumn. Sit-ins justification on behalf of the students was examined as well as the factors that contributed in the starting and in the ending of it. In relation to the above, grouping of variables was examined in order to construct certain "semantic maps".

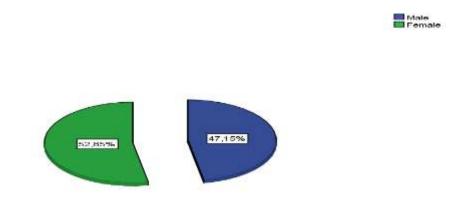
## **Methodology of Research**

For the examining of the researching problem, survey was considered as the most appropriate method which, despite its limitations, is considered more advantageous for the purpose of participating a large number of secondary education pupils from central

Macedonia (Metaxas, 1976: Marshall, 1998: Gotovos, 1996, 2004). Schools from the prefectures of Katerini and Thessaloniki were chosen so as to be presented the pupils' points of view from urban, semi-urban and rural areas. The questionnaire of this research was based on two previous researches that were conducted for similar reasons. The first is the research that was conducted by Michalis Kelpanidis in 2012 and concerned the examining of pupils' points of view about sit-ins. The second is a research conducted by Staurakakis and Demertzis about the youth and their attitudes on different issues of their daily life (Demertzis & Stayrakakis, 2008). At first, a pretest research was conducted in a lyceum class so as to ascertain pupils' attitude towards the questionnaire and to calculate the time that was needed in order for the pupils to fill it. In general, the results showed a good reception while time did not exceed 25 minutes. Once the research was approved by Institute of Educational Policy and instructions were given, letters were sent to pupils' parents so as to approve the participation of the pupils to the research. It has to be noted that all parents gave their consent without any objections. After having distributed approximately 3000 questionnaires to pupils, 2672 were given back and this is the final sample of this research.

As far as the gender of the students the following chart presents the fact that 52,85% were female and 47,15% were male. According to Hellenic Statistical Authority the same percentage applies more or less to the Greek student population.

Chart 1. The gender of the research sample.



Another useful descriptive data is the class in which the students belong. It was mentioned previously that this research took place in schools of central Macedonia in Greece and in particular in schools of the prefectures of Katerini and Thessaloniki. Only

senior high schools took part due to the fact that the sit-ins are more frequent in these types of schools. This assumption does not exclude the fact that sit-ins take place also in junior high schools but for the sake of analysis only senior high schools were chosen. The table below show that 40,1% were students from first grade of high school, whereas 33,6% from second grade and 26,2% from third grade.

Table 1. Student number and percentage regarding class

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	First class (A Lykeiou)	1072	40,1	40,1
	Second class (B Lykeiou)	899	33,6	73,8
	Third class (G Lykeiou)	701	26,2	100,0
Total		2672	100,0	

# Cluster analysis

Data analysis was based on Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) and Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) in two steps (Chadjipadelis, 2015). In the first step, HCA was used to assign subjects into distinct groups according to their response patterns. The main output of HCA was a group or cluster membership variable, which reflects the partitioning of the subjects into groups. Furthermore, for each group, the contribution of each question (variable) to the group formation was investigated, in order to reveal a typology of behavioural patterns. To determine the number of clusters, we use the empirical criterion of the change in the ratio of between-cluster inertia to total inertia, when moving from a partition with r clusters to a partition with r-1 clusters.

In the second step, the existing variables were jointly analysed with via Multiple Correspondence Analysis on the so-called Burt table (Greenacre, 2007). The Burt table is a symmetric, generalized contingency table, which cross-tabulates all variables

against each other. The main MCA output is a set of orthogonal axes or dimensions that summarize the associations between variable categories into a space of lower dimensionality, with the least possible loss of the original information contained in the Burt table. HCA is then applied on the coordinates of variable categories on the factorial axes. Note that this is now a clustering of the variables, instead of the subjects. The groups of variable categories can reveal abstract discourses.

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis is applied to the matrix with subjects in rows and variables in columns. This matrix is transformed into a 0-1 matrix, where each variable is replaced by a set of 0-1 variables, one for each variable category, taking value 1 if the corresponding category has been observed and 0 otherwise. To determine the number of clusters, we use the empirical criterion of the change in the ratio of between-cluster inertia to total inertia, when moving from a partition with r clusters to a partition with r-1 clusters (Papadimitriou & Florou, 1994).

Next, we calculate cluster weights, i.e., the percentage of subjects that belong to each cluster, and investigate the variables that characterize each cluster via a series of chi-square tests with a significance level of 5%.

#### **Results**

Broadly speaking, the variables could be categorized as justification of sit-ins, punishment as a socialization mechanism, and sit-ins frequency index (Terlexis, 1975· Taylor, 1989· Owen, 2008). Each one of the above groups includes the following variables:

## Justification of sit-ins

- Special student petitions which are related with the educational procedure
- Improvement of technical infrastructure (books, schoolyards, toilets, computers etc.).
- Support of general political and social petitions.
- Resistance to status quo.
- It is a habitual action that takes place every autumn.

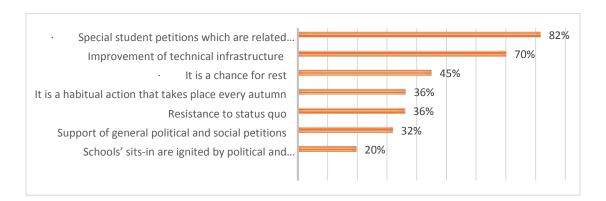
- Schools' sit-ins are ignited by political and ideological groups outside school.
- It is a chance for rest

## Sit-ins frequency index

- Has your school been occupied?
- Was there a proposition by your school council to have the school occupied?
- How often were there sit-ins in your school the last years?
- Was there a voting procedure in your school in order the sit-in to be decided?
- Did you participate in this voting procedure?

As far as the reasons that incite the students to occupy their schools is concerned, the majority believes that political and ideological reasons do not play a significant role (only 20% believes that school's sit-inss are ignited by political and ideological groups outside school). Moreover, school sit-ins cannot be characterized as resistance to present status quo (36% believes that they are an act of resistance to status quo). Students state as the most important reason for their demonstration the claim of special requests that are not connected to politics (82%), particularly of petitions which are connected with the educational procedure. Moreover, they demand the improvement of technical infrastructure (70%) and rest due to their everyday school chores (45%). The chart below shows the above results:

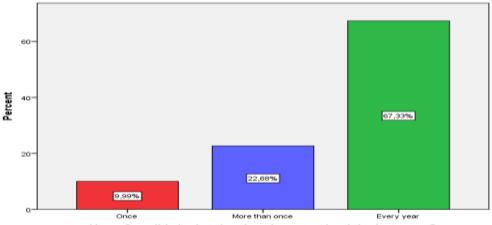
Chart 2. Justification of schools sit-ins.



Next, the students were asked about the frequency of sit-ins in their school. Due to their age, time limit was posed the level in which they belonged in the previous year. That

is, students of the first grade referred to gymnasium school years etc. The following chart shows that 67,33% of the students claim that every school year a sit-in takes place whereas 22,68% claim that more than once they have experienced a sit-in in their school:

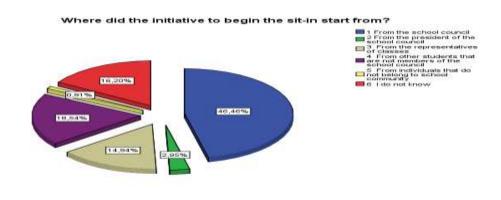
Chart 3. School sit-in frequency.



How often did sits-in take place in your school the last years?

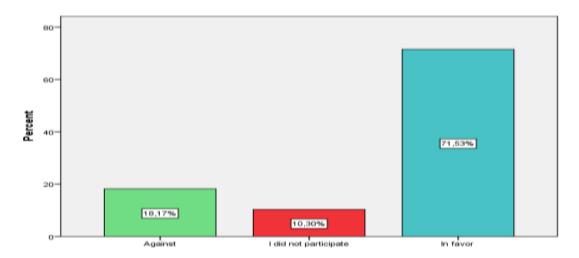
It has been stated that there are ideological groups inside and outside school which provoke school sit-ins (Pechtelidis, 2011). The results of our research show that school councils are in charge. 46, 46% states that the legitimately elected 15-member school council is the one which took the initiative to start the sit-in. Moreover, significant student percentages believe that the representatives (presidents) of some classes decided to begin the sit-in (14,94%). An 18,54% states that sit-ins began because of some students that do not belong in the school council:

Chart 4. School sit-ins initiator.



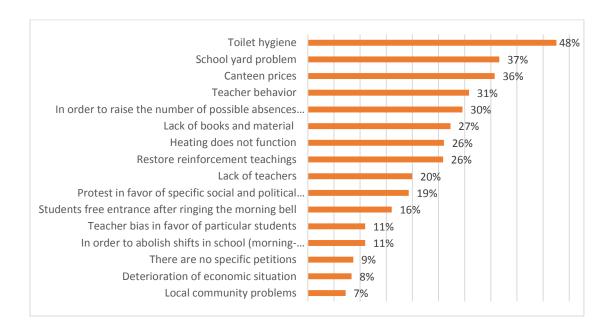
Interesting is students' opinion about their participation in the voting procedure. According to school regulation, students are asked to take part in a procedure in order to vote, so as the school director is able to promote their demands to the next level. This voting procedure may be confidential or not. In our research the voting procedure was confidential in most case and 71, 53% voted in favor of the sit-in. 18,17% voted against and only 10,30% did not care to participate:

Chart 5. Voting procedure.



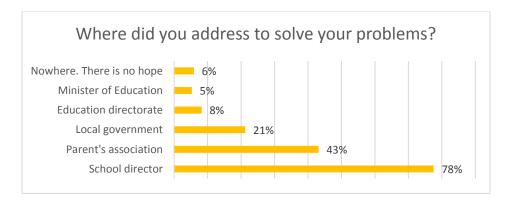
A very interesting question dealt with their demands. Researchers stated that students are incited by both general ideological motives and special petitions which are closely connected with the educational procedure and their everyday reality in the schools (Diani, 2009). In our research we understood that the majority of the students are less interested in general political and ideological matters than their everyday problems. In fact, only 19% are in favor of sit-ins because they want to protest against social and political problems and only 8% because they want to demonstrate against the economic situation of Greece. On the opposite, the majority of the students protest against toilet hygiene (48%) and school yard problems (37%). On the whole looking closely at the results in the charts below, we can understand that students are far more interestred in their everyday problems, their everyday reality and sit-ins are a way of expressing and externalizing these.

Chart 6. Students' demands.



Next, students were asked about the steps they followed in order to solve their problems before the sit-in. More specifically, the main question was whether sit-in was their final solution or they tried to appeal to other agents as well? As the following diagram shows, 78% appealed to the school director, a fact that presents the catalytical role of the director in the educational procedure. Next, another group that can become a crucial factor and a problem-solver is the parents' association since 43% of the students appealed to it in their effort to find a solution to their problems. It is interesting to note that only a 6% believes that there is no hope, a fact that shows students' optimistic point of view as far as the solving of their everyday problems is concerned.

Chart 7. Probable problem-solvers.



A great deal of discussion exists in the Greek society regarding sit-ins and their impact on the educational procedure. So, students' views were asked about their social environment attitude towards their actions that result in schools' occupation. The points of view of four categories were asked: their parents, their teachers, their friends and their school director. Interestingly, 70,1% of the school directors are totally or silently negative towards sit-ins· teachers are more positive. On the other hand, 71,3% of their friends are positive. Striking is the fact that 42,9% of the parents are neutral, a fact that can be combined with the tendency to devaluate public schools.

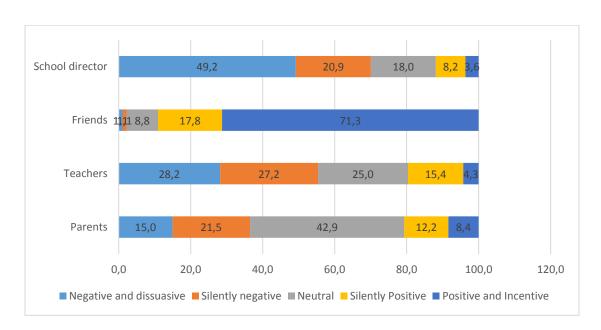
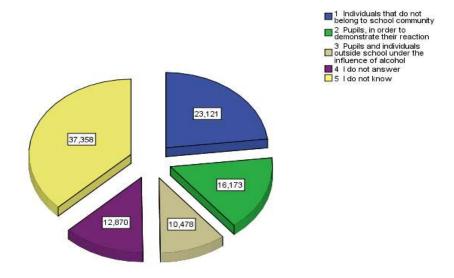


Chart 8. Social environment attitudes.

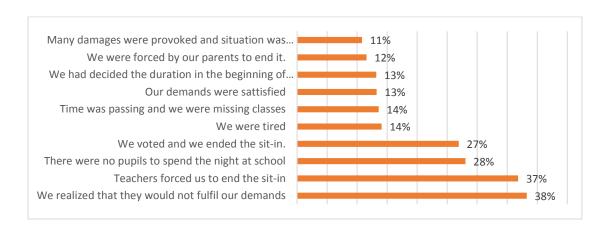
An unpleasant consequence of school sit-in are the damages which are provoked during the demonstration. 35,7% of the students asked, admitted that there were damages in school infrastructure during the sit-in. An obvious question is about the ones that provoked the damages: 50,2% either din not know or did not answer whereas 23,1% claimed that there were individuals outside school community that caused the damages. Also, a significant 10,4% claimed that there were adolescents (both pupils and individuals outside school community) under the influence of alcohol that provoked the damages, a fact which can be very dangerous. Only 16,1% claimed that damages were caused by pupils as a means of demonstrating their reaction.

Chart 9. Who provoked the damages.



As it has been said many times previously, school sit-ins is a phenomenon that takes place every year. It would be quite interesting to combine the periodical dimension of this social phenomenon with the reasons why students terminate their demonstration and return to their routine. So, they were asked to state the causes of sit-ins termination: 38% stated that they end it because they realized that leading actors in the society would not fulfil their demands. Also, 37% ended it because of teachers' threats. All the other results are shown in the following diagram:

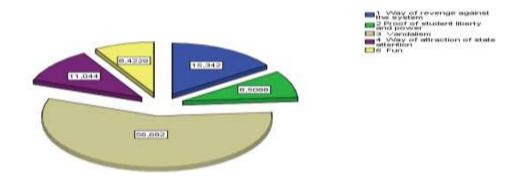
Chart 10. Causes of sit-ins termination



It is important here to state another finding: students were asked about the possibility to occupy their schools in case they knew a priori that sanctions were about to be imposed. 50,4% did not answer. 57, 14% answered that they would still participate whereas a significant 42,85% answered that they wouldn't.

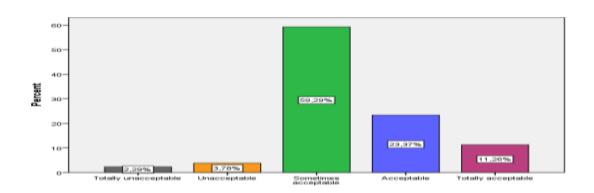
A sign of students' disorientation is the fact that the majority of them believe that the damages during sit-in are pure vandalism. Minor percentages show a different point of view. If their answers are added, 43,3% of them believe that they are acceptable ways of expressing their attitude towards the system, a fact that can become a research issue in a following paper.

Chart 11. How would you characterize the damages during the sit-in?



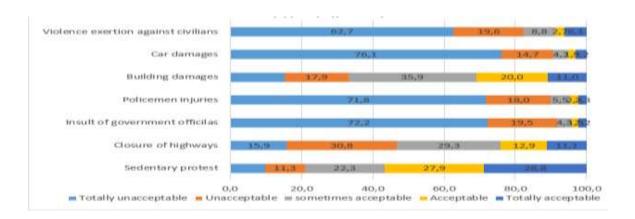
Next, the students were asked about their general attitude towards the sit-ins. We asked them to take into account both pros and cons. The majority of them judges the sit-ins as sometimes acceptable, acceptable or totally acceptable (94%), a fact which shows that this phenomenon is not going to end so easily.

Chart 13. Generally, taking into account the pros and cons, the school sit-in in your opinion is:



A fact which shows their general attitude towards demonstrations are the answers to the following questions as far as their opinion about the acceptable ways of collective actions and protestations. Their opposition to violence is clearly shown as well as their preference to more pacifist ways of expressing their demands such as sedentary protest and closure of highways, a fact which shows that damages of public property during the sit-ins are caused by minorities.

Chart 14. Acceptable ways of demonstration



# **Groups of reasoning (E1)**

The analysis for 8 statements (variables e1\_1 to e1\_8) reveals six groups of students [Ge1\_1 to Ge1\_6] and their connection to each statement. For each group the relative frequency (line 4) is given in the following table. By writing the value X in a cell we noted that there is a significant contribution of the variable (row) to the formation of the group (column). For example, in cell (e1\_1, Ge1\_4) X means that the percentage of students that belong to group Ge1\_4 and select e1\_1 is statistically significant different than the percentage of the students not belonging to group Ge1\_4 and select e1\_1.

3-Groups	Ge1_A	Ge_1A	Ge1_B	Ge1_B	Ge1_C	Ge1_C	
6-Groups	Ge1_3	Ge1_5	Ge1_4	Ge1_2	Ge1_1	Ge1_6	Missing
#	310	291	518	297	284	654	28
Weight	13.2%	12.4%	22.0%	12.6%	12.1%	27.8%	
	4698	4701	4700	4696	4695	4702	
E1_1			X	X	X	X	

E1_2			X	X		X	
E1_3			X	X			
E1_4			X		X		
E1_5	X	X			X	X	
E1_6	X	X		X			
E1_7	X	X			X	X	
E1_8		X					
	4698	4701	4700	4696	4695	4702	9999
Total Weight	13.0%	12.2%	21.8%	12.4%	11.9%	27.5%	1.2%

Six groups of people and six types of reasoning emerge out of our analysis.

E1	Nomenclature	Weight (%)	E1
(items)			Gr Variable
5, 6, 7	"Habit"	13,0%	Ge1_3
5, 6, 7, 8	"Habit"	12,2%	Ge1_5
1,2,3,4	"Political"	21,8%	Ge1_4
1,2,3,6	"Political-external"	12,4%	Ge1_2
1,4,5,7	"Mixed"	11,9%	Ge1_1
1,2,5,7	"Mixed"	27,5%	Ge1_6

In the second step, the existing variables for e25 were analysed via Multiple Correspondence Analysis on the so-called Burt table (Greenacre, 2007). The Burt table is a symmetric, generalized contingency table, which cross-tabulates all variables against each other. The main MCA output is a set of orthogonal axes or dimensions that summarize the associations between variable categories into a space of lower dimensionality, with the least possible loss of the original information contained in the Burt table. HCA is then applied on the coordinates of variable categories on the factorial axes. To determine the number of clusters, we use the empirical criterion of the change in the ratio of between-cluster inertia to total inertia, when moving from a partition with r clusters to a partition with r-1 clusters. We get 2 groups [Gr1A, Gr1B] (each one divided in two sub-groups:

• Gr1A1: Statements {1, 2}

• Gr1A2: Statements {3, 4}

• Gr1B1: Statements {5, 7}

## • Gr1B2: Statements {6, 8}

# The analysis of students demands (E12)

The analysis for 15 statements (variables e12\_1 to e12\_15) reveals nine groups of students [Ge12\_1 to Ge1\_9] and their connection to each statement. For each group the relative frequency (line 4) is given in the following table. By writing the value X in a cell we noted that there is a significant contribution of the variable (row) to the formation of the group (column). For example, in cell (e12\_1, Ge12\_6) X means that the percentage of students that belong to group Ge12\_6 and select e12\_1 is statistically significant different than the percentage of the students not belonging to group Ge12\_6 and select e12\_1.

	g12_6	g12_3	g12_5	g12_7	g12_1	g12_8	g12_9	g12_4	g12_2	
	161	167	196	219	200	518	344	201	238	2244
	7.2%	7.4%	8.7%	9.8%	8.9%	23.1%	15.3%	9.0%	10.6%	
	4472	4468	4471	4476	4462	4478	4479	4469	4464	
E12_1	X						X	X		
E12_2			X	X				X		
E12_3	X									
E12_4		X					X	X	X	
E12_5		X	X				X		X	
E12_6		X	X				X		X	
E12_7		X	X						X	
E12_8			X						X	
E12_9	X	X	X							
E12_10	X	X								
E12_11	X	X			X					
E12_12				X						

E12_13	X	X	X	X			X			
E12_14	X					X	X	X		
E12_15				X			X			
_	4,472	4,468	4,471	4,476	4,462	4,478	4,479	4,469	4,464	9,999
	6.76%	7.01%	8.23%	9.19%	8.40%	21.75%	14.44%	8.44%	9.99%	5.79%

Nine groups of people and nine types of demands emerge out of our analysis.

E12	Nomenclature	Weight (%)	E12
(items)			Gr Variable
1,3,9,10,11,13,14	Demands with a social	6.76	g12_6
	dimension		
4,5,6,7,9,10,11,13	Demands with an	7.01	
	economic dimension		g12_3
2,5,6,7,8,9,13	Demands regarding	8.23	
	their everyday routine		g12_5
2,12,13,15	Demands regarding	9.19	
	their everyday routine		g12_7
11	Strictly social demands	8.40	g12_1
14	Demands regarding	21.75	
	external activities		g12_8
1,4,5,6,13,14,15	Demands regarding	14.44	
	their everyday routine		g12_9
1,2,4,14	Demands regarding	8.44	
	external activities		g12_4
4,5,6,7,8,	Demands regarding	9.99	
	their everyday routine		g12_2

In the second step, the existing variables for e12 were analysed via Multiple Correspondence Analysis on the so-called Burt table (Greenacre, 2007). The Burt table is a symmetric, generalized contingency table, which cross-tabulates all variables against each other. The main MCA output is a set of orthogonal axes or dimensions that summarize the associations between variable categories into a space of lower dimensionality, with the least possible loss of the original information contained in the

Burt table. HCA is then applied on the coordinates of variable categories on the factorial axes. To determine the number of clusters, we use the empirical criterion of the change in the ratio of between-cluster inertia to total inertia, when moving from a partition with r clusters to a partition with r-1 clusters. We get 3 groups [Gr12A, Gr12B, Gr12C] (each one divided in sub-groups:

• Gr12A1: Statements {7, 8, 9}

• Gr12A2: Statements {4, 5, 6, 13, 15}

• Gr12A3: Statements {1, 2}

• Gr12B1: Statements {3, 10, 11}

• Gr12C1: Statement {12}

• Gr12C2: Statement (14)

• Gr12C3: No Statements

## The results (E29)

The analysis for 10 statements (variables e29\_1 to e29\_10) reveals nine groups of students [G29\_1 to G29\_9] and their connection to each statement. For each group the relative frequency (line 4) is given in the following table. By writing the value X in a cell we noted that there is a significant contribution of the variable (row) to the formation of the group (column). For example, in cell (e29\_3, G29\_7) X means that the percentage of students that belong to group G29\_7 and select e29\_3 is statistically significant different than the percentage of the students not belonging to group G29\_7 and select e29\_3.

	G29_4	G29_8	G29_6	G29_3	G29_7	G29_9	G29_1	G29_5	G29_2	
	G29_A1	G29_A2	G29_B1	G29_C1	G29_D1	G29_D2	G29_D3	G29_E1	G29_E2	missing
	124	149	128	110	178	323	138	136	147	1433
	8.7%	10.4%	8.9%	7.7%	12.4%	22.5%	9.6%	9.5%	10.3%	1
	2851	2856	2853	2848	2855	2857	2844	2852	2846	
E29_1								X	X	
E29_2					X		X			
E29_3	X		X		X	X				
E29_4	X	X								
E29_5		X								
E29_6	X	X	1	X	X					

E29_7	X		X	X						
E29_8	X	X						X		
E29_9	X		X							
E29_10			X	X	X	X				
	2,851	2,856	2,853	2,848	2,855	2,857	2,844	2,852	2,846	9,999
	5.21%	6.26%	5.37%	4.62%	7.47%	13.56%	5.79%	5.71%	6.17%	39.84%

E29	Nomenclature	Weight (%)	E12
(items)			Gr Variable
3,4,6,7,8,9	Planned in advance	5,21	G29_4
	actors		
4,5,6,8	Planned actors	6,26	G29_8
3,7,9,10	Disappointed actors	5,37	G29_6
6,7,10	Disappointed actors	4,62	G29_3
2,3,6,10	Politically active actors	7,47	G29_7
3,10	Disappointed actors	13,56	G29_9
2	Strictly politically	5,79	G29_1
	active		
1,8	Planned behavior	5,71	G29_5
1	Satisfied actors	6,17	G29_2

In the second step, the existing variables for e29 were analysed via Multiple Correspondence Analysis on the so-called Burt table (Greenacre, 2007). The Burt table is a symmetric, generalized contingency table, which cross-tabulates all variables against each other. The main MCA output is a set of orthogonal axes or dimensions that summarize the associations between variable categories into a space of lower dimensionality, with the least possible loss of the original information contained in the Burt table. HCA is then applied on the coordinates of variable categories on the factorial axes. To determine the number of clusters, we use the empirical criterion of the change in the ratio of between-cluster inertia to total inertia, when moving from a partition with r clusters to a partition with r-1 clusters. We get 2 groups [Gr29A, Gr29B] (each one divided in sub-groups:

• Gr29A1: Statements {4, 5}

• Gr29A2: Statements {6, 7}

• Gr29A3: Statements {3, 9, 10}

• Gr29B1: Statements {1, 8}

• Gr29B2: Statement {2}

• Gr29B3: No Statements

#### **Discussion**

This paper tries to shed light on the social phenomenon of schools' sit-ins in Greece. A striking finding is the fact that there is a lack of political and ideological basis for this behavior. On the contrary, it is seen as a chance for rest, as a habitual action which can be connected with the lack of particular sanctions on behalf of the state. So, schools' sit-ins cannot be characterized as unconventional political demonstration but as a habitual action that happens every autumn due to students' conviction that it is a way of sensitizing society about their everyday problems (Kelpanides, 2002: Papadopoulou, Stamovlasis, Tsalikis, 2012). It is evident that other reasons also exist which are connected with political and social problems. Nevertheless, the fact that a great deal of students chooses to act in this way due to fun and minor problems in their everyday routine shows a negative aspect of the social situation in Greece nowadays. Another negative aspect of school sit-ins is the fact that a lot of damages happen and their cause are individuals who do not belong to school community and find the sit-ins an adequate chance to destroy public property.

It is true that there have been efforts to connect school sit-ins with political demonstration on behalf of adolescents who are supposed to be ideologically and politically conscious about their actions. It is evident that sit-ins and generally public-school depreciation are not a social movement. This is because a social movement is characterized by collective discipline, organization ideological program and a majority basis. None of these features does not apply of course here. Sit-ins are an "abstract negation" due to the fact that they undermine the foundations of the educational system without substituting it with a viable alternative solution. The rejection of the school institution acts in a corrosive and not in constructive way.

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