

E D U C A T I O N A L I N I T I A T I V E S
O F T H E G R E E K C O M M U N I T Y
I N B R I T A I N

By

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ABSTRACT

The problem approach is used in this thesis. An analysis of the problem is made in the Introduction. The change refers to the development of a multi-cultural society in Britain. The arrival of parents with different language and culture from the Greek and Greek Cypriot community, who wish to maintain their Greek identity is examined as the specific change. The no-change is related to the English education system which is seen as transmitting an English culture. The problem is, how to accommodate the wishes of Greek parents while maintaining an English ethos.

The lack of response of English primary education to such demands between the years 1902-1980 is examined. The Greek supplementary schools in Britain are seen as the proposed solution to the problem.

Chapter I deals with the development of the Greek community in Britain since 1955 and the demands for the maintenance of a Greek identity.

In Chapter II the lack of change in English primary education to meet the educational needs of children from the various ethnic groups is analysed.

Chapter III analyses multi-cultural education policies related to primary education since the 1960s. The policies of the D.E.S. at national level and two LEAS (ILEA and Haringey) are examined.

Chapter IV deals with the study of aims, administration, finance and structure of the Greek supplementary schools in Britain.

Chapter V examines the curriculum and Chapter VI deals with the teachers of these schools.

Chapter VII presents the responses to Greek supplementary schools from Greek and Greek Cypriot groups and organisations in Britain as well as the responses of the Ministries of Education in Cyprus and in Greece.

Finally chapter VIII presents the responses to these schools by English educational authorities (including DES, Schools Council, NUT, ILEA, Haringey LEA) and of teachers in a selected number of schools in Haringey.

Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations	12
Foreword	13
Introduction	14
<u>Chapter I:</u> The Greek Community since 1955 and the Main- tenance of a Greek Identity.	23-60
<u>Chapter II:</u> Educational Policy in England and Wales as it affects the Greek Community.	68-115
<u>Chapter III:</u> Multicultural Educational Policies at the Local Level, affecting the Greek Community.	123-154
<u>Chapter IV:</u> The Greek Supplementary Schools Aims, Admi- nistration, Finance and Structure.	159-197
<u>Chapter V:</u> The Curriculum of Greek Supplementary Schools.	202-232
<u>Chapter VI:</u> The Teachers in Greek Supplementary Schools.	236-262
<u>Chapter VII:</u> Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools, from Greek and Greek Cypriot Groups and Organisations.	265-291
<u>Chapter VIII:</u> Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools from English Educational Authorities and Organisations.	293-330
Conclusion	342-351
Bibliography	353-365
Other Sources	365
Appendix	366

A. Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools, from Greek
and Greek Cypriot groups and organisations

List of Persons Interviewed

1. His Eminence the Archbishop Dr. Methodios
President of K.E.S. (Central Educational Committee)
of Thyateira and Great Britain.

24 March, 1982

2. Dr. E. Tsaparlis, Educational Adviser of the Greek Embassy in London and in charge of the Greek Educational Delegation in Britain.

14 June, 1982

3. Bishop Gregorios

Member of K.E.S.

Head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North London, where the majority of Greek Cypriots concentrate. Responsible for the Greek School of St. Barnabas, the biggest one in Britain.

3 March, 1982

4. Cyprus High Commission

Consul General

Mrs. Myrna Kleopa

24 May, 1982

5. Mr. Christodoulos Stylianou

President of O.E.S.E.K.A. (Federation of Educational Societies of Greek Cypriot in Britain.)

18 January, 1982

6. Mr. Mikis Christodoulides, Organising Secretary of S.E.G. (Greek Parents Association)

28 January, 1982

7. Mr. Vakis Zesimos

Cypriot Community Relations Officer,

Vice Chairman Community Affairs Committee,

Vice Chairman Joint Consultative Committee -

Ethnic minorities,

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Centre, which are under the control of I.L.E.A.

4 February, 1981 and 23 July, 1982

8. Dr. Homer Habibis

President of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood and other
Greek Organisations in Britain.

Also involved in the establishment of Greek Schools
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14 June, 1982

9. Dr. Andonis Papadopoulos

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Cyprus.

2 April, 1983

B. Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools from
English Educational Authorities and Organisations

List of Persons Interviewed

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Inspector for Multi-Ethnic Education

9 June, 1982

5. Borough of Haringey

Education Service

Mr. Chris Power, Adviser for Multi-Cultural

Education.

1 February, 1982

6. South Haringay Junior School

Mattison Rd. N.4

Miss M. Godfrey, Headteacher

12 May, 1983

7. Woodland's Park, Infants' School

St. Ann's Road, N.15

Mrs. Kath Knights, Headteacher

7 July, 1982

8. Marilyn Martin-Jones

Linguistic Minorities Project

Institute of Education

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London WC1

13 August, 1982

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Table 1:</u> Cypriot Emigrants in England and Wales between the years 1911 and 1964.	32
<u>Table 2:</u> Cypriot arrivals in Britain between January 1973 and July 1975.	33
<u>Table 3:</u> The proportion of the two sexes in the Greek Cypriot community between the years 1931 and 1961.	34
<u>Table 4:</u> The relation of ages to the whole Cypriot community.	34
<u>Table 5:</u> Boroughs with over 2,000 Cypriots in 1971.	35
<u>Table 6:</u> Changes in the occupation patterns of Greek Cypriots in London between the years 1952 and 1958.	36
<u>Table 7:</u> Increase in the number of businesses owned by Greek Cypriots, between the years 1950 and 1958.	36
<u>Table 8:</u> The various businesses of Greek Cypriots in England in 1980.	38
<u>Table 9:</u> Cypriot Emigrants, Greek and Turkish, between 1956 and 1964.	62
<u>Table 10:</u> Net Inward migration from India, Pakistan and the West Indies, 1955-68.	83
<u>Table 11:</u> Cypriot Emigrants from Cyprus to Britain between the years 1955 and 1968.	84
<u>Table 12:</u> Regional distribution of immigrant pupils in England, January 1970.	90
<u>Table 13:</u> The LEAs with nine per cent or more immigrants on roll in January 1970.	90
<u>Table 14:</u> Frequency of references to areas of specific concern for the promotion of racial understanding.	127
<u>Table 15:</u> Frequency of references to various areas related to the special provision for children whose mother-tongue is not English.	129

	Page
<u>Table 16:</u> Live births by birthplace of mother, 1975.	132
<u>Table 17:</u> Pupils in ILEA whose first language is not English. Summer 1978.	133
<u>Table 18:</u> Pupils in ILEA requiring additional help with English. Summer 1978.	133
<u>Table 19:</u> Changes in main language groups in ILEA, since 1978.	135
<u>Table 20:</u> Posts for the special English language needs in ILEA 1978.	140
<u>Table 21:</u> The findings of a Schools' Language Survey in the Borough of Haringey.	145
<u>Table 22:</u> The main languages spoken by pupils in the Borough of Haringey.	145
<u>Table 23:</u> Presentation of the main languages spoken by pupils in the Borough of Haringey.	146
<u>Table 24:</u> Greek Supplementary Schools and number of pupils. School year 1967.	161
<u>Table 25:</u> Greek Supplementary Schools and number of pupils. School year 1980-81.	161
<u>Table 26:</u> Greek Parents Association. Tuition Fees 1981-82.	179
<u>Table 27:</u> Greek Supplementary Schools. Allocation of time per week. School year 1980-81.	183
<u>Table 28:</u> Greek Supplementary Schools in London under Church control. School year 1980-81.	184-186
<u>Table 29:</u> Greek Supplementary Schools under Church control, in various cities and towns outside London. School year 1980-81.	187-188
<u>Table 30:</u> Area of London Greek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and Independent Schools.	189-192

<u>Table 31:</u>	Area outside London Greek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and Independent Schools.	193
<u>Table 32:</u>	The numbers of Greek Supplementary Schools in relation to the day of their functioning. School year 1980-81.	193
<u>Table 33:</u>	Occupations of the fathers of children in the Hellenic College.	196
<u>Table 34:</u>	Full-time teacher-pupil ratio. School year 1981-82.	238
<u>Table 35:</u>	Growth of the numbers of teachers from Greece.	239
<u>Table 36:</u>	Greek Supplementary Schools, the teachers of K.E.A. and other teachers. School year 1980-81.	242-244
<u>Table 37:</u>	Part-time teachers in the Greek Supplementary Schools of K.E.S. Area of London. School year 1980-81.	245
<u>Table 38:</u>	Part-time teachers in the Greek Supplementary Schools of K.E.S. Area of London. School year 1980-81.	245
<u>Table 39:</u>	Teachers in St. Barnabas Greek School. School year 1981-82.	246
<u>Table 40:</u>	Teachers working in the schools of the Greek Parents Association. School year 1981-82.	247
<u>Table 41:</u>	Teaching time and Staffing of the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and Independent Schools. School year 1980-81.	249-252
<u>Table 42:</u>	Amount of weekly teaching time for each category of teachers.	253

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ABBREVIATIONSEnglish

<u>A.E.IS</u>	Adult Education Institutes
<u>"A" Level</u>	Advanced Level
<u>C.R.C.</u>	Community Relations Council
<u>D.E.S.</u>	Department of Education and Science
<u>E.E.C.</u>	European Economic Community
<u>E.S.L.</u>	English as a Second Language
<u>G.C.E.</u>	General Certificate of Education
<u>H.M.I.</u>	Her Majesty's Inspector
<u>I.L.E.A.</u>	Inner London Education Authority
<u>L.E.A.</u>	Local Education Authority
<u>"O"Level</u>	Ordinary Level
<u>SLIPP</u>	Second Language in the Primary School Project

Greek

<u>A.K.E.L.</u>	Party of the Working People
<u>DE.KO</u>	Democratic Party
<u>DE.SY</u>	Democratic Rally
<u>K.E.A.</u>	Cypriot Educational Delegation
<u>O.E.S.E.K.A.</u>	Federation of Educational Societies of Greek Cypriots in Britain
<u>K.E.S.</u>	Central Educational Committee

FOREWORD

The stimulus of this research has grown out of thoughts and experiences accumulated during the six years the writer spent as a teacher and headteacher in Greek supplementary schools in London.

The writer's two daughters were $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 years old when the family arrived in London, and her experience in bringing them up has also contributed largely to this research.

This thesis deals with the whole Greek community in Britain, but will be particularly concerned with the Greek Cypriot community, for the reason that Greek Cypriots constitute the vast majority of Greek immigrants to the United Kingdom.

In some cases there are no separate official numbers for Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots. In these cases the term 'Cypriot' used in this thesis includes both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It is reasonable to bear in mind, however, that in all these cases the Greek Cypriots constitute approximately 80 per cent of any given number of Cypriots. This is the proportion of Greek Cypriots to the other ethnic communities in Cyprus. In fact, whatever happened in Cyprus affected the people of the island as a whole, and it was always reflected proportionately in the ethnic groups there. Thus in the cases of immigration from Cyprus, the numbers of immigrants have been proportionate to the size of each of the two main communities, both Greek and Turkish.

The subject of this thesis has been approached with caution because on the one hand the topic is broad and important, and on the other hand because there is only a very small amount of research in this area. It was felt, however, that it would be useful to consider the situation in which the Greek community in the United Kingdom was living, in the hope that such consideration might lead to an awareness of the various problems of this community, and offer some insights into their possible solution.

INTRODUCTION

(1) The Problem

The method used in this research is the problem approach.

In analysing the problem the no-change is seen to be the educational system of England and Wales which traditionally has transmitted an English culture.

The change is in the development of a multicultural society in Britain. The arrival of parents with different language and culture from the Greek community, who wish to maintain their Greek identity is seen as the specific change.

The problem is how to accommodate the wishes of Greek parents while maintaining an English ethos.

(ii) Greek Cypriot immigration into Britain

Immigration has led to the transformation of England into a multicultural society. It has taken place for many reasons. People have emigrated to England because of political or religious oppression or because of economic pressures and aspirations.⁽¹⁾

The different ethnic background of these settlers and the fact that some did not share the common English language heritage set them apart from the indigenous community. The values, attitudes and behaviour of some groups differed in important respects from those of the indigenous population.⁽²⁾

The arrival of Greek Cypriots in Britain, particularly after 1955, raises various questions about the Greek community. In Chapter I, the reasons for the arrival of Greek Cypriots in Britain in various periods of time, along with their cultural background, their life style,

the kind of employment they undertook and their economic situation are exemplified. Reference will be made also to the attitudes of Greek Cypriots towards English society and the degree of their adaptation to this society will be estimated.

In the context of this investigation of the Greek Cypriot community various representative social and other organisations will be briefly described, with the intention of showing the interests and orientation of Greek Cypriots.

Briefly stated, Greek Cypriots gave first priority to the preservation of their identity. Their Greek language, their Christian Orthodox religion, their customs and traditions have been preserved in their new country through many means.

The wishes of almost all Greek parents, regarding their children in Britain, are similar. They want their children to be able to understand and speak the Greek language. They consider it as having first priority for communication with their children, with their families and other relatives in Britain and Cyprus. They want them also to understand and respect Greek habits and traditions. On the other hand they wish their children to be successful in their English schools and in the mainstream British society.

Greek Cypriots have a high regard for the British people, for their educational system and for their way of life in general, but they also value very highly their own Greek culture and civilisation and make strong attempts to preserve them. The first generation of Greek emigrants have been very successful in recreating in Britain the close family life and traditional institutions that they knew in Cyprus. The great difficulty lies in transmitting all these elements of Greek culture effectively to their children who are born in Britain. These young children are exposed to a variety of new influences at school among which the English language is the strongest. Such developments

often exert pressures on Greek parents which, along with others, lead many to express hopes of an early return to Cyprus. Their dilemma is well illustrated by the paradoxical fact that the roots that these children have established in Britain are the main reason why the hopes of Greek Cypriot parents for return to Cyprus perhaps will never be realised.⁽³⁾

(iii) Lack of adaptation in the English education system

The non-change which has created the problem under examination is the lack of adaptation of the English education system to other cultures, especially those which the various ethnic minorities established in Britain have brought with them. Thus the English education system transmits predominantly an English culture.

An endeavour will be made to exemplify the lack of change in the English education system by reference to various official reports on education, in Chapter II. A review of these since 1904 shows that until the 1980s there was little change which involved the acceptance of other cultures on their own terms.

Until the 1960s it is strikingly clear that immigration had little impact on the education system in England, either in educational theory or in practice. Terms like multi-ethnic, multi-national, multi-cultural, etc., are not even mentioned in the educational literature, until the 1960s.

From the early 1960s, terms like multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and cultural pluralism began to be mentioned in policy statements and educational literature. But official policies were aimed mainly at remedying the educational and economic disadvantage of immigrant groups from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent, on the one hand, and at creating greater tolerance and understanding between various groups - both majority and minority. Until the 1980s, there was little recognition of the rights of groups such as the Greeks to maintain

their own language, religion and culture, among their own children through education.

(iv) Alternative solutions

The main part of this thesis examines one solution to the problem which the Greek community in England has adopted, and implemented on its own initiative. This is the establishment of Greek supplementary schools to transmit Greek culture. However, this solution will be analysed critically, especially in relation to the alternative solutions proposed by English educational authorities of maintained schools which respect every culture.

(a) Greek Supplementary Schools

The complicated social and cultural situation which the Greek immigrants faced since their arrival in the United Kingdom, prompted them to establish their own institutions. These were proposed as a solution to the various problems and anxieties of Greek immigrants. These institutions were at first the Greek Orthodox Church and later the Greek schools. The first Greek Christian Orthodox Church was St. Sophia's Cathedral, founded in 1877 in Moscow Road, W.2.⁽⁴⁾ Since then many other Christian Orthodox Churches have been established. In 1983 there were 23 churches in London, five of which were cathedrals. There were also 28 other churches in the various big cities of England and Wales where sizable Greek communities existed.⁽⁵⁾

The first Greek school in London was established in 1923 on the initiative of Hilarion Vasdeka. It functioned in the basement of St. Sophia's Cathedral.⁽⁶⁾ Later, as the Greek community increased many more Greek schools were established as will be described later in this thesis.

The Greek supplementary schools together with the Greek Orthodox Church are considered to be the institutions through which the Greek community in Britain will survive. Both these institutions are

used as vehicles for the maintenance and distribution of Greek culture. The Christian Orthodox religion and the Greek language are integral parts of Greek culture. In addition, culture, in this context, includes the creative achievements of a people and those ideas and beliefs that are passed on from generation to generation. All these important elements of Greek culture have been kept alive through the Church and the Greek schools.

The members of the Greek community like to participate in the functioning of these two institutions. This participation could be seen from different angles. By participating in cultural activities the people of Greek origin feel that they are not entirely disconnected from their culture. They also feel satisfaction by participating in this kind of community life. It is evident that among immigrants there is a lack of community life. Greek Cypriot immigrants for instance do not have community life to the degree they enjoy in Cyprus. One reason for this is the fact that the majority of them are scattered in the big city of London and it is not so easy for them to meet. The other reason is that they are not asked to undertake any community services. Community services such as education, health etc. are undertaken by the host society.⁽⁷⁾ The only need specific to the community, which manifested itself from the first years of the arrival of Greek immigrants in Britain, was the need for the establishment of Christian Orthodox churches and Greek schools.

It is an interesting phenomenon that Greek Orthodox churches are full of people on Sundays and on other holidays. This phenomenon becomes more interesting when it is taken into consideration that many of these people either emigrated to England many years ago or were born here. In addition to this it must be realised that the majority of them are hard-working people and also that many of them do not have churches near to where they live. All these aspects

could probably be an excuse for them not to go to church very often. Instead of this, however, their attendance at religious services is so regular that it is in sharp contrast to the situation existing in Cyprus today, regarding the attendance at religious services there.

(b) Other Solutions

The Greek supplementary schools are not an entirely adequate solution to the identified problem. There are some weaknesses in the organisation in these schools, which will be investigated in the thesis. There are also difficulties in relation to English state education authorities which will also be discussed in the thesis. To put the Greek community's own solution - the supplementary schools - into focus, some attention should be given to the official English response to the problem.

The question is how far proposals on multicultural education in state education can meet the needs of the Greek community. The crucial question is to what extent the different needs of minorities in education are met by what goes on in maintained schools. This issue has arisen mainly as a result of the development of Greek supplementary schools on Saturdays and evenings. These schools are a response to the unwillingness of the English education system to meet the needs of the immigrant child.⁽⁸⁾

It is widely admitted that this important task should be undertaken by the schools as public institutions, in the cases where there are concentrations of immigrants. In addition, the supplementary schools should be supported financially by the affected borough. The English education system needs to be modified to meet the needs of minority children.⁽⁹⁾

Culture in England is now multifaceted and interactionary. This produces a need to institutionalise multicultural education. The school curriculum could and should do more to achieve this.

In this context a major goal of the curriculum, it has been argued, should be the fostering in every child of a positive self-image. All children in the schools should have a strong sense of self and should develop confidence in their sense of their own identities.⁽¹⁰⁾

It has been stated also that the curriculum of a primary school with a substantial intake of children with Greek origin, for instance, should take account of their previous environment, and prepare them for life in the English one. Greek culture can enrich the school's geographical and historical studies. It can improve other children's appreciation of the newcomers. Such appreciation of Greek culture by the school enables the Greek immigrant child to value his culture and language.⁽¹¹⁾

Another important aspect which, it has been claimed, should be given serious consideration is the suitable training of teachers responsible for dealing with migrant children and teaching them the English language in maintained schools. Even the most perfect curriculum and teaching methods cannot be of much value without the right teachers. Teachers play a major role in the learning process.

The teachers responsible for immigrant children must show positive interest in the native culture of their pupils. They must also be careful not to present any aspect of either culture which might produce a state of conflict or negative transfer of the pupils. The teachers responsible for the teaching of immigrants should show interest in the linguistic, psychological, social and cultural problems of their pupils.⁽¹²⁾ The acceptance of the language and culture of these pupils is of major importance. In addition to this, the appointment of suitably trained immigrant teachers could be very helpful. They could interpret the school's aims to immigrant parents and the parents' wishes and anxieties to the schools.⁽¹³⁾ The role of the parents should not be underestimated. The distance between the

immigrant child and the national child is accentuated not only by the fact that the school in the host country is not geared to the needs of the immigrant child but also by the parents' failure to integrate.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus the education of the parents should not be neglected. There are many of them anxious to learn English and to educate themselves in other ways as well.⁽¹⁵⁾

Another important aspect is that some consideration of mother tongue teaching, Greek in this case, should be made. This could be done particularly in the cases where the concentration of children of Greek origin in a particular maintained school reaches a reasonable level. Lack of acceptance of the language and culture of children by the school, creates in them feelings of disappointment, and leads to a lack of confidence.⁽¹⁶⁾

To some extent the viability of this solution - of making maintained schools more multicultural in their policies and practices - may be investigated by examining the responses of the state educational authorities to Greek cultural demands, which will be done in the last two chapters. In the same chapters responses of various people to supplementary schools will be investigated.

But first the identified change - the development of the Greek community in Britain with its own particular cultural demands - will be investigated more fully.

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Chapter I

THE GREEK COMMUNITY SINCE 1945 AND
THE MAINTENANCE OF A GREEK IDENTITY

The first part of this chapter deals first with the background of Greek Cypriots in Britain from a historical perspective. Then follows a review of the early immigration of Greeks and Greek Cypriots into Britain before 1955. After that the development of the Greek community since 1955 is described, followed by the demographic pattern and an examination of the social, economic and geographical situation of Greek Cypriots in Britain.

The second part of the chapter examines the social bases of the Greek cultural identity in Britain - especially family and religion - and then looks at the main organisations of the Greek community in Britain.

PART ONEA. The Background of Greek Cypriots in Britain from a Historical Perspective

It is estimated that 90 per cent of the whole Greek community in the United Kingdom today consists of Greek Cypriots. Some account of the development of a Greek and Greek Cypriot identity in Cyprus is needed to understand the position of Greek Cypriots in Britain.

Cyprus has 650,000 inhabitants of whom 80 per cent are Greek and 18 per cent Turkish. Armenians and Maronites are prominent among the remaining 2 per cent of the population.

Most historical accounts of Cyprus begin in the 15th century B.C.

Cyprus is referred to, by Homer, the ancient historian and poet as the home of Aphrodite. In ancient times festivals were held in honour of that goddess of love and beauty. They included songs of praise by local poets and visitors from Greece. The present day

festivals in Cyprus, probably inherited a tradition from those times.

Greek civilisation and traditions developed in Cyprus since the thirteenth century B.C. Around the late 5th century B.C. in particular, Salamis, the Kingdom of Evagoras, was a well organised society with stadium for athletes, open theatres, libraries, common baths etc. Philosophers, literary men and artists lived there. Zeno of Kitium, the founder of the stoic school of philosophy lived at that time. Other literary men were summoned by Evagoras, from Greece and were pensioned by him.⁽¹⁾

The history of Cyprus abounds with examples of Greek civilisation. The ruins of ancient towns and buildings of Greek architectural style are spread in all parts of the island. Greek Cypriots share the same language and religion with the Greeks in mainland Greece. They both speak the Greek language and are Christians of the same Orthodox variety. Their individual character, family life and educational philosophy are all similar. All these cultural characteristics have been successfully maintained in Cyprus over the centuries.

Thus, although traders, settlers, colonists and strategists of many nations passed through Cyprus during the centuries and left their imprint there in the form of buildings and other relics, the Greek influence was, and is until now, dominant in the island.

Down through the ages to 1960, when Cyprus became independent, the island was conquered and ruled successively by Phoenicians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans and British. It was in 1571 that Cyprus was conquered by the Ottoman Turks and it is from this time that one can trace the emergence of a Turkish community in Cyprus.⁽²⁾

"The native inhabitants of Cyprus fall into two principal categories, Greek-Christian and Moslem. The former spring from the earliest inhabitants of the island, blending

with the Ionian colonists from Greece; the latter are the descendants of the Ottoman Turks who at the time of the Turkish conquest and on various subsequent occasions settled in the island." (3)

The Ottoman rule in Cyprus lasted until 1878 when the island was leased to Britain. In 1914 when Turkey became Germany's ally in World War I, Britain annexed the island. It became a Crown Colony in 1925. On that occasion the Turks of the island were asked to choose between repatriation or permanent settlement in Cyprus. A number of them elected to remain in Cyprus. At that time, it had not been expected that the Turkish minority would become the arbiter of Cyprus' destiny.⁽⁴⁾

Throughout the period of British administration there was a demand, on the part of the people of Cyprus and its leaders for self-determination in the hope that this would end with the union, Enosis of the island with Greece. Successive British governments repeatedly denied this right to the people of Cyprus, and the liberation struggle took place between the years 1955-1959.

In fact from 1878 until the late 1950s when the struggle for liberation from British rule was started by Greek Cypriots, the Turks intermingled with their Greek Cypriot compatriots and lived always in peace and harmony with them. It was well after this struggle for liberation from British rule had started, that Turkey advanced the idea of partitioning the island into Greek and Turkish sectors. This idea was endorsed by the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The original idea of partition of Cyprus might have been invented by the then British rulers in order to discourage the Cypriot people's liberation struggle.⁽⁵⁾

The consequence, however, was that Cyprus became independent in 1959 and was proclaimed a republic in 1960. The constitution of the newly born republic was very complicated and in 1963 led to intercommunal troubles between the Greeks and Turks of the island.

By 1972 the Greek Cypriots found themselves plunged into a political crisis of their own. President Makarios' policy of abandoning Enosis for the "unfettered independence of a unitary state" was opposed by both the extreme right wing in Cyprus and the junta in Greece. (6)

In July 1974 there was an unsuccessful attempt at a coup in Cyprus, which ended with the Turkish invasion. On July 20, 1974 the Turkish air force bombed villages and towns in Cyprus and Turkish forces landed on the island. Turkey sliced off 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and has occupied it ever since.

Greek Cypriot attitudes to their culture as immigrants in Britain and their continuing relations with Cyprus have been deeply affected by this historical experience.

B. A Review of the early Immigration of Greeks and Greek Cypriots into Britain before 1955

This review of the early immigration of Greeks and Greek Cypriots into Britain intends to show the roots of the Greek Cypriot community and how it developed to its present stage.

Thus, the first Greeks who emigrated to Britain came from mainland Greece, the Greek islands, Constantinople and Smyrna (in Asia Minor). They settled as seamen in the seaports of Liverpool, Bristol, Cardiff and some in London. Many of those who came originally as seamen later became ship owners. Some others among the early immigrants established themselves in industrial cities such as Manchester. The Greek community of Manchester is regarded as the oldest of all Greek communities in Britain. It was well organised around its Orthodox Church and acquired its own church building in 1847.⁽⁷⁾

The majority of the Greek ship owners in London were established in the area of Bayswater, where they built their own church, the Christian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophia. Only a few of the descendants of those early immigrants are still alive today. These second or third generation of descendants have been fully assimilated into British society, not being able to keep even their Greek names.⁽⁸⁾

Immigration from Greece and the Greek islands has decreased over the last 50 years. There are relatively very few mainland Greeks living in Britain today. Of these hardly any at all come from a village background as is the case with the majority of Greek Cypriot immigrants. This minority of mainland Greeks is scattered among the large towns of Britain such as Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, Leeds, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow.⁽⁹⁾

Greek Cypriots who emigrated later into Britain were also established in these and other towns. Thus, apart from Manchester with around 3,500 and Liverpool with 800, there are sizeable Greek populations

in about 40 other towns in Britain.⁽¹⁰⁾

However, this first wave of immigrants from mainland Greece did establish the institutions, - especially the churches and Greek supplementary schools - which later immigrants from Cyprus used to maintain a cultural identity. Thus the first Greek supplementary school in Britain was established in Manchester in 1869 by two teachers from Athens, while the first supplementary school in London was established in 1922 by another Greek in St. Sophia's Cathedral. More details about these two schools will be given in Chapter IV.

Immigration from Cyprus to Britain started at the beginning of the twentieth century on a small scale. It increased in the 1930s and stopped altogether during the years of the Second World War. The number of these early emigrants will be given in Section D of this Chapter.

Greek Cypriots fought on the side of the Allies in the Second World War and this fact brought many servicemen to Britain. Thus immigration from Cyprus to Britain started again after this war.⁽¹¹⁾

Until the first years of the Second World War, Cypriot immigrants belonged to the lowest socio-economic class in Britain - a social status they held also in Cyprus.

Because of their background many of them were not interested in their cultural identity and thus they did not contribute much to the establishment of institutions such as churches, and Greek supplementary schools. During the war, however, and particularly after Italy joined the hostilities, many Greek Cypriots in Britain, (mainly among those who were not subjected to military service), managed to buy restaurant businesses from their Italian owners. In this way Greek Cypriot immigrants achieved economic independence. This economic development enabled them to bring their families to Britain. The whole family afterwards contributed to its greater economic well-being. ⁽¹²⁾

Both the economic independence of Greek Cypriots and the fact that because of this independence the families of Greek Cypriots emigrated to Britain, can be seen as factors in the determination of Greek Cypriots to maintain their cultural identity.

After the Second World War, there followed the efforts for reconstruction from the ruins of bombardment in Britain. There was a scarcity of builders, carpenters and other specialist or semi-specialist **craftsmen**. Thus the unskilled workers, the poor farmers and shepherds who constituted the pre-war immigrants from Cyprus gave way to **skilled workers** and young people with some kind of education, who could more easily adjust to the needs of post-war English society, especially the needs for economic reconstruction.⁽¹³⁾ The number of all Cypriots in Britain by 1951 was 10,208.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus when the main influx of Greek Cypriots to Britain occurred after 1955, there was already an established community into which they could be absorbed.

C. The Development of the Greek Community since 1955

In this section the Greek community in Britain since the mid-1950s will be examined. From that period the flow of immigrants, which previously was on a relatively small scale, increased until 1964. A number of inter-related events gave rise to this influx of immigrants from Cyprus to Britain.

In 1955, as was mentioned in Section A of this chapter, E.O.K.A. started the liberation struggle against British rule in Cyprus. It was an uneasy and politically unstable period. After 1958 in particular the situation became more complex and confusing. In that year some Turkish Cypriots started for the first time to cooperate with British troops in the arrest and punishment of the E.O.K.A. fighters. This fact created bitter feelings among the Greek Cypriots and as a consequence friction was created in the relations between Greek and

Turkish Cypriots. As was mentioned earlier, during that period Turkey and the leaders of the Turkish community in Cyprus advanced, for the first time, the idea of partitioning the island into Greek and Turkish sectors. ⁽¹⁵⁾ That idea caused more uncertainty among the people of Cyprus and reinforced the decision of more Cypriots to emigrate.

The E.O.K.A. struggle ended in 1959 and in 1960 Cyprus was proclaimed a Republic. However, the conflict between the Greek and the Turkish communities did not end with the declaration of Cyprus as an Independent Republic. On the contrary, it led to serious intercommunal troubles in 1963 and 1964. ⁽¹⁶⁾ During those intercommunal troubles people from both communities started emigrating again. ⁽¹⁷⁾

After 1964 there followed a period of phenomenal calm and peace. The problems of Cyprus however had not ended yet. As was mentioned in Section A of this chapter, in 1974 Turkey invaded the island and occupied 40 per cent of its territory.

It is estimated that between September 1974 and June 1975, 12,000 Greek Cypriots arrived in Britain as refugees ⁽¹⁸⁾ to join relatives or friends who had come here earlier and were relatively well established. Their relations helped them to find accommodation and employment. Among the newcomers were some others, particularly British Passport holders, who came to Britain to seek asylum.

It must be said that in the ordinary course of events the families arriving in Britain from Cyprus or elsewhere could have made arrangements in advance of their arrival in respect of employment, housing and schooling for their children. When they were forced to leave their country as a result of a war, such arrangements were impossible. As a result, a vast number of the families from Cyprus

arrived in Britain with no money and only the clothes they were wearing. (19)

Thus the Greek community in Britain consists of four groups in historical terms. The first group consists of immigrants from 1911 to 1945. There are the small number of immigrants who arrived after the Second World War. There is the group who entered mainly between 1955 and 1964. There are the refugees of 1974 to 1975. This last group differs to some degree in attitudes to the former immigrants.

D. Demographic Pattern

Immigration from British colonial or ex-colonial countries to Britain started long ago and is still continuing. A classical example of this phenomenon is perhaps the pattern of immigration from Cyprus. Cyprus, as was cited earlier in this chapter, was under British rule between the years 1878-1959. During that period and after that until today Cypriots emigrated to Britain for various reasons. 1911 was the year for which numbers of Cypriot immigrants to Britain were first given. Rather considerable numbers emigrated to Britain between the years 1924 and 1925. At first they emigrated in small groups and later in larger groups. (20)

The flow of emigrants from Cyprus continued. 1931 was the year in which Greek Cypriots, for the first time, started to emigrate as families, (21) although in small numbers. Between the years 1931-1933 there were riots in Cyprus against the British rule and thus there came another wave of Cypriot immigrants into Britain.

There is some evidence that by 1935 the Greek Cypriots in Britain seemed to be organised, as a community, mainly around the Greek Orthodox Church. (22)

Official statistics give us the following picture of Cypriot emigrants established in England and Wales between the years 1911 and 1964.

Table 1

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Cypriots in England and Wales</u>	<u>Source of Information</u>
1911	208	Official Census
1921	334	" "
1931	1,059	" "
1951	10,208	" "
1961	41,899	" "
1964	78,476	" " (23)

The biggest recent flow of emigrants from Cyprus took place during and after 1974, the year in which Turkey invaded Cyprus. After all those events a big influx of Cypriot refugees (24) sought asylum in Britain. Over 700 Greek Cypriot families sought help from the London borough of Haringey, where there was already a sizeable Cypriot community.

The following table gives us a picture of Cypriot arrivals in Britain from 1 January 1973 to 31 July 1975.

Table 2

Cypriot arrivals: 1 January 1973 to 31 July 1975

	Total Admitted	(1) Visitors for less than twelve months			(2) Students	(3) Au-pair girls	(4) Diplomats and officials (and their depend- ants)	(5) Work permit holders			(6) Depend- ants of work permit holders	(7) Others granted leave to enter for twelve months	(8) Admitted for settlement	(9) Persons returning to the United Kingdom from temporary absence abroad
		On holiday	On business	In transit				with permits for twelve months	with permits for less than twelve months	Treaties				
1973	16,964	9,909	1,526	445	1,273	4	93	22	4	2	9	65	161	3,451
1974	19,852	12,434	1,537	539	1,561	5	81	22	6	1	14	305	349	3,308
1975 (up to 31.7)	9,502	5,711	1,253	202	236	—	81	32	20	1	24	24	175	1,737

Cypriot embarkations:

1 January 1973 to 31 July 1975

1973	...	...	...	19,999
1974	...	...	...	12,190
1975 (to 31.7)	...	...	...	8,269

Cypriots refused admission:

1 January 1973 to 31 July 1975

1973	...	...	...	218
1974	...	...	...	328
1975 (to 31.7)	...	...	...	172

Source: Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Report from the Select Committee on Cyprus, Session 1975-76, H.M.S.O., op.cit. p. 39 (25)

According to an estimate the number of Greek Cypriots in Britain in 1982 was between 130,000 and 150,000. (26)

E. Social, Economic and Geographical Situation of Greek Cypriots in Britain

It has been mentioned earlier in this chapter that the majority of early Cypriot immigrants came to Britain in order to find work or to obtain better jobs. Generally they joined relatives who helped them find employment and housing. (27)

Compared with that of previous years, the Greek community of recent years in Britain, presents a considerable change in its synthesis regarding the proportions between sexes, the ages and the quality of immigrants in terms of their skills and education.

The proportion of the two sexes in the Greek Cypriot community changed as it appears from the table below. The table refers to the years between 1931 and 1961 and gives us the following picture of the proportions of men to women.

Table 3

1931	3 : 1	
1951	5 : 2½	
1961	5 : 4	(28)

The relation of ages to the whole community in percentages was as follows:

Table 4

<u>Age</u>	<u>Cypriot community in Britain</u>	<u>Cyprus Census 1960</u>
0 - 14 years	37.2%	36.7%
15 - 64 "	61.6%	57.4%
Over 65 "	1.2%	5.9%

It is interesting to note that the relation of ages to the Greek community in Britain is similar to the relation of ages to the whole population in Cyprus.⁽²⁹⁾ The Cypriot community in Britain has been balanced in terms of sex and age distribution since the early 1960s.

Within Britain, over three-quarters of Greek Cypriots live in London.⁽³⁰⁾ In the 1960s the majority of Greek Cypriots were living in Camden Town, which was known as "small Cyprus". They lived there mostly near the restaurants and the hotels in which they were working. As Greek Cypriots became economically more independent they moved to other areas where it was possible for them to buy their own houses. Such areas were those of St. Pancras, Kentish Town, Holloway, Finsbury Park and Haringey. In more recent years, those who have been more successful in their business have moved into wealthier areas of North London such as Enfield, Barnet, Brent, Ealing, Waltham Forest etc.⁽³¹⁾

The 1971 census gave borough-by-borough figures. Those boroughs with over 2,000 Cypriots were the following:

Table 5

Haringey	11,965
Islington	7,300
Enfield	4,020
Hackney	3,985
Southwark	3,310
Camden	2,850
Barnet	2,640
Lambeth	2,265

Outside London there are a few cities and large towns with Greek Cypriot communities such as Birmingham, Manchester, Britsol, Liverpool, Cardiff, Southampton, Brighton, Blackpool, Glasgow, Leeds, etc.⁽³²⁾

The geographical concentration of the Greek community in London has been an important factor in maintaining a Greek identity.

As time passed, there occurred changes in various economic and social circumstances related to the Greek community. Between the years 1952 and 1958 the changes in the occupation patterns of Greek Cypriots in London were as follows:

Table 6

	<u>1952</u>		<u>1958</u>		
	<u>Males</u> %	<u>Females</u> %	<u>Males</u> %	<u>Females</u> %	
Catering	49.0	3.3	30.5	4.4	
Tailoring, dress- making	17.0	95.1	11.4	85.2	
Hairdressing	8.75	-	6.4	0.4	
Shoemaking	5.75	-	4.6	0.4	
Building	6.25	-	6.0	-	
Factory work	8.0	1.6	30.3	7.4	
Clerks, bakers and small shopkeepers	5.25	-	10.8	2.2	(33)

An increase in the number of businesses owned by Greek Cypriots between the years 1950 and 1958 is indicated by the table below:

Table 7

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	
Restaurants and cafés	280	350	
Tailoring and dress factories	36	150	
Hairdressing salons	60	182	
Greengroceries	15	78	
Shoemaking shops	22	72	
Various other businesses	12	38	(34)

Estimates for 1976 were that 20 per cent of Cypriots worked in Cypriot-owned restaurants, many in the West End. 66 per cent of women worked in dressmaking and tailoring. 20 per cent were self-employed,

predominantly in small businesses.

A growing number are moving into the professions as teachers, lecturers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, architects etc. some serving the population as a whole and some serving their own community.

The self-sufficiency of the Greek Cypriot community helps to maintain its social and cultural autonomy, while the professional class can provide the community with its leadership. This again encourages the cultural autonomy of the Greek community.

From all accounts Greek Cypriots work extremely hard. They make money by working long hours and they are usually assisted by members of the family. Thus they have formed a self-sufficient 'ethnic' economy in London, which provides stable and reasonably well paid employment. (35)

Catering and dress-making have been the basic and most popular kind of businesses among Greek Cypriots. People fresh from Cyprus usually start in these businesses.

The improvement of the economic situation of Greek Cypriots is evident from the fact that many of them send considerable economic aid to their relatives in Cyprus and some buy properties there. For a number of Greek Cypriots in England wealth has provided rapid social mobility.

The nature and scale of the economic situation of the Greek community in England can be illustrated from various sources. The Kimon Greek Guide of London and Telephone Directory, which is also a trade directory and services guide; (36) and the Aspis (37) classified Greek commercial Directory, give quite a clear picture of this economic situation. The 1980 Aspis classified Greek commercial Directory in particular, gives the names and addresses of the various businesses of Greek Cypriots in England. From that classification the following table can be formed:

Table 8

Accountants	19
Architects	9
Arts and Crafts	3
Banks	4 (with a number of branches)
Belts manufacturing	9
Building Contractors and Decorators	18
Building Materials	4
Butchers	12
Cafés - Snack and Wimpy Bars	14
Cars (Sales, spares, accessories)	22
Doctors	18
Dressmaking and Manufacturing	475
Dress Retail and Cash and Carry	15
Driving Schools	6
Electricians	23
Estate Agents	24
Furniture (makers and shops)	9
Garages	46
Hairdressers	23
Hotels	12
Importers-Exporters-Suppliers	14
Insurance-Finance	8
Jewellery	11
Metalwork	4
Overlocking and fabrics	4
Patisseries-Bakeries	26
Photographers	3
Photographic laboratories	1
Pleaters	9
Plumbing	2
Printers	6
Print Finishers	1
Provision Stores	35
Restaurants-Night Clubs	48
Shipping CO's and Forwarding Agents	9
Shoe Makers	24
Solicitors	13
Sport and Music	2

Table 8 (Cont.)

Suede and Leather	17	
Tailors	12	
Travel Agents	31	
Trimnings, Shops and Wholesale	13	
Wines and Spirits (Shops) and wholesale	13	(38)

*From personal observation and experience in general it can reasonably be argued that there are many more businesses owned by Greeks which are not included in the 1980 Aspis Commercial Directory. This is either because they were not known to those who prepare and publish 'Aspis' or they did not respond to requests to give information to it.

Certainly there are many more businesses in the areas of catering, tailoring, dressmaking, hairdressing etc.

Concluding this part of chapter 1, two important factors could be noted:

- (i) The economic success of the Greek community and
- (ii) The concentration of work on Greek businesses and self-employment.

The importance of these factors for the maintenance of a Greek identity in Britain is that because of its economic success the Greek community can support financially its cultural institutions in Britain, while the concentration of work on Greek businesses makes the Greek community self-sufficient. This latter factor strengthens the separate cultural identity of the Greek community.

PART TWOGreek Society and Organisations in BritainA. A Kind of Traditional Life

From what has been written in the first part of this chapter it is evident that a distinctive feature of Greek Cypriot emigrants is that they have settled mainly in London. Greek Cypriots who tended to emigrate as complete families gathered in London to join relatives or fellow-villagers who were there already, and who helped them to find jobs and accommodation.

The magnitude of the migratory movement from Cyprus can be realised from the fact that the total Cypriot population of Britain is about a quarter of the size of that of Cyprus.

The majority of Greek Cypriots come from a village background in Cyprus, from communities of different sizes, varying from about two hundred to three thousand people.

In Cyprus, relationships between villagers of all ages are personal and direct while the church and the school occupy important positions. The men meet together informally in coffee shops to drink their traditional black coffee, to talk and read the newspapers. Thus to the majority of Greek Cypriot immigrants, the busy and noisy environment of London with its anonymity presents the greatest contrast to their previous quiet country life.

(39)

It is a common phenomenon for immigrants to concentrate mainly within one area so as to feel more confident and secure and to recreate village communities in a big city environment.

Greek Cypriot settlement has been highly concentrated within Greater London.

In North London, especially, the Greek Cypriots have established a very flourishing community life of their own. As far as is possible, they have recreated their traditional way of life, with

their Orthodox Churches, Greek evening and Saturday schools, Greek cafés, restaurants and village clubs, Greek newspapers and so on. (40)

In the area of Haringey where many Greek Cypriots live well established groceries and shops can be found with all kinds of products from Cyprus, both fresh and manufactured. All kinds of fresh fruits and vegetables, wines and cheese abound in many Greek shops in Haringey. Greek bread and the traditional ring-breads can easily be obtained in Greek bakeries in the same area.

Within Greater London Greek-Cypriots have established themselves in almost every kind of business which could possibly be of use to their community. Thus one finds estate agents, printers, garages, bookshops, travel agents, solicitors, electrical shops, driving schools, and a variety of small craft businesses (tailors and barbers) run by Greek Cypriots. In this way a large proportion of the immigrants are making their living by serving the population at large particularly in areas where there is no competition from the native population.

Most of the Greek Cypriot women can find employment in dress-making factories or by doing work on their own sewing-machines at home.

In this way the first generation of Greek-Cypriot immigrants have kept themselves relatively separate in their remarkably self-sufficient ethnic community and they are consequently less exposed to the forces of assimilation. (41)

This kind of social isolation of the Greek Cypriots should not be interpreted as an indication of antipathy towards the host community. On the contrary, Greek Cypriots are very friendly and well-disposed towards the English people, especially when these show some interest in Cyprus and Cypriot culture. (42) They have a high regard for the English educational system, the tertiary level in particular, and the well organised English society.

Greek Cypriots, however, especially those who came to England as adults, value very highly their Greek civilisation and culture and they do not want to abandon it. That is why they try hard to recreate their traditional institutions through which they intend to preserve their national identity and culture for themselves and their children.

The main institutions through which they try to preserve their national identity and culture are the family, the Church, the Greek schools and various social organisations.

B. The Greek Family

The Greek family is one of the most closely-knit of all family groups among the different societies of the world. The family is the basic unit of traditional Greek society and it aims to be self-reliant in every respect. Family loyalty is regarded as the paramount virtue. Only the immediate family can be trusted in important matters and it is to them that one turns in times of trouble. (43)

The word 'family' must be understood here to mean primarily the same as it does in Britain: the nuclear unit of parents and children. But, the solidarity of this nuclear family is much greater among Greeks than among the English. Thus the ties with parents and with brothers and sisters remain stronger, even when the child marries and sets up a new family.

In Greek society one finds composite households or 'extended families'. Ageing or widowed parents generally join one of their married children. Such arrangements must not be regarded, however, as leading to the merging of two families into one, because each remains a separate and autonomous unit. (44)

The Greek family is traditionally patriarchal in structure, authority rests with the husband who undertakes the external affairs of the household. The wife's main role is to run the domestic side

of the household although nowadays she goes out to work too, like
 (45)
 her husband.

Arranged marriage is still usual today in Greek society, in Greece, Cyprus and England. In such a case the bride's family gives her a substantial dowry, relative to the economic situation of the family. Greeks greatly love children and count childlessness as a grievous misfortune. Male children are often more welcome than female. This is in accordance with the emphasis placed in general on masculinity in Greek society. Sons symbolise family vigour and will transmit the family name to the next generation. Sons are also considered greater economic assets than daughters because traditionally they were associated with heavy work through which they earned more money. Daughters on the other hand usually require dowries for their
 (46)
 arranged marriages.

It can be reasonably argued, however, that these attitudes of Greek parents and Greek society towards the inequality of the sexes are changing. Family rules are not so strict today. The mixing of boys and girls in English society in particular leads to marriages arranged mainly by the couple rather than their parents. Because of this development the tradition of the dowry is fading away. The change of attitudes of parents to their sons and daughters has another reason also. Traditionally, Greek parents like to control their children and keep them in the family traditions. They find it easier to exert control over their daughters rather than their sons. So many of them are beginning to express the wish to have daughters instead of sons, although this is not the rule, of course.

The life of a village family in Cyprus (from which the majority of Greek immigrants come) is very much open to public criticism. Privacy is not valued in the way the term is generally understood in Britain. It is obviously impossible for individuals to live private

lives of their own where kinship ties are so close. Although this kind of life has its disadvantages it has its advantages too. In Britain for instance, people often conceal their personal problems from their relatives and usually take them to a specialist, doctor or social worker. Among Greeks individual problems are treated as family problems. After an analysis and discussion of them in the family environment, possible solutions are offered and relevant decisions are taken. Privacy is valued by Greeks in the sense that possible faults and failures in the family must be concealed from the public eye.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Greeks who emigrate to Britain take with them these family values and continue to keep them.

Another characteristic of the Greek family is its hospitality. The Greeks make no distinction between a 'stranger' and a 'guest'. For both of them they use the same word 'xenos'. Many immigrant families in Britain are only too delighted to strike up a friendship with an English person. Greek friendship is considered to be wholehearted and sincere.

C. The Church

It was stated earlier in this chapter, that among the main institutions which help the Greek Cypriots to keep their identity, is the Greek Orthodox Church. Religion is an integral part of Greek identity and culture.

The clergy is recruited either from Greece or Cyprus. The Greek Cathedral, St. Sophia, in Moscow Road, London, W.2, was first built and instituted by wealthy Greeks from mainland Greece. The link with Greece is still maintained by the Church.

The Church both in Greece and in Cyprus has always played an important national and cultural role. During the years of the

Ottoman occupation in particular (in Greece from 1453-1821 and in Cyprus from 1570-1878) the church was the only institution with religious and some national and social function as well. In addition, the church also undertook an educational role. During those years the Turkish authorities had prohibited the functioning of schools in Greece, and the churches became the 'secret schools' of the nation.

At night the Greek children gathered cautiously in the churches and the priests tried to give them some basic instruction in reading, writing, Greek history and religion.

In more recent years and in the 1950s in particular, the church in Cyprus was the protagonist of national struggles and political events. It was an institution with enormous political power, and a nationalist influence on education. During the period of British administration the Church used both a large part of its revenue and its social and political position in an effort to influence the schools, control the teachers and orientate the younger generation towards the national aims of those times. During the 1955-59 Cypriot liberation struggle against the British government, Archbishop Makarios III was the political leader of the national underground organisation E.O.K.A. He used considerable amounts of money from the Church income for the maintenance of secondary schools, which were not under the control of British rule. He also used such money for the financial support of the armed fight against the British.

(48)

Because of its historical role and its multi-purpose function the Greeks look upon their Church not only as a religious institution but also as a kind of social and cultural agency. On this account, the Greek Orthodox Church in Britain has a great influence on the Greek community.

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyteira and Great Britain is a well organised institution. It has about 51 churches under its control. Twenty-three of them are in London and twenty-eight others are functioning in various British towns. (49)

The headquarters of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain are in Thyateira House in London, W.2. The central administration of this institution is carried out by His Eminence Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain, assisted by seven other bishops. Six of them have their sees in six different areas of London and the seventh one has his see in Birmingham.

The Greek Orthodox Church in Britain has its own newspaper "The Orthodox Herald" and its own ecclesiastical and theological Review, the "Church and Theology". (50) It has an archdiocesan trust and an archdiocesan committee with 25 members, of which the Archbishop is president. It also runs an ecclesiastical court, Greek Orthodox charity organisations and St. Nicholas' Greek Orthodox Educational Centre. (51)

The main function of the Church, however, remains the religious one. It is worth mentioning that even during ordinary services the average church congregation in orthodox churches in London is considerably bigger than that in churches in Cyprus, (52) as mentioned in the Introduction. During Holy Week and in the Day of the Resurrection it is usual for church attendance by Greeks in Britain to reach more than 80 per cent of the Greek Orthodox population. More than 80 per cent of those present in the churches also receive Holy Communion. Congregations fill the churches in impressive numbers. It seems that no other organisation among the Greeks is capable of achieving such assemblies in social gatherings. It is almost certain that nothing can be a substitute for the Church, because the people's participation in it is voluntary and without any kind of pressure. (53)

It is suggested that the Greek Orthodox tradition and the Greek civilisation through which Christianity was spread are means of preserving the identity and culture of people with Greek origin. The driving force for the achievement of this aim, according to Church authorities, should be the clergy, the church committees, the Greek schools committees, the Youth Committees and the other Auxiliary Committee. Such driving forces should find ways of co-operating with all the individuals who accept and adopt the idea of further development and stability of the religious and national inheritance of the Greeks in Britain. In this sense it is maintained that nothing else is perhaps so permanent and effective a power for the attainment of the aim of maintaining Greek identity and culture as the Greek Orthodox Church. (54)

Although Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Britain are culturally united, politically there are divisions of opinion among them. There are some anti-clerical groups - particularly from the left-wing party of Greek Cypriots in Britain - which are against the political function of the church. The attitudes of these anti-clerical groups influence a considerable part of the Greek community in Britain and have a negative effect on the religious function of the Church.

D. Religious and Cultural Celebrations

Closely related to the functioning of the church are various religious celebrations which are interrelated with culture. The main holidays where religion and culture are interrelated are Christmas and Easter. The Greeks in Britain keep many customs and traditions related to these holidays in such a heartfelt way, that when someone participates in them he cannot distinguish whether he lives in Britain or in Cyprus. (55)

It should be mentioned here that the majority of Greek Cypriots attend the services of the Church during the Christmas holidays, and

particularly the one on the day of Christmas itself. It is obvious that Greek Cypriots go to church not only for religious purposes but also because they want to meet their friends, relatives or simply their compatriots, in order to exchange greetings and wishes with them, or even to have a talk with them about the recent news from Cyprus.

Some other representative customs that the Greeks keep in Britain, are related to Easter. Such are the colouring of eggs, the preparation of 'flaouna', a tasteful cheese cake etc. There is also the attendance at the joyful religious service which takes place in the churches at midnight on Easter Eve.

At the end of that service, friends and relatives traditionally kiss each other and strike together their red easter eggs. After that the family goes home where they all eat the traditional Greek soup 'avgolemono'. Each one of these habits has its own story and explanation.

Religious sacraments such as weddings and baptisms become the centre of much interest and big celebrations by the Greek Cypriots in Britain. Greek Cypriot weddings in particular have become the keystone of cultural celebrations. It is interesting to note here, that the traditional wedding celebration which has mostly been abandoned in Cyprus still takes place in Britain in most of its details and magnificence. It is widely admitted that some customs and traditions around the Cypriot village wedding are found in no other part of the world. The spirit of a wedding in Cyprus spreads through the village many days before it takes place. Everyone anticipates the big event and gets involved in it.

This spirit of the Greek wedding and many of the customs related to it have been maintained in a magnificent way among the Greek community in Britain and are still practised by it. (56)

E. Other ways through which Greek culture is preserved

As far as is possible Greeks have recreated their traditional way of life through various means, but particularly through the style of their family life, the Greek Orthodox churches, Greek Supplementary schools, newspapers and various organisations. Greek Supplementary schools will be examined in Chapters IV , V, and VI.

1. Newspapers

The newspapers are an important means of contributing to the preservation of national identity and culture for the Greek community in Britain.

There are four main Greek newspapers published in London 'Vema', 'Pareikiaki Haravghi', 'Ellenikos Typos', and 'Nea'. Through them the Greek Cypriots in Britain and particularly those in London get information about the political situation in Cyprus and also about what is happening in other areas of life both in Cyprus and Greece e.g. economic, social and so on.

These newspapers are also important in the continuation of the Greek Cypriot business community because they carry advertising for wholesalers, shippers, dress-making factories, restaurant suppliers and employers. Various Greek estate agents advertise property in Cyprus and London in these Greek newspapers in Britain. (57)

The newspaper 'Vema', has grown from 4 pages in 1939 to 36 pages today and is still expanding. It has a staff of thirty-two. It is directly distributed to Greek factories and Greek restaurants. It is also delivered to newsagents. (58)

Another well known newspaper in the Greek community in Britain is 'Pareikiaki Haravghi'. It was started in 1974. It has a circulation of 4,500. There is a readership of 550 who are on subscription and get the newspaper regularly. About 300 copies of this newspaper are sent to Greek readers in other towns in Britain. 'Pareikiaki

'Haravghi' has a staff of seven responsible for the management and the editing, 5 mechanics and 2 distributors. In addition there are 20 volunteer distributors. Its balance of subjects includes 30 per cent news from Cyprus and 15 per cent news of Cypriots in Britain. It also publishes news of the world, some poetry, various short stories, advertisements, articles, sport etc. (59)

'Pareikiaki Haravghi' has a sister paper in Cyprus, called 'Haravghi', which is the paper of the left-wing party in Cyprus. 'Pareikiaki Haravghi' has some cooperation with its sister paper in Cyprus, 'Haravghi'. 'Pareikiaki Simerini' is another newspaper which is edited weekly in Cyprus. It appears every Tuesday and publishes news about the Greek community in Britain, sent to the newspaper by its reporters in Britain. 'Pareikiaki Simerini' is edited by its sister paper in Cyprus, 'Simerini'.

'Simerini' is the organ of the party in opposition in Cyprus. It is a right-wing paper. There are a number of other newspapers and journals which are published monthly or fortnightly.

'Paneurope' is a Greek-English international review. It was started in 1971 and is published fortnightly. Other newspapers which are published fortnightly are, 'Empros', and 'Tahydromos'. Greek newspapers that are published once a month are the 'Greek Gazette' and the 'Orthodox Keryx'. The 'Orthodox Keryx' or 'Orthodox Herald' is the monthly organ of the Archdiocese of Thyateira, which was mentioned earlier in this chapter.

There are also a number of journals published by the Greeks in Britain such as 'Krikos' a monthly journal, 'Nostos', the 'World of Atlas', the 'Greek Review' etc. The 'Student' is another journal which is the organ of the Cypriot students in Britain.

More than that, a number of bulletins are published by the Greek Orthodox Churches of the various Greek communities. 'Diaconia'

is published by the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Barnabas for the homonymous community in London. The 'Voice of the Community' is published by the Church of St. Demetrios for the Greek community around this church, the 'Orthodox Confession' by St. Nicholas, the 'Christian Teaching' by St. John the Theologian and 'News Bulletin' by the Church of Holy Cross, all for the respective communities in London. Another one is the 'Christian Bulletin' published by the Cathedral Church of St. Mary in Birmingham. (60)

It would be of interest to mention here that newspapers from Greece and Cyprus arrive in London every day. Every evening Greek Cypriots in London rush to the newsagents that sell these newspapers, in order to buy them. Since the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, in particular, the members of the Greek community in Britain are strongly interested in what is going on in Cyprus. The personal tragedies of thousands of Greek Cypriots, 200,000 of which were turned into refugees while others are either detainees or enclaved, affects the whole Greek community in Britain. This is owing to the fact that some thousands of members of this community are themselves refugees as referred to earlier in this chapter, while others have relatives in Cyprus who in one way or another have been affected by that conflict. (61)

In addition many Greek Cypriots who came to Britain recently, are anxious to go back as soon as the national problem of Cyprus is settled. Among the most crucial elements of the problem are the safety and integrity of the island and the right of the refugees to return to their homes and property. Owing to the interest of Greek Cypriots in knowing about the most recent developments of the political situation in Cyprus, one can often encounter the phenomenon of many of them queuing up outside the Greek news agents in Haringey, North

London, in order to buy their newspapers from Cyprus. This is particularly noticeable, when a significant event takes place there.

2. Political and Social Organisations

From the early days of their arrival in this country the Greeks felt the necessity of having their own organisations, religious, educational, cultural and political. They felt that through these they could pursue various aims of their community, and in particular, promote the solution of its different problems, as the names of the various organisations indicate above.

The Greek community in Britain is divided along political lines into left and right. This division is reflected in the various Greek Cypriot organisations. As far as the pattern of membership is concerned, most organisations are similar. Only a few people have the time to be active members, while a larger number are occasional participants. (62)

(a) The Greek Cypriot Brotherhood

A well known organisation is the right-wing Greek Cypriot Brotherhood. It was established in 1934 by the Archimandrite Michael Constantinides who became later Archbishop of North America. The Greek Cypriot Brotherhood has its premises in Fitzroy Square at number 21. According to the first article of its statute, London is the base of this organisation.

Its most regular participants are about 800 in number. (63)
 Its active members are mainly businessmen and professionals and although its bias, as stated, is mainly right wing, its membership also includes a few supporters of the left-wing Communist Clubs. (64)
 The objectives of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood, given in the second article of its statute are the following: (65)

- (i) The progress and cooperation of its members and all Greek Cypriots according to Christian morality and love.
- (ii) The development of its members in education and the arts.
- (iii) The social improvement of its members.
- (iv) The well-being and protection of the economic interests of Cypriots and Cyprus in general.
- (v) The maintenance of the Greek Orthodox religion among the Greek Cypriot immigrants in Britain.
- (vi) The promotion of athletics among the members of the Greek community.
- (vii) The promotion of intellectual relations between Cyprus and Britain.
- (viii) The establishment of a Greek school for the teaching of the Greek language to Greek Cypriot immigrants.

According to the statute of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood the above objectives can be achieved through the following procedure:

- (i) The maintenance of premises where an office, restaurant, library, study room and Greek classes can function. Also various meetings, recreational activities and receptions could be held there.
- (ii) Through various activities, athletic, educational, philanthropic, musical, social, etc.

Every Greek Cypriot who accepts the objectives defined in the statute of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood can become a member. (66)

On special occasions persons belonging to other national groups can become members of the Brotherhood if they have some connection with Cyprus or Greece. They will not have the right of electing or being elected, however. (67)

The Brotherhood has the following financial resources:

- Annual subscription of the members.
- Donations.
- Money collected from recreational activities, raffle tickets, dances, etc.

The general assembly of the Brotherhood meets once a year on the second Sunday of January. It also holds other special meetings as defined in the statute of the Brotherhood. (68)

(b) The National Coordinating Committee of Cypriots in Britain

The National Coordinating Committee of Cypriots in Britain is considered to be the most representative body of the Greek Cypriot immigrants. It was set up in 1974 just after the military coup and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Its members consist of all the organisations and parties of Greek Cypriots in Great Britain. It cooperates with the President of Cyprus and the Cyprus High Commission in London.

The aims of this coordinating committee are as follows:

- (i) To help Cyprus which is struggling for its rights, its freedom and survival.
- (ii) To initiate activities in order to help the Greek Cypriots to keep their national identity.
- (iii) To promote the teaching of the Greek language among the Greek Cypriot immigrants.
- (iv) To help Greek Cypriot immigrants to improve their standard of living and their social situation. (69)

The National Coordinating Committee of Cypriots in Britain has set up the Cyprus Relief Fund. It has also worked with English Parliament to help Cyprus to achieve its integrity and freedom. The immediate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyprus, was given as first priority in this effort.

The organisations, committees and other bodies
which are members of the National Coordinating
Committee of Cypriots are the following:

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE OF CYPRIOTS IN BRITAIN

ALL THE MEMBERS

GREEK CYPRIOT BROTHERHOOD	DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF CYPRIOTS IN U.K.
UNION OF CYPRIOTS IN BRITAIN	LADIES BRANCH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN U.K.
E.K.O.N.	THE HELLENIC SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE & SCIENTISTS IN GT. BRITAIN
DRESS MAKERS ASSOCIATION	"PARIKIAKI HARAVGI" NEWSPAPER
THEATRON TECHNIS	S.Y.K.F.A.
GREEK PARENTS ASSOCIATION	E.K.E.K.A.
E.D.E.K.	SOUTH LONDON CYPRUS ASSOCIATION
"VEMA" NEWSPAPER	KOMITES ASSOCIATION
A.K.E.L.	AHNIOTES ASSOCIATION
CYPRUS COMMITTEE of Communist Party	GREEK TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
FEDERATION OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES OF CYPRIOTS IN ENGLAND	LADIES ASSOCIATION OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT BROTHERHOOD
GREEK PARENTS ASSOCIATION OF FULHAM	MUSWELL HILL AND DISTRICT ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN ENGLAND
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN STREATHAM	ANGLOKANTHOU AID SOCIETY
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN ISLINGTON	RIZOKARPASSO ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN LEYTON	MARATHOVOUNOS ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN NORTH LONDON	ASSIOTES ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN KINGSTON	CYPRIOT COMMUNITY CENTRE Birmingham
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOT WOMEN IN ENGLAND	GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY Nottingham
FILIKI ETERIA	ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN BARNET
ACADEMY CLUB	MORPHOU DISTRICT ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION OF CYPRIOTS IN WEMBLEY	ANAGENNIS U.K.
CYPRUS BROTHERHOOD OF MANCHESTER	KEFIV U.K.
GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY IN MARGATE	
CYPRIOT REFUGEES	

(c) Educational Organisations

There are two major educational organisations in Britain. One is K.E.S. and the other is O.E.S.E.K.A. The three initials K.E.S. represent three Greek words meaning Central, Educational Committee. This committee controls the Church schools. It was established in July 1964 during the first educational meeting which was organised on the initiative of the then metropolitan of Thyateira in London.

According to the third article of its statute the K.E.S. has its base in the premises of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain; its meetings are always presided ex-officio by his Eminence the Archbishop of Thyateira. (71)

O.E.S.E.K.A. These are the initial letters of Greek words meaning Federation of Educational Societies of Greek Cypriots in Britain. O.E.S.E.K.A. was established in 1971.

Parents' associations can become members of this federation. In 1981 there were 23 parents' associations registered as members representing 46 Greek schools with 3,150 pupils. (72)

Among the 23 Parents' Associations, members of O.E.S.E.K.A. the biggest is the Greek Parents' Association, which was established in 1952. In 1981 this Association controlled 21 Greek Supplementary schools and 9 youth clubs. The number of children registered in all 21 schools was 1,300. The number of teachers working in these schools was 42. (73)

The activities of the K.E.S. and O.E.S.E.K.A. are educational and cultural. Their educational activities will be examined in Chapter IV. Their cultural activities include celebrations of various religious, national and social events. The programme which is usually performed by pupils of Greek schools consists of Greek sketches, poems, Greek dances and music.

Apart from the big organisations which have been described, there are many others political, professional, educational, religious, philanthropic, cultural etc. An endeavour will be made to give a brief description of the most important of them.

(d) Political Organisations

Politically the Greek community is divided along three lines: the left, the right and the extreme right. This division became more prominent after 1974, the year of the Turkish invasion. There are three well organised political parties in Britain. These are branches of the three main political parties in Cyprus. The oldest of them is A.K.E.L. (74)

This political party represents the communist left wing and cooperates with the homonymous political party in Cyprus.

The other two political parties were established in London quite recently. One of them is called DE.KO. (75) It is the political party to which the president of Cyprus Spyros Kyprianou, belongs. The other political party is called DE.SY. (76) This is a branch of the homonymous political party in Cyprus, which is the party in opposition. DE.KO. is supposed to be the right wing party while DE.SY. is regarded as the extreme right wing. The criteria for categorising these two political parties are mainly related to their proposed political policies for the solution of the Cyprus political problem.

(e) Other Organisations

Another interesting organisation is the Foundation for Hellenism in Britain. It was established in February 1982, with the initiative of Archbishop Dr. Methodios. Some thirty of the Hellenic community's most prominent people in Britain, including some distinguished and learned philhellenes, gathered in the Royal

Lancaster Hotel for the inaugural meeting of the Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain, on the 20th February 1982. In that meeting the constitutional and editorial committees were elected. The founder members of the Foundation for Hellenism are about 45. Included in them are eminent British and Greek people, such as Lord Elgin, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, His Excellency the Ambassador of Greece in Great Britain, Greek consuls in Great Britain, seven Greek and British professors of various British universities and other outstanding personalities from the Greek community. (77)

The Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain aims at being a friendly, spiritual movement of Greeks and friends of the Greek spirit. They will work on purely spiritual and scientific subjects which the founder members will define, always with the idea of improving research. The organ through which the Foundation for Hellenism will express its thought and activities is the Journal Texts and Studies. In this they will publish documents, treatises, articles, communications and other papers. All these must refer to the history of Hellenism in Great Britain, to its communities, churches and schools, to distinguished individuals and their relationship with British society, and to the relations between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Church. Other papers will deal with British intellectuality and British history. (78)

An interesting organisation of the Greek community in Britain is also the Association of Cypriot graduates of British universities. It was established at the end of 1981. There are at present 43 members enrolled in this association. The objectives of the Association of Cypriot Graduates are the following:

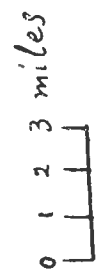
- (i) The promotion of professional, cultural, intellectual, educational, ethnic, patriotic and other interests of the members of the Association.
- (ii) To establish a strong and continuous link with the people of Cyprus, and especially with the Graduates there, with the ultimate aim of perpetuating the Cypriot culture among the immigrant Cypriots.
- (iii) To establish a strong and continuous link with other Nations and Religious establishments.
- (iv) Solidarity among its members with special emphasis in aiding other Cypriots in needs.
- (v) The international promotion of the Cyprus cause always within the guidelines set by the Government of Cyprus.
- (vi) The organisation of lectures and seminars, as well as the publication and distribution of suitable material to achieve the objectives of the Association. (79)


It is evident from what has been written in this chapter that the Greek community in Britain is rather well organised. It is reasonable, therefore, that this community became easily interested in the establishment of community schools, where the children of Greek origin can be taught Greek language and culture. It is only since the 1960s that some English educational policies and strategies relevant to the solution of problems of the immigrant children have been formulated adopted, and implemented, as will be described later in Chapter II.

The wish of the Greek Cypriots in Britain to preserve their culture through education is strengthened by:

- (i) The strong Cypriot identity based on family and religion.
- (ii) The economic independence of the Greek community in Britain.
- (iii) The strength of Greek Cypriot organisations which can take educational initiatives.

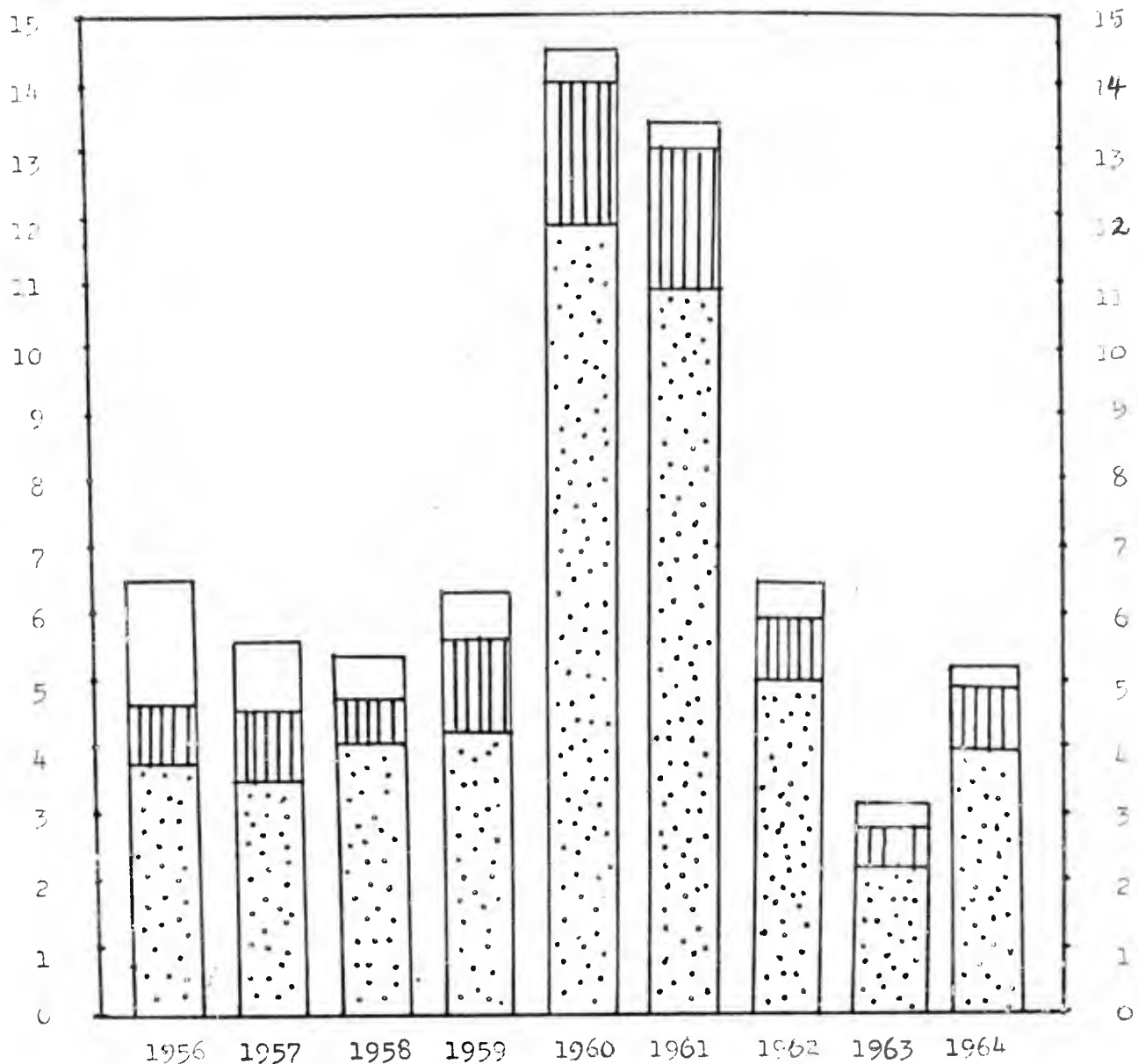
The organisations which promote education among the Greek Cypriot population through the provision of supplementary schools will be discussed in much more detail later in the thesis. In particular reference will be made to the division of opinion in political and religious matters among members of the Greek community in order to examine the extent to which some or all of the organisations are willing to cooperate with the English educational authorities.



 Boroughs with over 2,000 Cypriots
 Source: Census 1971.

CYPRIO T EMIGRANTS : GREEK AND TURKISH

Thousands



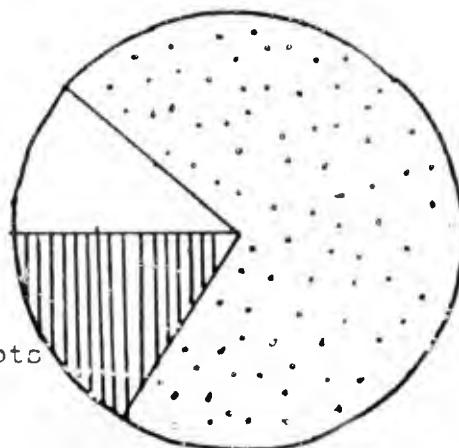
Greek Cypriot

Turkish Cypriot

Others

Others
(9%)

Turkish Cypriots
(16%)



Greek Cypriots
(75%)

Source: Statistical Abstract 1964: Nicosia, Cyprus, in Psarias, V., Greek Cypriot Immigration in Greater Manchester, M.Phil. Thesis, University of Bradford, 1979, p. 96.



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- (5) The Greek Review, op.cit. p.8.
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- (20) Kykkotis, J. "Ex Anatolon": The History of Greek Community in Britain, Pygmalion Press, Ltd., London, 1968, p. 16.
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- (40) Oakley, R. New Backgrounds, op.cit. p. 26.
- (41) Ibid. p. 26.
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- (44) Ibid. p. 28.
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- (48) Persianis, P. Church and State in Cyprus Education, Violaris Printing Works Ltd., Nicosia, 1978, p. 29.
- (49) The Greek Review, No.1. op.cit. p. 26.
- (50) Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, Calendar 1982, p.157.
- (51) Ibid. p. 159.
- (52) Observation of the writer.
- (53) Orthodox Herald, Monthly Organ of the Archdiocese of Thyateira, April 1980.
- (54) Ibid. p.
- (55) One traditional custom they all keep is the preparation of 'vasilopitta', before Christmas. This is a special kind of bread prepared for St. Basil's Day, which is the first day of the New Year. A coin is always put in it, which relates to a traditional story about the Saint, whose life was full of philanthropy. 'Vasilopitta' is shared among all the members of the family, present and absent, on the New Year's Eve. The one who finds the coin in his piece of 'vasilopitta' is considered to be the luckiest in the New Year.
- (56) A brief description of a Greek wedding in Britain is as follows:
 On Sunday, the usual day for weddings, the bride and groom meet outside the church, they kiss each other and then they enter the church surrounded by many friends and relatives. There follows a solemn affair, a long ceremony. On the right of the groom stand his best men 'koumbaros' about 30 or 50, depending on the number of his relations. On the left of the bride stand in about equal numbers her bridesmaids.

After the ceremony the couple and the many guests, coming from various walks of life go to a big hall where they celebrate by eating, usually traditional Greek food 'mezedes' and drinking

Greek wines and spirits. The main part of the celebration consists of singing and dancing. Greeks need no excuse for dancing. Both Greek and Cypriot dances are danced during the celebration.

In dancing the women display their femininity, particularly in the dance 'Syrtos'. The men show off their power and agility.

As the bride and groom dance, relatives, friends and the 'koumbaros' in particular pin money on them. A couple may collect in this way about £6,000 to £10,000 or even more. This money helps the couple pay for the wedding and their honeymoon.

Another custom most of the Greek Cypriots keep in Britain is that on the first day of the wedding, the parents of the couple enter the bride's chamber and roll a boy on the bride's new mattress. They do it wishing the couple prosperity in their new life together, and in hope that their first child will be a boy.

(Part of the above information is from a cassette 'Sousa', National folk dance troupe of Cyprus.)

- (57) Leeuwenberg, J. The Cypriots in Haringey, Research Report No.1, op.cit. p. 11.
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- (63) Information given to the writer by Andreas Karaolis, the Secretary of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood, in January, 1982.
- (64) Leeuwenberg, J., The Cypriots in Haringey, Research Report, No.1. op.cit. p. 15.
- (65) Helleniki Kypriaki Adelfotis, Katastatikon (Statute), London, 1960, p. 1.
- (66) Ibid. p. 2.
- (67) Ibid. p. 2.
- (68) Ibid. p. 4.
- (69) National Co-ordinating Committee of Cypriots in Britain, Programme for the dinner in honour of the Greek Minister of Agriculture, Mount Royal Hotel, Bryanston Street, London, W.1. 28 March 1982.

- (70) Ibid.
- (71) Kentrikon Ekpaedeftikon Symboulion Archiepiskopis Thyateron, Katastatikon (Central Educational Committee of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain. Statute.) London, 1981, p. 2.
- (72) Interview by the writer with Christodoulos Stylianou, the President of O.E.S.E.K.A., London, January 1982.
- (73) Interview by the writer with Mikis Christodoulides, Organising Secretary of O.E.S.E.K.A., in January 1982.
- (74) A.K.E.L. These are the initial letters of Greek words meaning the Party of the Working People.
- (75) DE.KO. Abbreviation for Democratic Party.
- (76) DE.SY. Abbreviation for Democratic Rally.
- (77) The Greek Review, No.1. op.cit. p. 4.
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Chapter II

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN ENGLAND AND WALES
AS IT AFFECTS THE GREEK COMMUNITY

Introduction

Two points will be made in this chapter.

- (1) That state school policy traditionally has not taken account of the cultural differences exhibited by, for instance, the Greek community - especially language and the wish to retain an ethnic group identity.
- (2) Educational policies formulated since the early 1960s in response to immigration from the New Commonwealth have not taken into account some of the particular wishes of the Greek community.

Analysis of official policies will concentrate on the primary level as the wish to transmit the Greek culture to children by formal education in the Greek community focuses particularly on primary age children.

PART ONE. Official policy for primary education 1904-1967.

The analysis of educational policy through major reports is a means to establish the main characteristics of English primary education. It may be assumed also that policies proposed historically still have an impact on contemporary practices.

There has been lack of adaptation in the English education system to other cultures.⁽¹⁾ The aims and the curriculum of primary schools particularly are the areas that reflect more clearly the lack of change which has been effected in education towards a multi-cultural society.

This is shown in the stated aims of the primary school, contained in Elementary Code issued by the Board of Education between 1904

and 1926. Making a review of the Code of 1904, it can be said that the stated aims, while important and worthy, do not make any reference to other cultures other than those of England and Wales. It was stated that the purpose of the Public Elementary school was to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children. It was to use the school years to assist the children according to their different needs and to prepare them for the real work of life. One of the aims of the school was to train the children in habits of observation and clear reasoning, to arouse in them an interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind

"and to bring them to some familiarity with the literature and history of their own country; to give them some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression..(2)

This aim which intends to bring children to some familiarity with the literature and history of 'their own country' certainly means Britain and British culture, because nowhere is there any reference to other countries or children with other cultures. In this context this aim implies that the children should study English literature and English history. The same applies to the object of giving children "some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression".(3)

The aim clearly refers to the English language and no other, because again nowhere is there any suggestion that the child should also learn any other language as an instrument of thought and expression.

However, the 1904-1926 Code did suggest that the school should enlist the interest and cooperation of the parents in a united effort to enable the children to reach their full development as individuals and also to become useful members of the community and worthy members of the country to which they belong.(4)

This indicates that cooperation with the family was considered important and this had important implications later.

The 1904-1926 Code was issued at a time when cultural diversity

in England - based on race, language or non-Western religion - was slight. But the values contained in it may still survive.

Later official statements about education, although they present some different hypotheses and ideas, tend to reassert the values of the 1904 Code. In the 1931 Hadow Report, for instance, it is stated that special attention should be given to the role of the primary school in shaping and fostering the life of a people under modern social and economic conditions.⁽⁵⁾

Making a comparison between the aims of the schools in earlier years and the aims of the schools in the 1930s, the Hadow Report points out that because of industrialisation, the bases of social life have been transformed. Thus the schools, whose first intention was to teach children how to read, must now broaden their aims to such an extent that it might be said that they have now to teach children how to live.⁽⁶⁾

The Hadow Report recognised the importance of the issues of industrial and social changes. However, it did not make any reference to the existence of people in Britain other than British, and therefore it does not suggest anything to satisfy the educational needs of other children, besides the indigenous ones. Multiculturalism was not anticipated as a social change.

In the 1937 Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers, some more values are incorporated, and it is suggested that the school should endeavour to transmit them to children, e.g. the preparation of children as the citizens of tomorrow, to face a more complex and more difficult world than that of yesterday. Referring to social contacts, the same document argues that these are becoming more frequent and varied and that children will need to learn to mix with a greater variety of types of individual than their parents probably knew.⁽⁷⁾

This document anticipated later policies on multiculturalism

in its suggestions on inter-group tolerance even though groups were not identified in cultural terms. But there was no mention of specific rights of children, with a different ethnic and cultural background from the English, to retain their own culture.

A reiteration of the recognition of cultural minority educational rights can be seen in the terms of the 1944 Education Act, relating to religious education.

It was suggested there that the school day in every county school and in every voluntary school should begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils of the school.⁽⁸⁾ However, if the parent of any pupil requested that he be wholly or partly excused from attendance at religious worship, or from both religious worship and religious instruction in the school, the pupil should be excused from such attendance.⁽⁹⁾

In addition the 1944 Education Act provided for the possibility of the establishment of separate Religious Schools by a group or body other than the local education authority. In such a case, State aid could be provided to the school. This aid could be equivalent to four fifths of the total amount of money spent for school-building, furniture and teaching equipment. After the establishment of such schools the financial responsibility for the maintenance of the building and the payment of teaching staff as well would be undertaken by the government. The parents should continue to pay only one fifth of the expenditure for the maintenance of the school-buildings.⁽¹⁰⁾

Before the start of the process for the establishment of such a school a parents' committee should be elected by those parents who are interested in this separate religious school. The parents' committee should find a suitable place for the erection of the school-building and the original amount of one fifth of the whole expenditure for the establishment of the school. The parents' committee should also be

responsible for the appointment of both the headteacher and the teachers of the school, provided that the latter have the necessary qualifications required by law. This means that they should have completed the relevant education courses in a recognised Teachers' College or Pedagogical Academy. The school should follow a curriculum recognised by the local education authorities. Basically the curriculum should be identical to that of other English schools. It would only be different in the sense that it would include 1-2 hours daily for religious education and the teaching of the mother-tongue. The school should also be inspected by **government inspectors**. An example of such a school established under the conditions, which have been just described is a Jewish school. It was established in Camden Road, London, in 1956.⁽¹¹⁾

The conditions necessary for obtaining permission for the establishment of a separate religious school were as follows:

- (i) The local education authority should be convinced that there is a necessity for the establishment of such a school for religious reasons.
- (ii) There should be written confirmation based on written declarations by parents, that about 200-240 children in the area would wish to enroll in such a school. In addition to this number, it should be proved that about 40 children of the age of 5 would enroll yearly to this school.
- (iii) The local education authority should be convinced that the erection of this school is in line with its plans to erect new school buildings in the area.⁽¹²⁾

Thus the 1944 Act acknowledged the existence in Britain of people of different religions. It recognised the rights to cultural autonomy in minority groups, but it was restricted to the subject of religious education alone. Other aspects of cultural diversity - particularly language - were ignored.

The educational documents examined so far support the view that the English education system made no concessions to the specific educational needs of children from different ethnic backgrounds.

There were few official statements on the aims of primary education between the 1944 Education Act and the 1967 Plowden Report, one of them being "Primary Education", London, H.M.S.O. 1959. This educational document was based on what Her Majesty's Inspectors saw in schools in all parts of the country in recent years, and on discussions with teachers about their work and about the principles on which they act. (13)

Referring to the 1937 Suggestions for Teachers, the document points out the change in emphasis in educational thought and practice, from the subject of instruction to the child, which was stressed in the 1937 Suggestions. It proceeds to confirm that primary education today is very much concerned with children as children, with their great diversity of aptitudes and abilities and their many inter-dependent and changing needs.

The view that children should be seen as autonomous individuals rather than as members of a group, sharing this group identity, was confirmed.

The 1959 Report argues that the curriculum except that part concerning religious instruction, is fundamentally the same in all primary schools for the following reasons:

- (i) Tradition is very strong.
- (ii) The process of education in Britain has always been a slow evolution, and
- (iii) Teachers as a body are in close touch with each other and with others concerned in the education of children.

However, the curriculum of primary schools does show some differences from school to school. These differences are related to the emphasis given to the various aspects of the work and particularly

to the approach and ways of teaching the different subjects.⁽¹⁴⁾

It should be borne in mind, the document states, however, that the curriculum is constantly under review, from one angle or another by teachers, administrators and members of the public. On account of this it is gradually changing in scope and interpretation. It is adjusting to the demands which new needs and arising aspirations make.⁽¹⁵⁾

This freedom of curriculum choice for teachers at school level and the adaptability of the content of teaching in the light of local needs does have importance for education in a multicultural society.

All these pedagogical principles contained in the 1959 Report refer to a homogeneous pupil population, the English one. Nowhere could these educational aims be interpreted as referring to the specific mother-tongue needs of children other than the British. There is no reference for instance to the specific mother-tongue needs of children of Greek origin.

The most important statement of aims of primary education since the war was the 1967 Plowden Report.

(1) Aims

In terms of general aims and approaches the Report suggests that the schools should reflect the views of society, or of some section of society. It does not make it explicit, however, which should be the objectives of English primary education.⁽¹⁶⁾

Making reference to the aims of primary school the Report says that an obvious purpose is to fit children for the society into which they grow up. For such a society, children will need to be capable of adjusting to their changing environment.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the Report, however, there is "lack of sufficient grasp of the varieties in family background". And how such variation can lead to different degrees of

preparedness of the child, is not brought out.⁽¹⁸⁾

Proceeding, the Plowden Report states important aims such as,

- (i) the all round development of the individual,
- (ii) the acquisition of the basic skills which are necessary in contemporary society,
- (iii) the religious and moral development of the child,
- (iv) the child's physical development and also,
- (v) the cooperation of school and home.⁽¹⁹⁾

Arguing on the statement of aims the Report confirms the view that general statements are of limited value and that a pragmatic approach to the purposes of education would be more fruitful. Lists like, 'physical health, intellectual development, emotional and moral health, aesthetic awareness, practical skills, social skills' and so on consist of main headings which should be divided into appropriate sub-headings. These sub-headings could be used as a check list against current practices.⁽²⁰⁾

Commenting on the aim of acquiring the basic skills, the Plowden Report points out that there are other skills besides those of reading, writing and arithmetic, which are necessary for everyone, in order to live happily both as child and as adult. One such skill mentioned there is that of communication by the spoken word.⁽²¹⁾ In these terms, however, nothing is mentioned about the need of children from minority groups to communicate with their parents in their own mother-tongue.

In terms of the general aims of a school the Report makes it explicit that a school is not merely a teaching shop. Thus, it must transmit values and attitudes. A school is a community in which children learn, first of all, to live as children and not as future adults. In these terms the school should provide the right environment for

children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in their own way and at the pace appropriate to them. Furthermore, the school should try to equalise opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. Emphasis should be given to individual discovery, first hand experience and to opportunities for creative work. It is noted that work and play should not be regarded as opposites but complementary. (22)

Furthermore, the Report reasserts that virtues such as neatness, accuracy, care and the sheer knowledge which is an essential part of an educated person, are genuine virtues. Thus an education system which does not foster them is faulty. (23)

Finally, it is emphasised in the document that children need to be themselves, to mix with other children and with grown ups, to learn from their environment, to enjoy the present and get ready for the future. Individual schools, teachers and parents should be left to decide about the situations which could promote these ends. (24)

Among all those general aims and guiding principles of primary school, which are incorporated in the Plowden, there is not one which is particularly related to the existence of different ethnic groups in the English schools and the specific needs of children belonging to these groups, e.g. the children of the Greek community in Britain. Because of the lack of such recognition in the Report, there is a consequent lack of any suggestion in it for the solution of problems related to the immigrant children.

(2) Curriculum

In relation to the curriculum the subjects which are discussed in the Plowden Report are the traditional ones.

Emphasis is given to religious education and English. As far as religious education is concerned, it is stated in the Report that the Council was divided in its views on it, because of the personal

beliefs of its members. A minority of them believed that religious education should not be included in the curriculum at all while other members believed that this subject together with the Act of Worship should influence the whole curriculum and give the tone of living and learning for the school community.⁽²⁵⁾

For the subject of English the Report pointed out that despite its importance both as a means of communication and as literature, it was not given the attention it deserves. Thus some schools emphasised the traditional techniques of reading and writing and ignored the importance of speech.⁽²⁶⁾

However, there are generally some new ideas, methods and approaches in the Plowden which are mainly related to children as individuals.

One widespread idea embodied in the Report is the "free day" and another associated with it, is the "integrated curriculum". The "free day" was established because of the conviction of some teachers and educationalists that young children learn through play. Thus children who are not yet ready to read can continue playing and building up vocabulary while others are reading.⁽²⁷⁾

Flexibility in the curriculum is emphasised in the document. The idea of flexibility can find expression in lots of practices, all of them designed to make use of the interests and curiosity of children. In this sense, the notion of subject matter should be minimised and allow the teacher to adopt a guiding role rather than a didactic one.⁽²⁸⁾

An interesting approach described in the Report is "the centre of interest". It is based on a topic of interest and variety that could provide work round it for a period ranging from a week to a term or even longer. Much of this work may be individual, falling under subject headings.⁽²⁹⁾

The use of the environment was suggested as another way of

integrating the curriculum. It is directly related to the curiosity which children have about the world that surrounds them.⁽³⁰⁾

Thus in terms of general aims and approaches the Plowden suggests,

- (i) That children should be seen as autonomous individuals whose individual needs should be catered for in school. (Thus they are not seen as part of a group whose identity should be maintained.) Teaching and the curriculum should reflect these individual differences.

The stress of Plowden Report on child-centred methods derived from individual potentiality is counter to the concept of the group. Thus the central philosophy of the Report which cares about the individual child is in conflict with what the Greek community wants. The Greek community wants the child to be seen as part of it.

The Plowden Report, though it was acknowledged to be progressive in outlook, did not respond to the specific educational needs of immigrant children. Its concern for immigrant children focuses mainly on the issues of unfamiliarity with the English way of living, the problems of immigrants related to the learning of English, the special problems which some local education authorities face because of high concentrations of immigrants and also on the issue that many immigrant children are at a disadvantage because of their poor educational background.⁽³¹⁾ It should be noted here, however, that the last comment does not apply to the children of Greek origin.

Another aspect to which the document refers, in relation to the immigrant children, is that of teachers. It criticises the teachers' lack of knowledge of the cultural traditions and family structure of immigrant children but it explains that it is not easy to find the relevant books for these subjects, suitable for the teachers' training.⁽³²⁾ In this sense the Report suggests the

inclusion in initial training courses, for some teachers, of discussion of the background of children of various ethnic origin.⁽³³⁾

This is one of the very few occasions that the Plowden Report makes reference to the need for some knowledge of the cultural background of immigrant children, on behalf of the teachers.

Commenting on the curriculum in relation to the immigrant children the Report says that it should take account of their previous environment and prepare them for life in a different country. It proceeds saying that aspects of the immigrants' culture could enrich the school's geographical and historical studies, an initiative that could both improve other children's appreciation of the new-comers and enable immigrant children to value their own culture and language.⁽³⁴⁾

This suggestion is very interesting but further than this there is nothing in the Report, implying that the cultural needs of immigrant children, are of great importance and that they should be met in the English schools' curriculum.

"The Report's view of the curriculum is linked to its view of child nature and the learning process.... Play and interest are key aspects of the continuous process of learning." (35)

From the whole orientation of the Report for immigrant children, it is clear that the main task of primary education should be to socialise these children into a British culture, teaching them the English language. The Report makes it explicit that the purpose of all the suggested measures related to immigrant children is to help these children to be absorbed into the native population.⁽³⁶⁾

Thus examining the Plowden Report in terms of minority groups, it is obvious that,

- (i) These groups are seen as disadvantaged and should be encouraged to assimilate.
- (ii) No reference is made to their particular cultural needs.

It should be pointed out that, in the primary school policy documents, 1904-1967,

- (i) There was an assumption - explicit in 1904 but implicit in later documents - that only an English culture, particularly based on English language, literature and history, should be taught. So there was no explicit recognition of the validity of other linguistic, literary and historical cultures.
- (ii) In terms of cultural diversity, only religious diversity was recognised as having the right to be expressed in the state supported system, (and there were difficulties in the way of less concentrated and less well organised religious groups).
- (iii) Children were seen as individuals and not as members of cohesive cultural groups.

All of these tendencies would make it difficult for English primary schools to transmit minority cultures in their own right. A potential conflict exists between the traditional emphasis on the transmission of an English culture and the Greek community's desire to maintain knowledge of its language, religion and history among the young as noted in Chapter I. Also the stress on the individual in the aims of the official reports was not reconciled early with the Greek community's belief in the importance of family relationships and of the cohesion of the community as a whole.

However, the reports did suggest,

- (i) That parents' wishes should be taken into account. (This was actually institutionalised in terms of religion.)

- (ii) That the curriculum of each school should reflect local conditions.

These last points could provide a justification for particular concessions to the aspirations of the Greek community. However, the extent to which such concessions could be made would be affected by policies for the education of ethnic minorities in England as a whole as they developed after 1960 which will now be examined.

PART TWO. The Development of Educational Policy towards Ethnic Minorities 1963-1983

Introduction

The main argument presumably is that multicultural educational policies in Britain have responded to the problems of the large immigrant minority groups - especially West Indians and Asians from the Indian sub-continent - and to a perceived need to maintain intercultural harmony. These aims do not meet the needs of the Greek community which differ from those of these larger groups and they do not cater for

the Greek community's desire to maintain a group identity based largely on language, religion, culture and ethnic identity.

A. The Context of Multicultural Education Policies in England from 1960

A government Sample Survey (H.M.S.O.1973a) attempted to identify the population of Britain, according to the interviewer's assessment of the respondent's colour. This exercise indicated that of the total 25,888 persons interviewed, 1.7 per cent were described as 'coloured'. Generalizing from this survey to the total population would give a figure of approximately one million 'coloured' people in Britain today. As far as the number of immigrant children is concerned, about 3.1 per cent of children in Britain are either black or Asian. (37)

On another occasion the number of black people in Britain was estimated to be one and a half million. (38) And of course it is not only black immigrant people that can be found in Britain, but white immigrants, e.g. Greeks, Turks, Italians etc.

Historically, immigration to the United Kingdom has been attractive to particular groups because of political or religious oppression, because of economic opportunities or even because of the desire "to live in a land of good government", in the words of the 1903 Royal Commission. (39)

After 1945 in particular, Britain like other Western European industrial nations experienced immigration. That immigration resulted in the permanent settlement, of black and white citizens from former colonies, in Britain. (40) West Indians were among the first immigrants after the Second World War. (41)

In the 1950s and early 1960s, immigrants came to Britain to find work. After the Second World War, because of acute labour shortages in the local labour market the government recruited workers for British industry from the Polish army. In the 1950s London Transport mounted its own recruitment scheme in the West Indies. (42)

In the 1950s and 1960s more organisations in the United Kingdom had on occasions actively encouraged immigration to staff in undermanned essential and other services.⁽⁴³⁾ Most Indians and Pakistanis, however who came to Britain, came individually in the knowledge that job opportunities which were very rare in their own countries were available in Britain.⁽⁴⁴⁾

A small but important element of immigration today is still that, caused by political reasons, but economic factors are the major cause. Recent immigration to the United Kingdom, by and large, has been the result of economic aspirations.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The major groups of immigrants between the years 1955-70 came from India, Pakistan, Jamaica and the rest of the Caribbean.

The table below gives the numbers of each one of those major groups between the years 1955-68.

Table 10

Net Inward migration from India, Pakistan
and the West Indies, 1955-68

	<u>India</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>	<u>Jamaica</u>	<u>Rest of Caribbean</u>	<u>Total</u>
1955-60	33,070	17,120	96,180	65,270	211,640
1961-30th June 1962	42,800	50,170	62,450	35,640	191,060
1st July 1962-Dec 68	<u>124,260</u>	<u>78,670</u>	<u>32,700</u>	<u>31,310</u>	<u>266,940</u>
Total:	200,130	145,960	191,330	132,220	669,640

Sources: for 1955-30 June 1962, Home Office; for 1st July, 1962-68 Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, Statistics. In Deakin, N., Colour Citizenship and British Society, Cox & Wyman Ltd. London, 1970 p. 50

The numbers of Cypriot emigrants to Britain in the same period are shown in the table that follows.

Table 11

Cypriot Emigrants from Cyprus to Britain
1955-68

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
1955	4,446	1962	4,952
1956	3,448	1963	2,168
1957	3,944	1964	3,784
1958	3,896	1965	1,977
1959	5,033	1966	1,861
1960	12,936	1967	2,229
1961	12,131	1968	1,452

Source: Oakley 1971: 28 and Statistical Abstract 1971, Nicosia, Cyprus.

In Psarias, V.,

Greek Cypriot Immigration in Greater Manchester, M.Phil. Thesis, University of Bradford, 1979 p. 52.

While Cypriot immigrants were a high proportion of Commonwealth Immigrants up till 1960, by the late 1960s their numbers were small compared to groups from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. Policy responses to immigration were more likely to take account of these latter groups rather than Cypriots.

It has always been the case that immigration policies are dictated by the accepted economic goals of the host country.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Britain was no exception to this. But the fact that there was provision for controlling the numbers of immigrants in Britain in the 19th century legislation is another indication that British society has been multi-racial for a long time.

In the nineteenth century the control of aliens was more relaxed but stricter control was introduced by the Aliens Act 1905 and after that by the Aliens Restriction Act 1914 and the Aliens Restriction Act 1919. Under those Acts, the admission and expulsion of

aliens was controlled by powers exercised by Order in Council. Those Acts remained in force until 1971, when they were replaced by the Immigration Act 1971. (47)

Over recent years the British law controlling immigration of Commonwealth citizens has become more restrictive and complex. Successive restrictions have been accompanied by provisions to preserve the rights of particular groups or to discharge moral or other claims affecting other groups. Such special cases arise from Britain's imperial past and the Government's need to respect the basic human rights embodied in the European Convention of Human Rights. (48)

The 1962 Act had a number of consequences for the composition of the migration. The balance of migration since July 1962 had changed in a number of ways:

- (i) from the Caribbean to India and Pakistan (see table 10)
- (ii) from the economically active to the economically inactive
- (iii) from men to women, and
- (iv) from adults to children

These differences occurred because of the nature of the controls and the composition of the migration before control. The 1962 Act permitted the dependants of persons already resident in Britain to enter the country but imposed restrictions on adults intending to work in Britain. (49)

Thus migration since the 1962 Act had been mainly made up of dependants. By 1967 over 90% of all Commonwealth immigrants were dependants, e.g. wives, children under 18, elderly parents and other close relatives. The definition of dependant status had been narrowed a number of times since 1962. In the 1965 White Paper, for instance, the Government allowed 16-18 year-olds to be admitted as dependant at the discretion of immigration officers, while the Commonwealth Immigration Appeal Act 1968 required children to travel in the company of one parent at least. (50)

The continuing tightening of the conditions for the entry of dependants was a response to fears that the number of dependants was limitless. In these terms a Home Office study showed that 51% of West Indian and 41% of Indian and Pakistani dependants arrived to Britain during 1968 to join heads of households who had migrated in 1963 or earlier. The biggest group of dependants were children.⁽⁵¹⁾

In the case of migration from Cyprus the numbers decreased relatively very much from 1963 onwards. The main cause of this was firstly the British government's official policy of allowing only those Commonwealth immigrants with skills to enter Britain, that is the 1962 and 1965 Commonwealth Acts. The years 1964 and 1967, however, seem to have higher numbers of Cypriot immigrants than any other after the peak years of 1960, 1961 and 1962. (See table 11). This was probably due to the political instability and the inter-communal troubles in 1963 and 1967.⁽⁵²⁾

Two factors make immigration today different from what it has been in the past. One factor is related to the numbers involved which make immigration different in magnitude. The second factor is Britain's entry into the European Economic Community which may make it necessary for Britain to adjust its policies towards countries which are not members of the Community.⁽⁵³⁾

Within the European Economic Community there is free movement for workers who are nationals of members States, to work within the Community. The Commission produced a draft on illegal immigration and illegal employment, in order to protect the interests of Community workers. Under these circumstances it is inevitable that member States will have to distinguish between those from countries within and those from countries outside the E.E.C.⁽⁵⁴⁾

1. Problems in society related to the presence of immigrants

Hans' analysis on the constituency of a nation makes it possible to analyse problems in different countries and to look at different responses in terms of cultural diversity. A nation's multiculturalism can be identified by three cultural indicators:

- (i) People speaking different languages
- (ii) People following different religions
- (iii) People coming from different racial or ethnic backgrounds. (55)

Considering the above cultural indicators, Britain can be identified as multicultural society. With post-war migration in particular from the former Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean, Africa, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and with migration from various European countries too, Britain became a multiracial society. (56)

Thus, the synthesis of population in Britain, with black, brown and white people from various parts of the world, people speaking different languages, following different religions and coming from different ethnic backgrounds, indicates that Britain is a multicultural country. (57)

The presence of immigrants in Britain raises many issues and problems in race relations. There are difficulties of whites relating to black, in so far as the black communities are placed in a less than equal situation in terms of jobs, housing or opportunities in general. It is argued that the difference is largely because of prejudice and discrimination contained within the white community, the dominant one, and its institutions. Thus the opportunities available to minority communities are inhibited and this creates conditions of racial tension and racial inequality. (58)

There are some straightforward literary and operational definitions of prejudice. Allport (1958) defined prejudice as 'an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It can be felt or expressed. It can also be directed toward a group as a

whole or toward an individual because he is a member of a certain group.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Kelman and Pettigrew (1959) argued that group prejudice has two components, hostility and misinformation.⁽⁶⁰⁾

A period of hostile reactions from a large number of the white native population against ethnic minorities in Britain was found in the late 1950s. In that period more immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa and the Indian subcontinent made their appearance in Britain. It is true that those hostile reactions were related to frustration and anxiety, because such feelings can reinforce existing prejudice. However there are some other reasons which could be regarded as contributing to prejudice. In these terms the rise of racist attitudes in Britain in recent years could strengthen the view, that prejudice ought to be seen in terms of multiple aetiological aspects. Violent examples of acts of prejudice occurred in England between 1968 and 1970 with groups of youngsters called 'skin-heads'. These frequently attacked Asians. It is interesting that the 'skin-heads' showed no hostility towards black West Indians but only towards Asians. Thus their prejudice was not based entirely on 'colour' but on cultural aspects. They considered Pakistanis because of their ethnic and cultural background as remote from themselves and as a set available for aggression.⁽⁶¹⁾

Researchers, however, found out that persons who are prejudiced towards one minority group usually tend to be prejudiced towards other groups too. So, the general trend related to prejudiced behaviour is that hostile reactions are shown towards all ethnic groups. Writers observe that ethnic prejudice is a problem having its roots in the organisation, social norms and practices of society and not in pathologies of individuals.⁽⁶²⁾

2. Multiculturalism in schools and the arising problems

The numbers' game

The schools can always be considered as mirrors of society. In this sense prejudice towards immigrant pupils in schools has always been parallel to the prejudice towards immigrant groups in society.

The exact number of immigrant children in the various areas of Britain is not easily available as stated before. Statistics about immigrant pupils first became available in 1967, the year in which the Department of Education and Science published them after the circulation of a relevant form to schools in 1966. (63)

In 1969 the number of immigrant pupils in maintained schools was 249,664. (64)

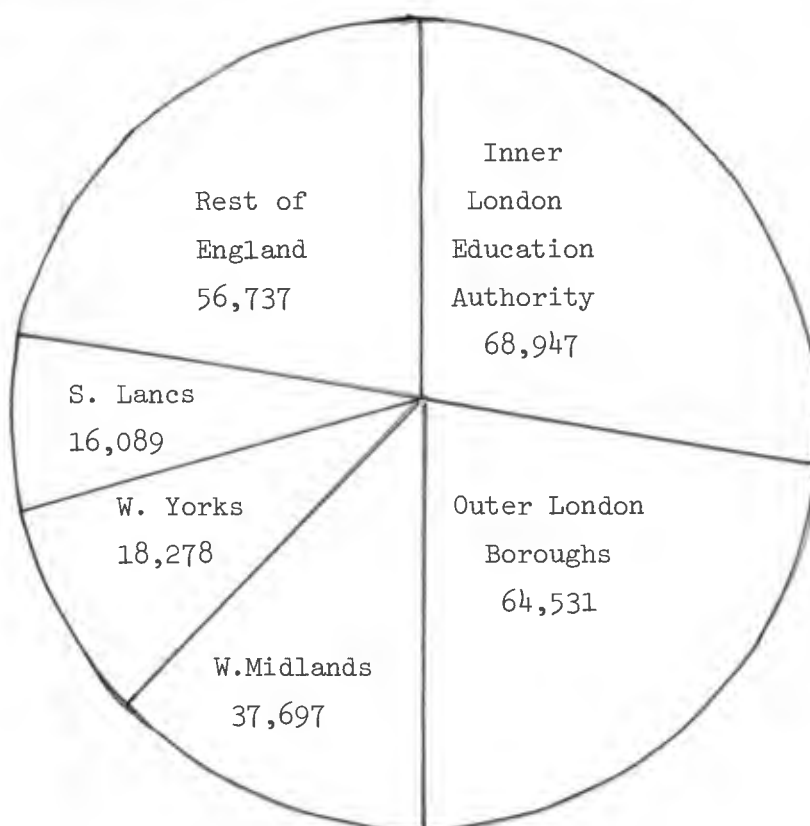
The large majority of migrants have been young and thus there is each year an increasing number of 'immigrant' children in schools. A survey, which took place in 1970 and covered 146 local authorities in England and Wales, found that there were 263,710 immigrant children in schools. Of these children 41% came from the West Indies, 20% came from India, 9% from Pakistan, 6% from Cyprus and the remainder from Africa and other countries of the world. (65)

On another occasion it was cited that, in January 1970, there were about a quarter of a million immigrant pupils in maintained primary and secondary schools out of a total roll of some seven and a half millions. The actual figures were 262,279 immigrant pupils out of a total roll of 7,477,247 giving a percentage of 3.5 of immigrant pupils for the whole country. (66)

There is an uneven distribution of immigrant pupils in the various regions of England and Wales. In the survey which took place in 1970, the situation was as follows:

Table 12

Regional distribution of immigrant pupils in England,
January 1970



(67)

In January 1970 some LEAs had nine per cent or more immigrants on roll as follows:

Table 13

The LEAs with nine per cent or more immigrants on roll in January 1970.

<u>London Area</u>		<u>Rest of England</u>	
Haringey	28.7	Wolverhampton	14.1
Brent	27.6	Leicester	13.3
Ealing	21.3	Huddersfield	12.5
ILEA	17.0	Warley	10.9
Newham	15.2	Bradford	10.2
Waltham Forest	11.0	Birmingham	9.7
Hounslow	10.3	Preston	9.0

(68)

Many more problems arise when the school population consists of children from many different ethnic backgrounds, and the solution of these problems is correspondingly more difficult, as explained later in this chapter.

In the 1970 survey, of the 67 LEAs with more than 500 immigrant pupils in their areas 12 had 50 per cent West Indian, while another 20 had 50 per cent or more Indians and Pakistanis. The remaining 35 LEAs with more than 500 immigrant pupils had no single group comprising more than half the total immigrants on roll.⁽⁶⁹⁾

According to DES statistics, there were about 280,000 immigrant children in this country in January 1972. 40 per cent were from the West Indies, 20 per cent from India, 10 per cent from Pakistan, 10 per cent from Africa, 10 per cent from elsewhere in the Commonwealth and 10 per cent from non-Commonwealth countries.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Another illustration of the numbers and distribution of immigrants in Britain has been made by H.E.R. Townsend. He has shown that although pupils with New Commonwealth backgrounds constitute a small proportion of the total school population of Britain, their concentration is such that in some urban areas they account for a large proportion of the relevant population. He has shown for example that these pupils constitute 3.3 per cent of the total school population, on the basis of the DES definition. As far as distribution is concerned, this is always uneven as was cited earlier. The London area for instance accounts for more than half, followed by South Lancashire and the West Midlands. Two local authority areas had about 25 per cent immigrants on their pupil roll, five local authorities between 20-25 per cent and six 15-20 per cent. The number of schools with heavy concentrations of immigrants is growing. About 1,000 schools consisting of 33,000 pupils had over one-quarter immigrants. The uneven distribution of immigrants implies that some areas and some

individual schools are facing a greater need to cope with educational problems than other areas and schools which have a smaller number of immigrant pupils. (71)

Even simple questions about problems in schools are very often understood by many people to mean that these are related exclusively to immigrant children and that these children are seen simply as a 'problem', without appreciation of human values and attitudes or of the rich cultural variety which people from other countries have brought to Britain and its schools. (72)

There is a variety of problems related to children of ethnic minority groups and their schools.

There is evidence for instance that there is a culture gap for immigrant children, particularly for West Indian children. Another difficulty for both the children from ethnic minority groups and their schools is the different standards at school and home. Ethnic minority children need more understanding of their way of life, behaviour and punishment, than the indigenous children. (73)

The phenomenon of underachievement of some groups of immigrant pupils at school is another significant problem. It is estimated that large numbers of immigrant pupils have underperformed in their schools. In 1969 43,927 immigrant pupils out of a total of 249,664 were found to be in need of special tuition in England and Wales. (74)

The problem of underachievement is particularly related to West Indian pupils. In this sense the Rampton Report dealt with the particular needs and attainments of West Indian children, because of wide-spread concern about the failure of many members of this group throughout the education system. (75)

In seeking to identify the factors which lead many West Indian children to underachieve in their schools in Britain the Rampton Report stated the factors of this phenomenon. These factors

were suggested by those who gave evidence to the group which was doing the research. The main factors suggested were the following:

- (i) Racism, both within schools and in society.
- (ii) Inadequacy of pre-school provision and the particular linguistic difficulties of West Indian children.
- (iii) The inappropriateness of the curriculum in schools.
- (iv) A loss of trust and a lack of understanding between teachers and West Indian parents.
- (v) Poor teaching and lack of responsiveness to the needs of individual pupils, etc. (76)

Immigrant children have also problems in forming friendships with other children. In the case of Asian children, for instance, it is said that they cling together and do not integrate. Among other differences with other children they have differences in clothing and eating habits too. (77)

Some of the difficulties which the schools experience because of the heterogeneity of their pupil population are related to school dinners because of dietary restrictions of some religious groups, some difficulties related to school uniforms, religious instruction, discipline etc. Greek Cypriot parents, for example want stronger discipline in schools. (78)

Another problem which children from ethnic minority groups and their teachers have to face is the likelihood of ethnic minority pupils to encounter racial discrimination or prejudice in British society. (79)

The problems which are unique to children of ethnic minority families and which are identified in the literature are classified in three groups:

Problems of identity

Problems of communication

Problems of access to community resources. (80)

In studies of the identities of adolescents from Asia and the West Indies the difference between cultural or ethnic identity and personal identity was clarified. The first was defined in terms of role models or reference groups with whom the individual identifies. Personal identity was conceptualized in terms of perceived similarity with another. Problems may be caused to a person from another ethnic group in both forms of identity. In the first of these there may be a lack of sense of common descent with others. In the second use of the term there may be a manifestation of the identity crisis experienced by adolescents in Western-type societies.

These two forms of identity are problematic in themselves, but they may also conflict from their interaction. Emphasising and fostering the development of a person's ethnic or cultural identity can affect the development of his personal identity, because this may lead to identifications outside the ethnic group. The converse of this may also apply, for to encourage the development of the personal identity of a school child can lead to the alienation of the child from his ethnic culture and create conflicts between him and his parents. This dual need can create problems for British primary schools, because traditionally they foster the development of individuality. (81)

The second group of problems that children from the various ethnic groups face are problems of communication. These are mainly linguistic problems. Sometimes there may also be difficulties which arise from incompatibilities of frames of reference or schema. Such problems are described by Ghuman (1975) in his study of Punjabi and English boys. The differences in frames of reference to schooling are illustrated in Ghuman's study by the remark that Punjabi boys simply followed the instructions of the teachers, while English boys were characterised by a questioning approach. (82)

Problems of communication of immigrant children create further problems to them with the school curriculum. These children need to be taught the English language by teachers experienced in the teaching of English as a second language. These teachers would apply the appropriate approach and techniques to help the immigrant children to acquire the right knowledge of the English language. Along with this they should use the right books with plenty of colourful illustrations and grading of vocabulary and syntax. (83)

The third group of problems are problems of access to community resources. This kind of problem is associated with the lack of equal opportunities. There is, for example, a disproportionately high number of unemployed among black and coloured youths. A disproportionately high number of immigrants live in poor housing in the inner city areas. It is also reported in some studies of black British boys that their educational progress is often very limited. (84)

Closely related to all three groups of problems are the emotional and other upsets caused to immigrant children by their translation from one culture to another. Religion, uprooting of children, teacher/pupil relations, social customs, language difficulties, discrimination, all combine to make up what is often called 'culture shock'. (85) This is very crucial for the psychological, the mental and the overall development of immigrant children. A relevant important issue, which is being debated very widely today is mother-tongue-teaching. It is argued that respect for ethnic minority pupils in the schools can be fostered by the status accorded to their home and community languages. Positive action is recommended on the part of the DES, HMIs and local education authorities to implement strategies for mother-tongue teaching in schools. (86)

From research in the language and learning patterns of children in school who do not speak English as a first language, it is evident that these children are seriously disadvantaged educationally

and they will be slower to progress in school if their mother tongue is not accepted and catered for in school.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Education is often seen as a means of dealing with the problems that immigrant children face. To some extent this expectation is reasonable. It would be unreasonable, however, to impose on the education system the whole responsibility for human failings and expect it to get rid of them.⁽⁹⁰⁾

All these difficulties of immigrant children pose special problems for schools and local education authorities, e.g. problems of resources, human and material. The provision of resources needs careful and extensive planning and allocation of a great deal of money as well.

Although the problems of immigrant children have always existed they were not dealt with. Some who accepted that immigrant children might have special difficulties were in favour of silence or inaction for a number of reasons. It is said, for example, that to point out problems is to worsen them. To single out a group or groups of the community for special help, is to suggest that they are in some way 'inferior' to others.⁽⁹¹⁾

As will be explained in the following part of this chapter, the problems of immigrant children in Britain were not dealt with for a long time. It is only since the 1960s that these problems have begun to be taken into consideration by all those involved in the education of the children of this country.

This analysis is based on the major writings and reports on multiculturalism and education in England. These writings do seem to have some influence on official policy statements which reflect some of these ideas. However, as has been seen in Chapter I, these are not the specific and most important issues in relation to the Greek community in Britain. Multicultural education policy, to some extent, is based upon analyses that are not entirely relevant to the Greek community.

B. Multicultural education policies in relation to primary
education since 1963

Since the 1960s there has been a considerable movement towards the teaching of English to 'immigrant' children, and a very small and slow movement towards the teaching of their mothertongue. This is because the problems related to the education of immigrants are many and complicated. Some of them are far from being purely educational. Local authorities and schools face the reality that the solutions they propose will be judged within the wider social context in which racial discrimination is a crucial issue. Thus it may be that proposals that appear educationally profitable and administrative by convenient are politically unacceptable.⁽⁹²⁾

The problems related to the education of immigrants vary from educational, political, social and economic to administrative ones. Some of these problems are additionally difficult to find solutions for, owing to the mechanism of the present British educational system which in a sense is regarded as not working efficiently.

It is known that educational policy in England and Wales evolves from a partnership between the Departments of Education and Science the local education authorities and the teachers, and responsibility for education is shared between them.

Multicultural education policies on the National level

The government does not control what happens in the schools or in the local authorities, because the education system is a non-centralised system. Under the 1944 Education Act, the local authorities are responsible for the provision they make in the schools. The Secretary of State is responsible for ensuring that what is offered is the appropriate education provision. Therefore, the Secretary of State at the Department of Education and Science can make his views known to the local authorities through circulars publications e.t.c.

The H.M.⁽⁹³⁾ Inspectors will also make the views of the Secretary of State known both to the Department of Education and Science and to local authorities and the schools. But this does not mean that because the Inspectors say that certain things ought to happen they will necessarily happen. It is still a question for local authorities, and even so, very often the individual schools will decide their own policy, to a great extent.

These, therefore are the lines on which the education system works. It is in this context that the multicultural education policies on the national level, should be considered. It was mentioned earlier that the original response of the government was to equalise opportunity for the children of minorities by teaching them English.

That was the major position that the government took together with local authorities and schools. They saw this as the most important issue that had to be resolved. Once they had resolved that, they assumed that people could use English adequately. In consequence children could progress in the education system and they would then have the same opportunities as other groups in society.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Up and down the country in every local education authority that had ethnic minority children, English language teaching was introduced, followed by some special measures for these children. Sometimes in language Centres, which had been set up in many places. In some places peripatetic teams of teachers were employed, going from school to school, helping children.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Now, in terms of multicultural education response the main policy statements of the D.E.S., 1963-1983, will be examined.

1. English for Immigrants (1963)⁽⁹⁶⁾

In this document is stated that as a result of the government's policy to promote the teaching of English to all children of the various ethnic backgrounds, schools and many teachers have had in recent years their first experience in teaching English to children

from overseas. The teachers have taken this new responsibility most seriously. They have proved themselves adaptable in conditions that are often extremely demanding. They have approached their new pupils with kindness and sympathy. (97)

It is also suggested in the **same** document that among those general considerations and educational measures of the Ministry of Education in the early 1960s the following can be pointed out:

(i) If in the education of native British children it is considered necessary to understand the home environment from which they come, it is an even more essential responsibility to understand the environment of immigrant children in their homes and in the neighbourhood in which they live.

(ii) It is important to remember that immigrant children come from countries with social and cultural backgrounds different from those in Britain. Each country possesses its own cultural heritage, of which its people is naturally proud. (98)

(iii) It is extremely difficult to imagine what kind of experience it is for a child to be transported from one cultural environment to another radically different. (99)

(iv) The school which receives immigrant children must not only be kindly and sympathetic; It must be understanding first in the sense that it possesses some knowledge of the countries from which its pupils come, particularly of the religions, social and cultural habits and traditions of those countries. In this context the Ministry of Education urged the teachers to be kept fully up-to-date by reading relevant pamphlets and other material which they could get from Government Departments, from High Commissions in London and from various voluntary bodies concerned with the problem. It also mentioned the conferences organised by many local educational authorities with the co-operation of the Ministry of Education. The purpose of those conferences was to provide teachers and other people

concerned about immigrants, with valuable background knowledge about them. (100)

It was also suggested by the Ministry of Education that it should not be considered as unreasonable that parents should continue to speak their own language with their child in their homes, despite the school's wish that he should practice his English. It might do very much more good than could be realised, merely by providing some relief from possible tension. (101)

Some further considerations by the Ministry of Education were related to an analysis of problems that immigrants confront, and which affect their children also. Problems about a house, a job, health etc. It was emphasised that in the case of the immigrant such problems are more acute, and complicated by the very fact that they are immigrants, perhaps because they do not understand English very well, etc. It was mentioned that many local authorities had appointed special officers to their staffs or had financed their appointment to a voluntary body for the purpose of devoting all their time to the problems of the immigrant community. (102)

In the case of schools which had to spend time in giving advice and help to problems of immigrants the Ministry of Education suggested that a welfare assistant might be appointed there, to relieve the Head of the school from such responsibility. (103)

Whenever it was desired to treat immigrant children in a rather different way from the other children, for example, by putting them in a special class for intensive English teaching, the parents should be informed about the school's purpose so as not to consider this as an example of racial discrimination. (104)

The need for schools to establish communication with parents of immigrant children was very much emphasised by the Ministry of Education. A variety of procedures applied by schools to overcome

this difficulty, were mentioned. Some headteachers, for example, had provided themselves with questions written out in another language, which could be used when the parent first brought his child to school. Other headteachers made arrangements on certain occasions in the week to have a suitable interpreter in the school.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In some particular cases, where there are considerable numbers of immigrant children coming from the same country, schools have made good use of interpreters in interviews with parents in order to gain useful background information for children, also in writing letters of instruction to the parents in their own language and in other cases too.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

In order to equip immigrant children with English by making special provision in the cases where the children required it, certain criteria were considered:

Thus it was supposed that in cases where there were two or three immigrant children in a class, particularly in the infants' school, there was no problem for special provision of English. The children could absorb the English used around them and consequently they would soon pick up the language. A larger number of immigrant children, however, would merit special facilities in the matter of staffing, accommodation and equipment of the school.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The Ministry of Education suggested to schools a number of methods and approaches for the successful teaching of English to immigrant pupils.

Children who come with little or no English to a junior school present a rather complex problem. For this reason careful consideration should be given to the possibility of allocating children, with very limited English, to special reception classes, in selected schools until such time as they have attained at least the minimum control of the English language necessary to enable them to be assimilated into a normal class. It should be emphasised at this point that these special classes for immigrant children should be

staffed by teachers with some knowledge of modern methods of teaching English as a second language and provided with suitable equipment. (108)

As the English of the pupils in such a special reception class improves, they may individually be gradually absorbed into the life and work of the normal class which is appropriate for them. This absorption can be done in two stages, first only for activities, such as music, art, craft and physical education, where the problems of language are less acute, and then later for all the work of the class. (109)

It was emphasised that the main task which confronts the teacher who teaches in a reception class must be to gain the confidence of his pupils and to stimulate their interest and enthusiasm for learning English. It has sometimes been thought advisable to appoint for this task a teacher of the same country and language as the pupils themselves. Such teachers have often made a most valuable contribution by acting as interpreters, by assisting the school in its contacts with the parents and by helping the children to settle down in their new environment. As teachers of English, however, they have sometimes been less successful because they experienced the same difficulties as did the children in both the pronunciation and the structure which make English different from their own language. (110)

Possible lines of approach and possible techniques, all of which have been tried out in practice and proved to be of some value are the following:

(i) The speaking of English, which is of paramount importance should be accorded priority over reading and writing. The overseas child's ability to communicate with members of the new society in which he finds himself, depends largely upon this medium.

(ii) The teacher through his own clear and natural speech should set an example of the normal intonation, rhythm and pitch of ordinary conversation, using pictures, objects, actions and improvised dialogues. (111)

(iii) The pupils should be given the opportunity to try to express ideas of their own, with sympathetic correction from the teacher.

(iv) Most teachers experienced in the teaching of English as a second language would stress the importance of basing oral work on a carefully graded vocabulary. (112)

(v) When the pupil turns to books, reading aloud and silent reading should at first be practised side by side.

(vi) With pupils who may be illiterate in their mother tongue, the teaching of reading will start as it does in the infant school, but with others it should start with graded passages of prose, after due oral preparation. (113)

From what has been discussed up to now is evident that the main task which confronted the education authorities on the national level was to gain the confidence of the immigrant pupils and to stimulate their interest in learning the English language. The equipment of the immigrant children with English is undoubtedly necessary but no consideration was given to the teaching of minority languages, namely the Greek language.

2. D.E.S. Circular 7/65. The Education of Immigrants

In Circular 7/65 the Secretary of State expressed his concern about the many problems that the education system was facing in recent years because of the arrival in this country of increasing numbers of immigrants. (114)

The main purpose of that circular was to consider the nature of the educational problems arising because of the presence of immigrant children, and to give advice and assistance. The Secretary of State expressed his belief that it was of great importance to the country as a whole, that immigrant children who have the right under the 1944 Education Act to be educated according to their age and ability, should be enabled to develop their abilities to the full. (115)

They should also be given a knowledge and understanding of life in Britain, to enable them to regard themselves and to be regarded as full members of British society. (116)

(i) Teaching of English

The Circular emphasised that from the beginning the most important educational measure was the teaching of English. In schools where there were a number of children with little or no knowledge of English there should be arrangements for special reception classes, to enable the children to learn English as quickly as possible. It was important that the progress of all pupils who had had to learn English as a second language, should continue to be watched after they had joined their ordinary class. (117)

Furthermore, the Secretary of State expressed the view that some children might require occasional special help throughout their school lives. Peripatetic specialist teachers could help towards this end. An increased provision of suitable books and teaching equipment would also be needed. (118)

(ii) Commonwealth Teaching

Referring to the assimilation of immigrant children the Secretary of State suggested that successful assimilation of immigrant children depends largely on the teacher's knowledge and understanding of the children's heritage and of the religious, social and cultural habits and traditions, that have influenced their upbringing. He suggested sympathetic handling of these children. He stated that at the same time, the presence of immigrant children could be used to encourage other children to learn more about the history and geography of the countries from which the immigrant children came. For this purpose he advised teachers to obtain further information from the Department of Education and Science about the Commonwealth Course for Teachers which is held every Easter and about other courses for teachers on

Education for International Understanding. (119)

The Secretary of State recognised that in schools with a considerable number of pupils of differing background and educational standards there was a need for smaller classes and more teachers. He indicated that he would be prepared to consider requests by local authorities, for necessary adjustments in their schools such as special staffing arrangements in schools with substantial immigrant population. (120)

(iii) Spreading the Children

Concerning this aspect, it was stated that experience suggests that apart from unusual difficulties, up to a fifth of immigrant children in any group fit in with reasonable ease. If the proportion goes over that, either in the school as a whole or in any one class, then serious problems will arise. Under such circumstances the schools in affected areas should avoid undue concentration of immigrants. If that is impracticable, then every effort should be made to disperse the immigrant children among a greater number of schools. For the success of such measures, the reasons should be explained to all parents of the school, and their cooperation should be obtained. (121)

Dispersal policy of 7/65 was countermanded in a Circular of 1971.

(iv) Publications

The Secretary of State commended the following documents to the attention of authorities and teachers:

The D.E.S. pamphlet, "English for Immigrants" (1963), which gives advice on problems as well as on the teaching of English to immigrants. The Second Report by the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (February 1964), in which the education of immigrants was the subject, and The Third Report by the same Council, which dealt with the employment of young immigrants, etc. (122)

(v) Teacher Training, Conferences and Research

The above were the other aspects to which the Circular 7/65 referred. The Colleges of Education were expected to make their stu-

dents aware of the problems of schools with increasing numbers of immigrant children.

The Secretary of State expressed the belief also that the provision made by some university Institutes of Education and by some local education authorities for talks, conferences and short courses for teachers of immigrant children, would be extended.⁽¹²³⁾

The main purpose of the D.E.S. Circular 7/65 was to consider the educational problems arising because of the arrival in Britain of immigrant children. The main concern was again the better approach to the teaching of English to immigrant children. No provision for mother tongue teaching was suggested at all. The suggestion for dispersal of immigrant pupils was in conflict with mother tongue teaching.

3. D.E.S. (1971) The Education of Immigrants

This document states that neither the scale of future immigration nor the pattern of settlement in particular areas could be foreseen with any assurance before the 1960s. Until then the concentrations of immigrant pupils were not noticeable in more than a handful of schools. Thus the now familiar problems of culture shock, inadequate English and the needs of immigrant children were not apparent on a national scale. Consequently special measures to meet these needs had not been taken except in a few localities. It is also added that there was no formal publication of advice until 1963.⁽¹²⁴⁾

The document points out the main areas on which H.M. Inspectors gave advice to local education authorities and schools, stating that these areas are still in the main interest of the D.E.S.

These are:

- (i) the assessment of the individual difficulties of immigrant children;
- (ii) the development of language techniques and the use of special materials;

(iii) the identification of the special problems of particular racial groups;

(iv) the familiarity of teachers with the problems and the development of both initial and in-service training opportunities for them;

(v) the help to local education authorities to make the best use of the opportunity of employing teachers from overseas countries;

(vi) the keeping of the Department as fully informed as possible of the changing situation, by obtaining local statistics;⁽¹²⁵⁾

The document cites that the objects of the D.E.S. in this developing situation are:

(i) to help create a climate in schools in which colour and race are not divisive and which will give all immigrant children opportunities for personal development;

(ii) to offer advice and practical help to teachers, who have to teach immigrant children.

(iii) to safeguard against any lowering of standards, due to the presence of large numbers of immigrant children;

(iv) to encourage and promote relevant research.⁽¹²⁶⁾

The document confirms that these are the primary objects of policy. It proceeds to describe how the policy developed into definite forms in terms of advice offered to authorities for the allocation of resources, the training of teachers, the collection of information etc.⁽¹²⁷⁾

4. The Bullock Report ⁽¹²⁸⁾

The Bullock Report is another document of the Department of Education and Science, which refers to the education of immigrant children. It is pointed out in this Report, that the great majority of these children, born here or brought from overseas, have a big adjustment to make when entering school. For most of them this adjustment includes a linguistic factor. The children's linguistic adjustment relates in many ways to their educational progress.⁽¹²⁹⁾

It is stated there that it is clear from the available reports that comparatively little provision is made in some areas, that the education of immigrant children is given low priority, and that many of the existing arrangements do little more than meet the initial language and adjustment needs of new arrivals. It is also emphasised that the adjustment of immigrant children to their new environment and the learning of elementary English is only the beginning of a process. A process that consists primarily of learning to live in or between two cultures. In these terms the teachers are asked again to have an informed and sympathetic understanding of the children's different origins and cultures of their homes and of their continuing needs. (130)

Arguing on the issue of language and cultural identity, the Bullock Report points out that schools should not turn a blind eye to the fact that the community they serve has radically altered over the last ten years and is now one in which new cultures are represented. Because of this there are now new implications for the education of all children, not just those of ethnic minorities. One relevant aspect which merits urgent attention is the nature of the reading material that is used in schools. In their verbal representation of society and in their visual content, books do a great deal to shape children's attitudes. In these terms teachers and librarians are advised to have this in mind when selecting books for schools. If the school serves a multiracial society it should have books about the homelands of its immigrant children, about their religion and cultures. (131)

In the same Report there is the observation that there are not enough books available which represent children of overseas backgrounds. This observation is addressed to the publishers whose contribution in this area is thought to be very considerable. (132)

In discussing the needs of immigrant children the Bullock Report states that issues relevant to the problems of immigrant children should enter the initial training of teachers; for, whether or not they go to teach in schools with immigrant children, it is right that they should have this kind of awareness.⁽¹³³⁾ In these terms the Report states the need for relevant research and development projects.⁽¹³⁴⁾

In discussing the advantages and disadvantages of the different types of provision made for teaching English as a second language the Report states that the best arrangement is usually one, where the immigrant children are not cut off from the social and educational life of a normal school. In these terms the money spent on transporting children to other schools or centres, or peripatetic teachers, might be much better allocated to the appointment of full-time language experts to the schools where the children are on roll. Where there is a very small number of immigrant children in several schools, the advice is to bring them together for sessions of specialist teaching.⁽¹³⁵⁾

The Report emphasises the importance of bilingualism, both in education and society in general and expresses the belief that its implications for Britain should receive more serious study.⁽¹³⁶⁾

In these terms it states that no child should be expected to throw off his mother tongue and culture as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as if home and school represent two totally separate cultures which must be kept apart. Thus the Report recommends that the curriculum should reflect many aspects of the life of immigrant children.⁽¹³⁷⁾

It is obvious from the suggestions of the Bullock report that the provision for immigrant children in the schools in Britain needs serious consideration for its improvement and effectiveness.

The Report includes suggestions that encourage understanding and positive attitudes towards immigrant children. It addresses the observation to the publishers that there are not enough books

available representing the various cultures of British society. It also places much emphasis on the teachers' opportunities to attend in-service courses which would enable them to develop an informed and sympathetic understanding of the different cultural backgrounds of their pupils. (138)

Stressing the importance of bilingualism the document points out that over half the immigrant pupils in state schools have a mother-tongue which is not English. The language of the home and of a great deal of the central experience of the life of these children is one of the Indian languages, or Greek, or Turkish and so on. It states that these children are genuine bilinguals, a fact that is often ignored by the schools. It suggests that in a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world bilingualism should be seen as an asset and one of the agencies which should nurture it is the school. The school "wherever possible should help maintain and deepen the pupils' knowledge of their mother-tongues". (139) The Report emphasises that confidence and ability of the pupils in their mother-tongue will help the children to acquire the same qualities in their second language, English.

Furthermore, it recommends that its suggestions in this aspect should be adopted in areas where there is a fairly homogeneous language situation. Bilingual pupils should be encouraged to maintain their mother-tongue throughout their schooling. They should also be encouraged to enter for 'O' and 'A' level examinations in their first language. (140)

Concluding, the Bullock Report recommends that further study should be made of the provision of mother-tongue teaching by immigrant communities themselves like Greek, Urdu, Italian etc.

This Report, compared with others, has been more explicit in its suggestions for recognising the mother-tongue of immigrant children. It did a big step towards multiculturalism by recommending

the schools not only to help the children to maintain the knowledge of their mother tongue but also to help them to deepen this knowledge.

If these suggestions of the Bullock Report will be adopted and implemented by schools, particularly in areas where there is a homogeneous language situation, then the Greek community which is mainly concentrated in North London (in boroughs shown on the map p. 61) will benefit greatly from the recommendations of this document.

5. The School Curriculum, D.E.S. 1981

In this document of the Department of Education and Science the Secretaries of State offered a list of broad educational aims to which individual authorities and schools might refer in drawing up their own lists.

Together with the known aims to help pupils to develop enquiring minds, to help them to acquire knowledge and skills etc., there are aims relevant to multicultural society, as follows:

(i) To instil respect for religious and moral values, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life;

(ii) To help pupils to understand the world in which they live, and the inter-dependence of individuals, groups and nations. (141)

In the recommended approach, in the same document is stated that what is taught in schools, and the way it is taught must appropriately reflect fundamental values in our society. Thus the work of schools has to reflect many issues with which pupils will have to come to terms as they mature. The first one of these issues which are emphasised as needing special mention at the present time, is that our society has become multicultural, and there is now among pupils and parents a greater diversity of personal values. (142)

Discussing the curriculum of the primary phase, HM Inspectors suggested that pupils should be involved in a wider programme of work.

This wider curriculum should incorporate certain Key elements. Thus, children should be encouraged, in the context of the multi-cultural aspects of Britain today and of its membership of the European Communities to develop an understanding of the world, of their own place in it and of how people live and work. (143)

This statement encouraged the teaching of mother tongues at the secondary level. Another part of the same document, however, was more explicit on mother tongue teaching. It notes that the Secretaries of State believe that because of Britain's place in the European Communities, most pupils should have the opportunity to learn a foreign language and that two or three years of language teaching should be provided as a minimum. (144)

Continuing, the statement adds that far more pupils than in the past now have a first language which is not English or Welsh. It emphasises that this constitutes a valuable resource, for them and for the nation. Proceeding, the statement asks how should mother tongue teaching for such pupils be accommodated within modern language provision so that this resource does not wither away and the pupils may retain contacts with their own communities? (145)

This statement is very positive towards the teaching of mother tongues; it concerns the secondary level, however. In these terms it does not respond very much to the particular wishes of the Greek parents, to teach the Greek language and culture to their children from their early primary school age.

6. The Rampton Report (146)

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the Rampton Report undertook the responsibility to investigate the particular needs and attainments of West Indian children, because of the phenomenon of the underachievement of these children in schools.

It is stated in the Report that from the evidence, the visits and the discussions on the above issue it was proved that West Indian children were really underachieving in schools. After this the Report stated that its aim was to emphasise what were believed to be major issues in the education of West Indian children and to suggest practical recommendations on action which should be taken. (147)

The alleged causes of underachievement of West Indians, e.g. racism, inadequacy of pre-school provision, inappropriateness of the curriculum etc., were seen in relation to the progress of a West Indian child in all stages of the education system, until his transition to adult life. (148)

After that examination the Report stated various recommendations. However, first it expressed the belief that it is important that a West Indian child's language is looked at in a positive light in the classroom, because a rejection by the teacher of the home language may be a serious obstacle to motivation and subsequent achievement. (149)

The Report's main recommendations were the following:

- (i) All LEAs and schools should find ways in which parents can help their children to learn reading.
- (ii) All initial teacher education courses should include an introduction to the nature of West Indian creole.
- (iii) Schools with West Indian pupils should give every opportunity to those pupils for creative work in English, drama and discussion work. (150)

It was emphasised in the Report that the key to all these was clearly teacher education.

Furthermore, commending on the curriculum, the Report claimed that a "good" education should enable a child to understand his own society and to know enough about other societies. A "good" education should not be based on one culture only, and in Britain, where ethnic groups form an integral part of the population, it should draw upon

the experiences of the many cultures that exist in British society. Thus the cultural horizons of every child will be broadened. This is "multicultural" education.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The Report recommended that the curriculum in all schools should reflect the fact that Britain is a multi-racial and culturally diverse society. Thus all schools should have a multicultural curriculum.⁽¹⁵²⁾ One of the definitions of such curriculum mentioned in the Report is that:

"The multicultural curriculum is one which is appropriate to the education of all pupils, whatever their background, by reference to a diversity of cultures. The variety of social and cultural groups should be evident in the visual images, stories and information disseminated within the school..."⁽¹⁵³⁾

The endeavour of the Rampton Report to investigate the particular needs of West Indian children had a positive effect on multicultural education in England generally. The involvement of teachers, parents, pupils, education authorities and others in that research must have stimulated their interest not only in West Indian children's underachievement in the education system but in the progress of other ethnic minority children too. Further than that the recommendations of the Report towards the improvement of the West Indian children's achievement are based on principles very helpful for the promotion of multicultural education. The Report's belief that a West Indian child's language is important for his motivation and achievement, is very relevant to the beliefs and wishes of the Greek community about the Greek language.

After the review in this chapter of multicultural education policy as formulated at national level, the main characteristics of that policy could be summarised as follows:

(i) A concentration in early statements on the teaching of English to immigrants.

(ii) A concentration in early statements on the cultural deficit of immigrants.

(iii) A concern with underachievement.

(iv) A concern with harmonious relations between groups.

The priorities emphasised in multicultural education policy at national level were not those identified by the Greek Community. The question of mother tongue and culture was largely ignored or seen as a way of improving self-image rather than recognised in its own right. The Greek community's demands for the teaching of the Greek language and Greek Orthodox religion were not met.

However it is possible in the English education system for individual local education authorities to formulate and adopt policies to meet particular local conditions. Recognition of the aspirations of the Greek community can occur at local level. Local policies are especially important when the Greek population is concentrated on a relatively small number of local education authorities in England and Wales. The policies of two of these LEAs will be examined in the next Chapter.

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Chapter III

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, AFFECTING THE GREEK COMMUNITY

The examination of educational policies at the national level in Chapter II suggested that apart from some proposals for greater tolerance and understanding of other ethnic groups, policies did not encourage the maintenance of cultural identities among children of other ethnic groups.

This chapter will examine the educational policies at the local level. The Greek community is most affected by local policies. Thus particular attention will be given to authorities, where there are considerable numbers of children of Greek origin. The purpose of this examination is to find out whether in these authorities there are educational policies helping Greek Cypriots to maintain their cultural identity among their children.

The examination of educational changes at the local level will be restricted to two main local education authorities in which the largest numbers of Greek Cypriot immigrants are concentrated. These are, the Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A.) and the education authority of the Borough of Haringey in the Greater London area.

A. Report on the DES Circular 14/77

Before beginning the examination of the educational policies of these two main areas, however, it would shed some light on the problem under discussion, to refer to a report on the DES Circular 14/77. This circular invited local education authorities to respond to a series of questions on a range of curricular matters. The report shows substantial variations within the education system in England and Wales in curricular policies. It also gives valuable insight into the ways in which the authorities responsibilities towards the curriculum are discharged. (1)

The areas of specific concern in that report were:

(i) English, (ii) Mathematics, (iii) Modern languages, (iv) Science, (v) Religious Education, (vi) Preparation for working life and (vii) Welsh language.

Here, some questions from the Department of Education and Science and the respective replies of authorities which are relevant to this research, will be considered. The first interesting question to be examined is, 'How do the authorities help schools to promote racial understanding?'

Almost one third of the authorities replied by saying that this was not viewed as a major problem in their schools, because the ethnic minority population in their area was small in number. Even so, many of these authorities recognised the role of the schools in this respect. One of them replied characteristically that its pupils who were going 'to live and work in areas where the racial mix is very different.....should have both an understanding and tolerance of the mores of other races. Another authority commented that young people accepted each other more easily than adults do. Half a dozen replies stated that ethnic minorities create both special needs and opportunities to foster tolerance. The multi-cultural character of schools was described with the use of expressions such as 'enrichment', 'a powerful factor in promoting racial understanding' etc. The responses in general contained a number of illustrations of action taken locally. The answers often drew attention to the encouragement of two-way understanding between different parts of the community, by the provision of special help for those with English language problems. From the replies it is evident that the importance of promoting racial understanding is widely acknowledged.⁽²⁾

In one third of the replies it was mentioned that action to promote racial understanding should be extended across the whole curri-

culum. The most commonly cited areas through which could be approached were religious education having the first priority, moral education, the humanities, social studies, history and home economics. Few authorities replied that they had issued policy documents on guidelines on education for racial understanding.⁽³⁾

Some two-fifths of the authorities mentioned in-service training as an avenue through which racial understanding could be promoted. It took a variety of forms. In some cases training was geared to particular local community needs. In other areas courses focussed on the teaching of English as a second language, and on the culture of local ethnic communities. Courses in topics such as education for a multi-racial society, training in subject areas such as religious education and the humanities were frequently mentioned as promoting racial understanding. One authority with a considerable multi-racial population emphasised the importance of its close co-operation with institutions providing initial teacher training, which qualify the intending teachers to understand the needs of different ethnic groups.

About a quarter of the authorities described the role of an adviser with special responsibilities for multi-racial or multi-cultural education. Among them one large authority referred to the distribution of responsibilities within its advisory team, where seven advisers had specific duties in multi-racial education while the others had been asked to include concern in this aspect among their other duties.⁽⁴⁾

One tenth of the authorities referred to the staffing of their schools. They said that they encouraged the appointment of teachers who came from ethnic minority groups. They did it both to contribute to the meeting of the different needs of pupils from these ethnic groups and to enable the indigenous pupils to understand other

cultural backgrounds. A further tenth of the authorities mentioned the provision of extra staff to meet the needs of schools, usually those serving multiracial communities. Often these arrangements were made under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966.⁽⁵⁾

A quarter of the replies described arrangements for co-operation with local community relations councils (CRC). They said that representatives of teachers or education officers were often included among the members of those bodies. In one case the CRC established an educational panel to examine ways in which schools could promote racial understanding. About one-fifth of the replies described various forms of liaison with ethnic groups, such as the appointment of representatives of such groups to advisory committees e.g. the careers service. In a sixth of the replies were described ways of involving parents from ethnic minority groups. Several authorities mentioned the distribution of school information sheets in mother tongues and the provision of mother tongue classes on parent-hood. A tenth of the authorities mentioned the promotion of ethnic arts usually by supporting local festivals of various ethnic groups.

A variety of approaches to the development of curricular materials emerged. One tenth of the authorities referred to examples of curricular development work including projects designed for primary schools, work on a multi-cultural religious education syllabus, a world history project etc.⁽⁶⁾

Exhibitions of children's work on multi-cultural themes were said to be displayed at teachers' centres, public libraries and schools. Some replies said that schools were advised to examine teaching materials and curricula for their appropriateness to a multi-cultural society. Also one tenth of the authorities expressed their support for nationally-developed curriculum projects, e.g. the schools

Council/NFER project on 'Education for a Multi-Racial Society'. Other authorities cited the value of contacts with national bodies in this field, such as the Council for Education in World Citizenship the National Association for Multi-Racial Education and the Commonwealth Institute. The frequency of references to the various areas is shown in table 14.

Table 14

Frequency of references to areas of specific concern for
the promotion of racial understanding

(i) In-service training	20%
(ii) Co-operation with local community relations councils	15%
(iii) Role of advisory service	14%
(iv) Liaison with ethnic minority groups	11%
(v) Steps to involve parents etc.	10%
(vi) Various approaches to curriculum material development etc. (each)	5%

100% of replies (7)

The various approaches to curriculum material development should be given more consideration, because this area is directly related to what the children are expected to learn in a multicultural society, for the promotion of racial understanding.

The second question in the DES Circular 14/77 which is relevant to this thesis is: What special provision do the authorities make for children whose mother tongue is not English?

The nature and extent of special provision made by authorities depends upon the numbers, backgrounds and distribution of children whose mother tongue is not English. More than a quarter of the authorities said that such pupils were sufficiently small in number

and so dispersed as to make unnecessary any permanent form of provision. Most of these authorities indicated that relevant measures were taken in particular cases which needed special provision. Such provision often involved the use of peripatetic teachers of English as a second language. A further sixth of the authorities replied that although their problem was small they had made systematic arrangements, usually under the supervision of an adviser, sometimes involving a special centre or a unit attached to a school.⁽⁸⁾

Over half of the authorities indicated that they viewed the problem as significant and referred to various special arrangements to meet the language needs of non-English speaking children. Some authorities described their arrangements in the context of a policy towards the teaching of English as a second language. Many authorities emphasised the importance of social, as well as language learning.

Many kinds of arrangements were reported but these were undertaken by a relatively small number of authorities. The most common measure reported by almost half of the authorities was the provision of centres for non-English speaking pupils. A typical description of the role of the centres was that they 'provide language teaching and general preparation for school life: they seek to overcome "culture shock" and, for older children, to repair some of the deficiencies in general education which the lack of education or the different educational approaches in their own countries have created'.⁽⁹⁾

Special measures for additional teachers in schools to meet the needs of non-English speaking children were frequently mentioned. More than one third of the authorities stressed the role of peripatetic teachers of English as a second language. A sixth of the replies mentioned the appointment of teachers of English as a second language, to particular schools. Both peripatetic and permanently-assigned teachers were providing help to children, whose English although inadequate, did not require tuition in a special centre. Over a quarter

of the authorities mentioned additional staffing and other resources for primary schools with special needs. In-service training was reported by a quarter of the authorities. Part of it took place at special centres.⁽¹⁰⁾

About one-tenth of the authorities emphasised the work of advisers whose main duties concerned multi-racial or multi-cultural education in general. Responsibilities for provision for non-English speaking pupils were often assigned to these advisers.

(In one-tenth of the authorities emphasised the work of advisers whose main duties concerned multi-racial or multi-cultural education in general. Responsibilities for provision for non-English speaking pupils were often assigned to these advisers.)

In one-fifth of the replies there was description of ways of encouraging parental and community involvement in provision for non-English speaking pupils. A number of replies made specific reference to nationally-developed curriculum materials for non-English speaking pupils such as the Schools Council project on English for Pupils from Overseas, SCOPE etc.⁽¹¹⁾

Table 15 shows the kind of special provision that the authorities make for children whose mother tongue is not English.

Table 15

Frequency of references to various areas related to the special provision for children whose mother tongue is not English

Centres for non-English speaking pupils	25%
Use of peripatetic teachers	20%
Additional staffing for schools	20%
In-service training	15%
Various ways of involving parents and community	10%
Role of advisory service	10%

(12)

100% of replies

After the examination of multi-cultural education policies of local authorities in general is evident that many of them promoted racial understanding. For this purpose in some areas courses were organised which focused on the culture of local ethnic communities and courses in education for a multi-racial society.

As far as the special provision that authorities made for children whose mother tongue was not English the responses are showing the continuing lack of provision for linguistic diversity in the education policies of the various local authorities. The main interest of the authorities in this aspect concentrates on the teaching of English as a second language and no provision for mother tongue teaching is suggested.

B. The ILEA multi-cultural education policies in relation to primary education since the 60s

It was stated earlier in this chapter that apart from the examination of educational policies concerned with multi-cultural education on the national level, the respective policies of two major education authorities will be examined, those of I.L.E.A. and those of the education authority of the Borough of Haringey. It has been explained that the reason for the selection of these two areas is the concentration of the greatest number of Greek immigrants in these two areas, along with the settlement of large numbers of immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds.

In fact, for many years a substantial number of pupils whose mother tongue is not English have been entering Inner London schools. The Authority has done much to meet the needs of its changing population, but despite these efforts and the individual successes achieved, there are disproportionate numbers of people from various ethnic minorities, who are low achievers in educational standards, have low expectations and aspirations, and lack confidence in the

education system which seems not to take full advantage of the vitality and richness to be derived from a multi-cultural society.⁽¹³⁾

In January 1973 the DES sent out to the schools the form 7(I) asking for the numbers of immigrant children whose language was inadequate for normal curriculum purposes. Since then the replies on that form have been used as an indicator of the numbers and distribution of immigrant children with inadequate English. The Inner London Education authority tried to solve the problems of schools with special English language teaching needs by allocating posts from the Special Needs pool. The DES Form 7(I) which was issued in 1973 was the basis on which decisions were taken. According to this form the number of immigrant pupils in primary schools considered to have inadequate English for normal curriculum purposes was 5,341. A special survey carried out after 1973 showed that of the 22,402 pupils in primary schools who were defined as immigrants, 11,127 needed extra help in English. The increase in the number of pupils in this category is partly due to the fact that more non-English speaking families have been established in Inner London since 1973.⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1975 the situation in the twelve Inner London boroughs and the City of London, as far as the births by mothers born abroad, was as follows:

Table 16

Live births by birthplace of mother, 1975

Borough of usual residence of mother	Total live births	Birthplace of mother if outside U.K.							
		Irish Republic		New Commonwealth and Pakistan		Other countries		All outside U.K.	
		No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total
City of London	29	-	-	1	3	6	21	7	24
Camden	1,958	157	9	296	15	427	22	890	45
Greenwich	2,643	78	3	319	12	69	3	466	18
Hackney	2,981	198	7	1,017	34	284	10	1,497	50
Hammersmith	2,045	261	13	412	20	312	15	985	48
Islington	2,228	256	11	574	26	255	11	1,086	49
Kensington & Chelsea	1,768	119	7	212	12	674	38	1,005	57
Lambeth	3,672	214	6	1,069	29	311	8	1,594	43
Lewisham	2,897	140	5	580	20	106	4	826	29
Southwark	2,689	156	6	552	21	125	5	833	31
Tower Hamlets	1,840	72	4	492	27	67	4	631	34
Wandsworth	3,627	233	6	1,053	29	290	8	1,576	43
Westminster	1,923	134	7	293	15	567	29	994	52
ILEA	30,300	2,026	7	6,871	23	3,493	12	12,390	41

(15)

These figures show that in the twelve inner London boroughs and the City of London, a total of 41% of live births were to mothers born outside the United Kingdom (22.6% New Commonwealth and Pakistan; 7% Irish Republic; 11.5% other countries).⁽¹⁶⁾

The 1978-79 survey reveals that some 15,000 pupils in ILEA schools are considered as requiring special help with their English as a consequence of coming from non-English speaking homes.⁽¹⁷⁾

The following two tables are explanatory of the situation in the 10 Divisions of the ILEA.

Table 17

Pupils in ILEA whose first language is not English
 Summer 1978

<u>Primary</u>		
<u>Division</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Roll</u>
1	2,564	17.51
2	3,379	22.41
3	2,977	20.99
4	2,929	20.42
5	2,537	22.42
6	1,055	5.96
7	1,054	5.79
8	1,664	9.72
9	2,269	12.20
10	2,474	13.12
Total	22,902	

Table 18

Pupils in ILEA requiring additional help with English
 Summer 1978

<u>Primary</u>		
<u>Division</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Roll</u>
1	1,284	8.77
2	1,844	12.23
3	1,217	10.31
4	1,488	10.37
5	1,897	16.76
6	428	2.42
7	457	2.51
8	727	4.25
9	831	4.47
10	954	5.06
Total	11,127	

Table 17 shows that in 1978 in the 10 Divisions of the ILEA there were 22,902 pupils whose first language was not English. Table 18 shows that 11,127 pupils out of the 22,902 required additional help with their English. This is a high proportion, equivalent to about 50% of the pupils whose first language is not English.

The Inner London Education Authority is concerned firstly to get accurate and up to date information so as to frame policies, priorities and opportunities; secondly to encourage the experts within the Authority's service who are developing techniques and curricula concerned with multi-ethnic education and to offer them greater help from the inspectorate and administration, than they at present get; to encourage organisations representing minority ethnic groups in inner London, to come into contact with members and senior officers of the Authority for advice and consultation.

It is well understood, that Inner London has a multi-ethnic population. Educational implications of a multi-ethnic society, however, can be better discussed with a more exact picture of the composition of the population that is being considered. Table 19 sets out the numbers recorded in 1981 and 1978 in each of the main language groups and the increase or decrease the 1981 figures represent on the 1978 figures.

Table 19

Changes in main language groups in ILEA,
since 1978

<u>Language</u>	<u>Primary</u>		<u>Change %</u>
	<u>1978</u>	<u>1981</u>	
Bengali	2,230	4,107	+ 84.1
Turkish	2,113	2,575	+ 21.9
Greek	2,045	1,993	- 2.5
Spanish	1,709	1,974	+ 15.5
Gujerati	1,205	1,916	+ 59.0
Punjabi	1,196	1,756	+ 46.8
Italian	1,247	1,340	+ 7.5
Urdu	1,254	1,773	+ 41.4
Chinese	1,073	1,298	+ 21.0
French	Figures not comparable		
Arabic	Figures not available		
Portuguese	875	1,094	+ 25.0

(19)

Greek is one of the three major language groups in the Inner London Education Authority. It declined in 1981 because of migration of Greek families to other wealthier areas in London as was mentioned in Section E of Chapter I.

A report on multi-ethnic education in the Inner London Education Authority, issued on 8 November 1977, says that the practices that had been developed within the education service had two objectives. Firstly to meet the specific needs of each pupil with regard to his ethnic or cultural background. Secondly, to develop within each pupil an interest in and a respect for the cultural heritage of his peers.

Much of the success of these objectives depends on the flexibility and adaptability of educational institutions. Some examples that illustrate various ways in which the Inner London Education Authority is trying to achieve equality of educational opportunity and good race relations and respect for cultural diversity, are the following:

(i) Language. In order to meet the needs of pupils for whom English is not the first language the Authority has developed teaching methods and materials and established a training programme and a specialist service for schools. In 1977 the Authority had the capacity to train 120 primary teachers each year to teach non-English speaking pupils.⁽²⁰⁾

Primary schools have usually used their allocation of teachers for special needs to meet the needs of their non-English speaking pupils. The primary schools with no allocation were covered by 20 peripatetic specialist teachers and four staffed language buses.⁽²¹⁾

(ii) Three projects undertaken by the Authority promote ways in which institutions can meet the needs of all their pupils, while recognising the social and educational value of cultural diversity.

(a) The 'Reading through understanding' project, is based on the folklore and history of a number of ethnic minorities. It is designed to help both teacher and pupil to develop a positive attitude towards other cultures and particularly towards the Caribbean one.

(b) In-service training seminars with their themes focused on Africa, India, China and the Caribbean.

(c) The Authority's contribution to the Schools Council/NFER project, which promotes Education for a multi-racial society. A junior school with 35% of pupils with West Indian origin and a number of other pupils from East and West Africa, Asia and Cyprus, undertook, with the help of inspectors and the staff of the school, to work on the assumption that the cultural base of a successful school must be compatible with the cultural base of the community it serves. The whole school became involved in the project, seeking to explore changes in the curriculum and organization of the school with the aim of fostering a growth in self and mutual identity amongst all the pupils.⁽²²⁾

(iii) Support Service - The learning materials service has been engaged in the production of new teaching and learning resources. Apart from its contribution to the 'Reading through understanding' and the 'World history' projects the 'Support Service' has participated in the production of home economics materials, booklets in Chinese, Gujerati, Punjabi and Hindi.

(iv) Programmes and developments - Play centres and junior clubs in different areas of the Authority have been offering special programmes for young non-English speaking children. The Authority's officers are also supporting voluntary youth organizations which promote programmes for cultural activities for teenagers, in various ethnic groups. The Authority very much supports drama, music, poetry, arts, crafts and sports from minority cultures. (23)

1. The Teaching of English to Pupils whose Home Language is not English

In a later report of the ILFA, issued on 3.12.79, emphasis is given to the need of additional help with English language to pupils coming from non-English speaking homes. The current policy of the Authority towards this matter, as far as the primary level is concerned, is to admit all such pupils directly into the appropriate primary schools whatever their language. This policy is based on two main reasons:

(i) The children learn English from their English-speaking classmates and from their teachers. Full-time reception centres usually cut children off from the informal motivated learning that takes place in a normal class.

(ii) The educational achievement of the children depends not only on the quality of the specialist language teaching but also on the ability of subject teachers to meet the continuing needs of children in normal classes. (24)

There are two ways in which non-English speaking children

receive special teaching and support in the Authority's schools. The first way is from teachers on the staff of the schools concerned. It is the Authority's policy that the schools should meet the needs of their non-English speaking pupils from the resources allocated to those schools. In the case of small primary schools where there are no full-time specialists it is usual to meet the English language needs of the children by arranging for teaching time to be allocated from within their authorised staffing.

Discretion exercised by Divisional officers in the allocation of AUR funds, Special Needs and curriculum and organisation posts has facilitated the provision of additional resources to schools with considerable language difficulties. Because of this in schools in which there is a significant number of pupils who have English as a Second Language (ESL), the classes have a low pupil/teacher ratio.⁽²⁵⁾

The second way in which ESL pupils are helped in the ILEA schools is by the Unified Language Service which helps schools through the Divisional Language Centres. These operate with a small team of specialist English Language teachers. ESL pupils attend their local centre half-time for up to five terms. In 1978, 124 primary children in the ILEA schools were on roll at Language Centres. The Centres have in the last few years developed a peripatetic service, in order to meet the needs of primary schools where there are insufficient numbers of ESL pupils to justify an appropriate internal appointment. In 1978 there were 849 primary aged children who were taught by peripatetic teachers in the ILEA.⁽²⁶⁾

Another interesting development related to the teaching of English to pupils whose home language is not English, is in the area of training and research. The Multi-ethnic Inspectorate, teachers from the Centre for Urban Educational Studies and staff of the Unified Language Service all engage in in-service and advisory work in schools

and at Teachers' Centres in the ILEA. The main in-service programme and specific ESL Research projects are based at the Centre for Urban Educational Studies. The present pattern of in-service training is designed to meet two needs. The first is the training of specialist language teachers, and the second is the retraining of class teachers in order to work more effectively in normal classes with ESL pupils. About 40 teachers attend these courses annually. In addition, short refresher courses are provided for teachers who have already been trained in the teaching of English as a Second Language.⁽²⁷⁾

There is also a two year Urban Aid Research programme, 'Second Language in the Primary School Project' (SLIPP). According to this the Centre for Urban Educational Studies runs year-long day release consortium courses to help primary teachers work more effectively with their ESL pupils. 180 teachers were trained on these SLIPP-based courses between 1975-1978.⁽²⁸⁾

Relative to the various multi-cultural education policies in the ILEA is Section II of the 1966 local government Act. According to this the Secretary of State for Home Affairs 'may pay to local authorities who, in his opinion, are required to make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language and customs differ from those of the community, grants of such amounts as he may with the consent of the Treasury determine on account of expenditure of such descriptions (being expenditure in respect of the employment of staff) as he may so determine'.⁽²⁹⁾

In 1978 1,071 posts were funded for both Primary and Secondary schools, under Section II arrangements. Of these 1,012 posts were from the special needs pools. As far as primary aged children are concerned these posts were distributed to the divisions

as shown in Table 20.

Table 20
Posts for the special English language needs
in ILEA 1978

<u>Division</u>	<u>Primary 78-79</u>	<u>Actual Sept. Roll 78-79</u>	
1	88	14,643	
2	92	15,075	
3	73	11,803	
4	101	14,346	
5	74	11,316	
6	95	17,710	
7	107	18,205	
8	106	17,112	
9	117	18,605	
10	115	18,863	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>968</u>	<u>157,678</u>	(30)

2. The Teaching of the Mother-Tongue Minority Languages

Mother-tongue teaching in the ILEA is supported in many ways.

This support is based on various criteria as follows:

a. Number of immigrant children

In the ILEA schools there is a large number of children whose first language is not English. In 1978 (see Table 17) there were about 22,902 children in ILEA schools who spoke first languages other than English. The 1981 Language Survey discovered 44,925 such children. (31)

b. Educational reasons

(i) Schools seek to cooperate with parents to promote the healthy functioning of families. In the case of parents who do not speak English the teaching of the mother-tongue keeps families together and helps parents to raise their children properly.

(ii) Parents are considered to be the children's first teachers.

LEAs should adapt to changing circumstances and assist the isolated

parents as they undertake the teaching of their children during the first five years of life in particular.

(iii) LEAs should consult with the teachers who have been chosen by the immigrant parents for the mother-tongue teaching of their children.

(iv) Mother-tongue teaching promotes above all a sense of personal security and reduces the psychological stresses which affect immigrants and particularly the second generation of them.

(v) Bilingualism might benefit all children. This is an axiom of the curriculum in British and European schools.

(vi) English is not threatened. Mother-tongue teaching includes among other values the long-term improvement of immigrant children in English.⁽³²⁾

c. Other Reasons

For political, cultural and commercial reasons England should benefit from the educational asset of bilingualism, which already exists in it.

The most fundamental support of ILEA to mother-tongue teaching is the free provision of teaching accommodation in schools for mother-tongue voluntary classes. However, mother-tongue classes are also established and funded by the ILEA particularly in Further, Higher and Secondary Education, which are not the direct concern of this research.

Mother-tongue teaching is not widely established in ILEA primary schools, although there are three types of class functioning. The first category consists of classes funded by the Adult Evening Institutes (the AEIs). Although their classes concern mainly adults, there are also classes for children of the primary age. The AEIs are supporting mother-tongue classes by paying teachers and providing classes in primary schools or, occasionally, other premises. The most extensive of these AEIs schemes is that in Division 5, which involves 80 two-hour class sessions a week, about 1,000 pupils and 20 teachers. The main languages taught there are Bengali, Urdu, Arabic and Somali.⁽³³⁾

In the second category schools collaborate with embassies consulates and high commissions. Greek, Italian, Turkish, Portuguese and Spanish are examples of languages which are taught in primary schools in this way. Usually these classes are supplementary classes run after school hours but occasionally they take place in the normal mainschool time.

The third category consists of mother-tongue classes run by schools under their own auspices and with their own resources. (34)

About 200 mother-tongue classes already exist in Greater London but it is not clear how many of them concern children at the primary level. (35)

3. Other Activities

Other activities which show the interest of the ILEA in multi-cultural education are the following:

(i) The Authority's collaboration with the Schools Council in the Mother-Tongue Project which is funded jointly by the European Economic Community and the Schools Council.

(ii) The Authority's initiative to second, from September 1980, two teachers to work towards the development of mother-tongue teaching in the schools. One of them is a kind of liaison between the schools and community groups, for the teaching of mother-tongues. The other is collecting taped story material in a wide range of languages. (36)

(iii) A regular biennial survey which aims to provide a school-by-school linguistic map for the Authority.

(iv) The establishment of a team of seven interpreters/translators which assist the central administration, the inspectorate, the schools and other institutions individually. (37)

Apart from the activities described above it might be interesting to cite here an initiative of the ILEA which concerns mother-

tongue classes in Greek. It is about a circular dated 22.2.82. The circular was sent from the office of the Multi-Ethnic Inspectorate to the headteachers of schools in Divisions 3 and 4 where there are 15 or more children who speak Greek as well as English. The circular informs the headteachers about a scheme for setting up after school classes for Greek-speaking children. The value of these for both children and their mainstream schools is said to be as follows:

the progress of children towards O Level and A Level in Greek; a simultaneous improvement in their English; the strengthening of family ties, and closer contacts of parents with the schools.

The circular continues that if the headteacher is interested in the scheme he might meet an organiser from a Greek Cypriot parents' association. They could exchange ideas about the establishment of mother-tongue classes in Greek. Subsequently they could arrange a meeting of Greek parents and teachers and discuss the project in detail. (38)

From the examination of multi-cultural education policies of various local authorities it is evident that the ILEA is the pioneer among them for the teaching of the mother-tongue minority languages.

The most fundamental support of ILEA to mother-tongue teaching is the free provision of teaching accommodation in schools for mother-tongue voluntary classes.

Thus in the cases where Greek classes are functioning in the ILEA the parents committees do not pay any rent for the accommodation of the classes. In some cases also the ILEA pays the Greek teachers who teach Greek language and culture in supplementary schools and classes.

Although the activities and initiatives of the ILEA, which concern the teaching of Greek language are considerable, Greek mother-

tongue teaching is not yet widely established in the Authority. The major responsibility for the establishment and functioning of Greek supplementary schools and classes is left to the Greek parents' committees, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek Embassy and the Cyprus High Commission. This is presumably because the ILEA education authorities are mainly concentrated on achieving racial tolerance and are mainly interested in the teaching of English.

The ILEA multi-cultural policies have been a response to the great diversity of ethnic groups in central London. Greek speaking children form only the third largest language minority group in ILEA schools and only one of ten major linguistic groups (see table 19). The relative lack of specific provision for the Greek minority may be understood in terms of its lack of numerical dominance. This may be compared with another LEA-Haringey- where Greek speaking children greatly outnumber any other linguistic group. (see table 22).

c. Multi-cultural Education Policies in relation to Primary Education since the 60s, in the Borough of Haringey

This part of chapter III will deal with multi-cultural education policies in the Borough of Haringey. It was stated earlier in this chapter that the Borough of Haringey is closely related to this research because *many* Greek Cypriots are established there. It is estimated that out of about 150,000 of Greek Cypriots, who are living in Britain, 30,000 are living in Haringey. (39)

However, it is not only Greeks that are living in the Borough of Haringey, but other ethnic minorities too. Therefore, before describing the multicultural education policies in this borough it would be helpful to give a general picture of the multicultural population there. A Schools' Language Survey in the Borough of Haringey revealed the general findings shown in Table 21.

Table 21

The findings of a Schools' Language Survey
in the Borough of Haringey

1. Number of pupils on rolls of classes surveyed		2. Number of pupils using at least one language other than English		
Primary Schools	16,602	Primary Schools	4,631	28%
Secondary Schools	10,363	Secondary "	2,764	26.7%
Special Schools	<u>139</u>	Special "	<u>12</u>	8.7%
	27,104		7,407	

Out of the 7,407 pupils:

4,631 (62.5%) are in primary schools.

2,764 (37.3%) are in secondary schools.

Out of the 7,407 pupils:

49% aged from 5 to 10

51% aged from 11 to 16. (40)

According to that Schools Language Survey in the Borough of Haringey, 115 different languages are spoken as shown in tables 22 and 23.

Table 22

The main languages spoken by pupils in the Borough of Haringey

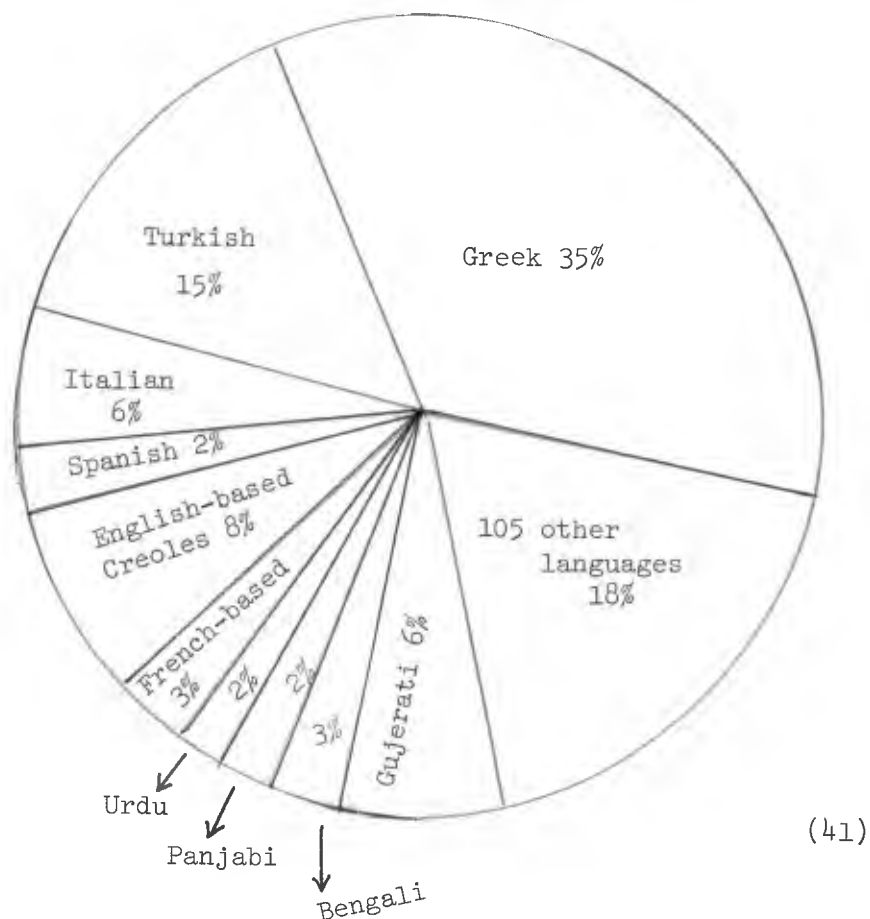
Greek	35%)	Bengali	3%)
Turkish	15%)	French Creoles	3%)
English Creoles	8%) 70%	Urdu	2%) 12%
Gujerati	6%)	Panjabi	2%)
Italian	6%)	Spanish	2%)

About 50.5% of these children can read and/or write either a spoken language or a language of Literacy.

The main languages reported as spoken by 7,407 pupils out of the 27,104 pupils on the rolls of the classes surveyed in the Borough of Haringey could be represented as in the table that follows:

Table 23

Presentation of the main languages spoken by pupils
in the Borough of Haringey



Both tables 22 and 23 show that the Greek language is the first major language spoken by pupils in the Borough of Haringey, followed by the Turkish language.

Multi-cultural education policies of the Borough of Haringey Education Service

The examination of multi-cultural education policies in the Borough of Haringey will be done with the intention of finding whether this borough recognises the linguistic and cultural needs of the Greek Cypriot community and whether the education policies of the Borough include provisions relevant for the maintenance of the cultural identity of children of Greek origin.

The Borough of Haringey has stated that its society is a multi-cultural one and that the link between the educational service and the community is a vital one.⁽⁴²⁾

For this reason Haringey Council is committed to developing policies which will help to promote a harmonious multi-racial community. More specifically the Education Committee takes seriously its commitment to develop a multi-cultural dimension in all its work, as, for example, additional resources and stated policies within schools.⁽⁴³⁾

In June 1977 the Education Committee approved the establishment of a unit to work towards the development of a curriculum to meet the needs of pupils in a multi-racial society. The Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group commenced work in January 1979. A statement of aims and objectives prepared by the Group was sent to all schools of the Borough in September 1979.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The five areas of activity which were the Group's immediate concern were the following:

- (i) The development of historical materials linked with archive and museum resources.
- (ii) The development of relevant audio-visual aids and library resources.
- (iii) A knowledge of West Indian dialects and Creole language structures linked with general language development.
- (iv) The development of project work, at primary school level including practical work in art and craft.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The Curriculum Support Group is working under the direction and guidance of an Adviser for Multi-Cultural Education, who was appointed to that position in April 1978.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In July 1978 the Authority issued a statement of policy entitled "Racialist Activities in Schools". The statement said that

Haringey is a multi-racial, multi-cultural society and that the Council will work to foster good relations between all sections of the community and will oppose racialism in all its forms. It said also that it was the declared policy of the Borough Council to represent all the people regardless of their racial origin, colour or religion. The statement continued that every individual has a right to expect and to receive the benefits of full civil liberties, personal respect, freedom and equality of opportunity in employment, housing, education and all other walks of life. To deny any one group these basic rights, is both legally and morally indefensible. As far as cultural diversity is concerned, it has enriched not weakened British society. In this notion, in implementing the policy of the Council, the headteachers and Staff have the responsibility to ensure that all children have the right to be educated towards an understanding of and commitment to a multi-racial, multi-cultural society. Headteachers and teachers must consider the specific rights of all groups in the society in order to make education a process which can lead to a sensitivity to the needs of others and tolerance towards all races and religions.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In its effort to achieve its aims for the promotion of a harmonious multi-racial society, Haringey Council stated that schools should aim to teach every individual pupil self-respect and respect for others. The Council asked all headteachers and teachers to oppose any organisation which intended to distort the truth and exploit social and economic problems to racialist ends. The Council recommended that all teachers should:

- (i) Encourage open discussion so as to help pupils to develop a respect for all human beings.
- (ii) Be the pioneers of the cause of social justice for all pupils in their classes, schools and communities.
- (iii) Educate all youth to practice co-operation.
- (iv) Work in harmony with the home and the community.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Centre Organisation and Resources

a. Centre Organisation

The Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group envisaged from the beginning of its establishment that the Centre's role would be a developing one. It would distribute materials/resources for loan which would be undertaken through the schools' library service. It was also realised that for curriculum workshops and curriculum development with teachers, background information and reproduction facilities ought to be available for the team and the teachers they would be co-operating with.

These resources have been developed at the Centre, and they are in the form of books, journals, pamphlets, maps, resource materials, photographs, slides, videos, tapes and other materials produced by team members and teachers. The materials are available for teachers' reference in the Centre and for use by teachers working with the team on curriculum projects. Such curriculum projects develop from requests made by headteachers, departments and individual teachers; they also develop from the inservice evening and day courses organised by the Adviser for Multi-Cultural Education, held both at the Centre and the Teachers' Centre.

Team members are available to meet teachers from Haringey schools at any time mutually convenient. These meetings take place both at the Centre and in schools.⁽⁴⁹⁾

b. Centre Resources

(i) Library Resources

A major resource of the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group is a collection of books relevant to issues of a multi-cultural society. The books are used for reference, for help in preparation of courses and as an example of what is available to teachers to supplement their own reading and for use in the library in primary classrooms.

The main aims of the library reflect the aims of curriculum development in a multi-cultural society and include the following:

1. To give information about a wide range of cultures and life-styles and to reflect a variety of cultures, part of life in Britain.
2. To collect information about race and racism stereotypes.
3. To gather stories of black people and black heroes and heroines, showing the part they play in society.
4. To contribute to subject areas in the school curriculum, especially where world thinking has changed very much in the last decade e.g. in the field of Linguistics, Humanities and History.
5. To collect books which help the pupils to appreciate the varied and creative arts of humanity and particularly of the literature in English which derives from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, as well as samples of stories and scripts of Community languages related to the children in the English schools.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Stock

Initially the books reflected an African/Caribbean emphasis; later, however, the collection was extended to include Asian and Mediterranean literature. The Multi Cultural Curriculum Group has also sought to develop topic areas relevant to the needs of the multi-cultural classroom.

Book Collection for schools

There is one mobile book collection for Primary schools. The main aim of taking this collection into schools is to encourage teachers to choose books for their classrooms and school libraries, which meet the needs of a multi-cultural society.⁽⁵¹⁾

(ii) Non-book resources

In this area the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group has managed to do the following:

1. A collection of over 1000 black/white photographs, classified and catalogued.
2. A similar collection of colour photographs.
3. A collection of colour slides.

The range of the above extend from images of local communities in Haringey to historical pictures and images from abroad.

4. A collection of video material recorded for the Centre at the Teachers' Centre.
5. A collection of audio tapes, on language development.⁽⁵²⁾

Course Activities

During the year from January 1979 until July 1980 various courses on multicultural issues were held in the Borough of Haringey. Those courses looked at language issues in a multi-lingual society and explored ways for the teaching of African literature and history. They also dealt with the preparation of resource materials for schools in a multi-cultural society. The topics examined in those courses were the following:

1. Themes from history and literature of Africa.
2. Linguistic diversity-Communication & dialect in the classroom.
3. Probationers' visits.
4. Resource materials in the multi-cultural classroom.
5. Education for a multi-cultural society - Focus on Cypriot (Greek & Turkish) Culture.⁽⁵³⁾

As far as the Linguistic Diversity-Communication & Dialect in the classroom, course, is concerned, two particular aspects should be mentioned. One is that a booklet was produced. It contained a number of articles on dialect and language, very interesting for the understanding of the issues of dialect in the classroom. It also included relevant bibliographies. The other aspect is that the report

on the conference revealed a strong interest in language issues and dialect importance and a need for the development of language policies in schools. (54)

The Resource Materials in the Multi-Cultural Classroom. For this issue four one-day courses were organised in order to acquaint teachers with the work of the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group, to give time to teachers to develop and resource a particular idea with a multi-cultural perspective and to discuss future resource collection and production. Teachers from twenty five schools and centres participated in those courses. The experience gained from those four one-day courses led to the formulation of a week's course in May 1980, entitled: Topic work-Developing Curriculum with a multi-cultural perspective.

Every participant received a course booklet which included interesting background articles, working approaches etc. (55)

Education for a Multi-Cultural Society -
Focus on Cypriot (Greek & Turkish) Culture

There were two one-day conferences devoted to that topic. The main aim of the conferences was to give teachers a fuller understanding of the needs of children in the schools of the Borough of Haringey and to help them to consider the school in a multi cultural society.

The issues covered were also related to consideration of the philosophy of Community Languages and the work of two voluntary groups on developing community languages, Greek and Turkish, in the Borough. (56)

c. Curriculum Projects and Activities

The team for Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support, was involved in a range of projects and activities both of a short term and long term nature, such as:

1. Haringey Junior Project
2. Community Photographs
3. Schools Library Service etc.

1. Haringey Junior Project. The aim of the project was to help teachers in developing policy topics in the junior school classroom with a multi-cultural perspective. The following themes were developed:

Haringey as a local study

Food

Shops

Clothes and Costumes

Lifestyles and Families

Shelters. (57)

The educational policies in the Borough of Haringey recognise the social and educational value of cultural diversity. Various activities, in-service training and projects were designed to help both teachers and pupils to develop a positive attitude towards other cultures. But the educational aims of the borough of Haringey focus rather on the promotion of a harmonious multi-racial society than on the provision for mother-tongue teaching of the various ethnic groups.

Another point is that although there is recognition of cultural diversity in the borough, there is not much support for the teaching of the Greek language. An example of such indifference is that Greek parents' committees always have to pay rents for the accommodation of Greek supplementary schools and classes, a problem which has been solved in similar cases in the ILEA.

Despite the Greek predominance among ethnic minorities in Haringey, LEA policies have been less supportive of Greek cultural aspirations in education than in the ILEA where the percentage of Greek children is smaller. While the politics of educational decision

making in Haringey have not been examined, it appears that Haringey policies tend to reflect national aims of primary education and national multicultural education policies described in Chapter II rather than the demands of the large Greek community in Haringey.

In the light of this relative lack of national and local responsiveness to Greek educational demands, the private educational initiatives of the Greek community become more important. These initiatives are described in the following chapters.

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Survey, Borough of Haringey, 1981
- (41) Ibid.
- (42) Information given to the writer by Chris Power, Adviser
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- (43) Borough of Haringey Education Service
Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group
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- (44) Borough of Haringey
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- (45) Borough of Haringey Education Service
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- (47) Borough of Haringey, Education Service
Statement of Policy, "Racialist Activities in Schools"
London 1978
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Borough of Haringey
Multi-Cultural Curriculum Support Group
First Report, op.cit. p. 3

(50) Ibid. p. 4

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid. p. 5

(53) Ibid. p. 6

(54) Ibid. p. 7

(55) Ibid. p. 8

(56) Ibid. p. 9

(57) Ibid.

Chapter IV

THE GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

AIMS, ADMINISTRATION, FINANCE AND STRUCTURE

A. General Introduction to the Greek Supplementary Schools

The Greek Supplementary schools are the Greek community's own solution to the problem outlined in Chapters I and II - that is, the Greek community's determination to maintain its own culture and transmit it to its children and the lack of provision in the English state education system for the recognition of minority cultures. However, this solution is likely to produce new problems especially in the relationship of the supplementary schools to the Greek community and the English education system.

Two questions will be asked in the course of the analysis of the supplementary schools

(i) Are they strong and effective enough to meet the demands of the Greek community?

(ii) Can they co-exist harmoniously with English state schools which the children attend during the day?

B. Historical Perspective

The first Greek supplementary school in Britain - as was mentioned both in the Introduction and in Chapter I - was established in Manchester, in 1869 and was both started and run by two teachers who were sent to Manchester from Athens. The number of the pupils of that first school was about 20. The life of the school, however, lasted only eight years and it closed down in 1877. Since then the teaching of the Greek language to the children of Greek immigrants in Manchester was undertaken by the priests of the Greek Orthodox Church.⁽¹⁾

The first Greek school in London, as was mentioned in the introduction and in Chapter I, was started in 1922 by the Archimandrite Hilarion Basdeka, a priest in St. Sophia's Cathedral. This

school continued its work in the basement of St. Sophia's Cathedral until 1940. Between the years 1940-1943 the school carried on its teaching in the premises of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood in 23 St. Giles Street. In 1944 it was transferred to 14 Greek Street. It was maintained there until 1949. In that year the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood was obliged to leave that building. Under those circumstances the school was placed under the control of the then newly established Church of All Saints.⁽²⁾

Those early very occasional Greek classes, were the forerunners of Greek Supplementary schools. More Greek classes were established which became Greek Supplementary schools, following the immigration of more Greek Cypriots into Britain. Thus, between the years 1950-1954 two schools were established in London; between 1955-59 six more schools were established, followed by the establishment of another four between the years 1960-63, four in 1964, seven in 1965 and ten in 1966. In the school year 1966-67 the total number of Greek Supplementary schools was 35 and the total number of pupils in them between 5-16 years of age was about two and a half thousand.⁽³⁾

In other British towns the establishment of Greek Supplementary schools started after 1955. The exception to this were the Greek communities of Manchester and Cardiff where Greek schools were established very early. Also the first Greek school was established in Leeds in 1945. During the school year 1966-67 there were 14 small Greek Supplementary schools functioning in British towns other than London and they had about 650 pupils between 5-15 years of age.⁽⁴⁾ Thus the total number of Greek Supplementary schools and the number of pupils attending them, in 1967 was as shown in the following table.

Table 24

Greek Supplementary Schools and number of pupilsSchool year 1967

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	
London	35	2,688	
Other towns	<u>14</u>	<u>648</u>	
	49	3,336	(5)

In the school-year 1980-81 the situation concerning the numbers of Greek Supplementary schools and the pupils attending them is shown in table 25.

Table 25

Greek Supplementary Schools and number of pupilsSchool year 1980-81

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	
London	67	6,939	
Other towns	<u>40</u>	<u>1,319</u>	
	107	8,258 *	

Thus both the numbers of schools and pupils more than doubled between 1967 and 1981.

C. Aims

There is a lack of clear statements of aims by the main organisations involved in the establishment and functioning of the Greek Supplementary schools. The statement of aims in this thesis derives from three educational documents - one Greek and two Greek-Cypriot - and from interviews by the writer with Greek and Greek Cypriot personalities. It is also based on the writer's experience and knowledge.

The main aims of Greek supplementary schools can be stated as follows:

*Statistics of K.E.S. 1980-81 and Report of the Greek Cypriot Educational Delegation, 1980-81.

(i) To teach the mother-tongue and culture of Greek parents to their children.⁽⁶⁾

(ii) To offer to children a Christian Orthodox education.⁽⁷⁾

(iii) To contribute to the contact of the Greek community with Cyprus and Greece.⁽⁸⁾

(iv) To enable children of Greek origin to adjust themselves to the education system of Greece or Cyprus in cases where they return there.⁽⁹⁾

(v) To be cultural centres for the whole Greek community.⁽¹⁰⁾

There is a consensus of agreement on these four aims by all groups which are involved in the Greek supplementary schools, i.e. the Church, the two main educational organisations, K.E.S. and O.E.S.E.K.A., the Greek and the Greek Cypriot government and the Greek parents as well.

However, there is difference in the degree these groups adopt and implement the stated aims, with the exception of two aims, the first and the fifth, which are unanimously accepted by all involved in the Greek supplementary schools.

The second aim of offering to children the Christian Orthodox religion and education in general, is given more emphasis in the Church schools (K.E.S.).

In relation to the third aim it is thought that for both Greece and Cyprus, immigration of their people is seen from a national angle. Both these countries are small with small populations and emigration could have disastrous consequences for their national survival.⁽¹¹⁾ In the case of Cyprus, in particular, whose population is only about 600,000 inhabitants, a very serious situation is created by the fact that about 150,000 Greek Cypriots are living in Britain. These people are constantly facing possible assimilation into the environment of their new country. The divided island of Cyprus, however,

with its 200,000 refugees needs the interest, understanding and moral support of all its friends and all Greek communities abroad, in order to achieve justice for its colossal problem, the de facto division of its territory by Turkey, in 1974. Thus this broadening of the aims of the Greek supplementary schools necessarily took account, in their curriculum of the occupation of 40% of the island by Turkish forces.

The fourth aim of Greek supplementary schools which refer to the adjustment of children to the education system in Greece or Cyprus, is more relevant to the cases of children from Greece rather than to those from Cyprus. However, there are not many Greek children in Britain who intend to return to Greece. The exception is with the children of Greek diplomats and of the other Greek civil servants employed in the Greek Embassy in London. In fact this aim refers to the children from mainland Greece who migrate with their parents to Western European countries. Some thousand Greeks go there on work permit and stay for a few years.⁽¹²⁾ The document which includes the aim which has been discussed now and includes also the other aims of the Greek supplementary schools and their curriculum was issued in the Greek Embassy in Bonn in 1980. This document is supposed to give the guidelines of the work of Greek schools in Western European Countries. In Britain it is used by the Church schools, (K.E.S.) which the children from Greece usually attend.

The first and main aim of Greek supplementary schools is to help the children of Greek parents in Britain to know their background through the teaching of Greek language and culture. It is evident that by performing this task the Greek schools contribute to a better understanding between the children and their parents. They enable the children to establish respect towards their parents and themselves, to have self-respect. In the last analysis the work of the Greek Supplementary schools is a great contribution towards the creation of a more

balanced community and a more balanced society in general.⁽¹³⁾

Thus the Greek schools are the best means available, to enable the parents and their children to communicate. This is a crucial point and it should be emphasised. There has been a lot of unhappiness in the past and there is still a lot of unhappiness, because of this lack of communication and the cultural gap between the Greek parents and their children. It is very useful, therefore that the mother-tongue is being taught in the Greek supplementary schools. It keeps the family together, it brings peace to the family and this situation is very beneficial for the child and for his education in general.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Greek supplementary schools are proposed as a solution to the various problems created in children in Britain, with a Greek ethnic background. These problems are caused from complexities related to the identity of these children and their life between two cultures. Thus the Greek schools intend to moderate the feelings of confusion caused from cultural shock. They also intend to reduce the social and cultural gap between the children of Greek parents and their families on the one hand, and the children and the wider society on the other hand.

From the establishment of the first Greek classes in Manchester in 1869 until today, the Greek supplementary schools are considered to be the institutions that could in some way moderate the gap between the Greek parents' culture and the British culture in which the children are growing up. The different culture and the general uncertainty about the future felt by many Greek immigrants in Britain, is believed to create in many of them feelings of fear and confusion.

That their children will be absorbed by the new environment, that they will lose their ethnic identity and will be assimilated into the wider society, is thought to be another particular fear. Greek

parents feel pleased and relaxed, when their children speak the Greek language, know about Greek customs and traditions and are able to communicate with their relatives in Cyprus.

The above wishes of the Greek parents constitute the basis of the aims of the Greek Supplementary schools. This basis, however, is founded on the following assumptions:

(i) The knowledge of the truth about one's national roots and the acceptance of this truth is a necessary proposition for psychological health.

(ii) It is logical for Greek immigrants to keep their cultural and national identity to the degree that it does not create any conflict with their responsibilities as British citizens.

(iii) The mother tongue must survive, because it is an integral part of national identity and contributes towards keeping the bonds with the Greek Orthodox Religion.

(iv) The adjustment of Greek immigrants to the environment of the new country where they live and work, is necessary. This adjustment will be more harmonious if it is combined with the acceptance of relative values of the host country and civil obligations for immigrants.⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus the very sophisticated aim of the Greek Supplementary schools is to help the Greek immigrants to keep the most valuable elements of their cultural identity and at the same time to integrate into the wider environment and become lawful and useful citizens. The achievement of this aim needs systematic work combined with great effort.

It is claimed that teachers of Greek Supplementary schools should always cater for positive self-identity in their pupils. They should help the children to develop their personalities and abilities so as to enable them to have equal access to all areas of their new country.

It is believed that the children of the Greek community would like very much to be accepted by English children who constitute the majority group in Britain. In order to be accepted they must have some common interests and characteristics. Because of this, characteristics that lead to discrimination and bias should not be emphasised when teaching Greek culture.

A diversity of cultures is not difficult to sustain within the framework of one society, provided that the gap between cultures is bridged through genuine inter-racial mixing and education. Each culture has something to offer which can enrich the society as a whole. (16)

The dilemma of course is what sort of society do you have, which has a national identity but within it has a variety of cultural groups. It is a serious and difficult dilemma that any society has today. How do these people who in varying degrees are British citizens and whose children have been born in this country and have grown up as British youngsters, continue to maintain their cultural characteristics, and at the same time be an integral part of British society.

This dilemma concerns also the Greek community as part of British society and affects the aims of the Greek supplementary schools in Britain. For these schools in particular, the dilemma is, how children, with Greek origin can keep their cultural characteristics and at the same time progress in the mainstream system and have the same opportunities and the same achievements as the children of the dominant group of British society, so that they will be able to take their place in this society the same as the other children.

D. Administration

1. Analysis of the administration of Greek Supplementary schools

It is not easy to state clearly who administers the Greek supplementary schools in Britain. It could be argued that the administration of these schools depends on who has the control of them. As relates to their control the Greek supplementary schools could be

divided into three categories. These categories are the following:

(i) The first one consists of schools that are under the control of K.E.S. The organisation of K.E.S. has been described in chapter I and it was also mentioned there that the president of this organisation is the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain. Thus, these schools which are under the control of K.E.S. are known as church schools.

(ii) The second main category of Greek supplementary schools consists of schools which are embodied in the educational organisation of O.E.S.E.K.A. O.E.S.E.K.A. has also been described in chapter I.

(iii) The third category, the smallest, consists of a number of schools which do not belong to either of the two former categories. These are known as independent schools.

The administration of the K.E.S. schools can be analysed as follows:

In the planning process, the policy formulation is the responsibility of K.E.S. The adoption of policy concerns the bishops and priests, who act as head-teachers in the majority of the Greek schools of K.E.S. There is a limited number of laymen who act as headteachers of these schools in cases where there are no clergymen to undertake this role. The implementation of educational policy concerns the teachers and the Greek educational adviser.

Using Parson's model for systems analysis, the groups inside the formal organisation could be identified as follows:⁽¹⁷⁾

(a)	Public Interest level
(b)	Managerial level
(c)	Technical level

(a) At the public interest level can be seen K.E.S. and, of course, its president, the Archbishop, who is considered to have great influence on the formulation of the educational policies of the Greek schools of KES and on their control in general. At this level is also the Greek educational adviser based at the Greek Embassy in London.

(b) At the managerial level are the bishops and the clergymen who act as headteachers of these schools.

(c) At the technical level are the teachers.

There is always interaction between these groups according to Parsons.

Groups outside the formal organisation who have influence on the formulation, adoption and implementation of educational policies in the Greek supplementary schools are as follows:

(i) The Greek government, through its consul in London. The Greek government shows its interest in these schools by appointing full-time qualified teachers from Greece and paying their salaries. There were 70 such teachers in 1982 who were fully employed in the Greek supplementary schools of K.E.S.⁽¹⁸⁾ Textbooks and other teaching materials are also supplied to these schools from Greece, free of charge.

(ii) The parents. These influence people in the public interest group, the managerial group and the technical group by criticising the work of Greek supplementary schools and by asking what they expect these schools to offer for the education of their children.

(iii) The teachers' organisation. This influences the people at the three levels of the formal organisation, by making suggestions for the improvement of the Greek schools. They base such suggestions mainly on their experience.

The teachers' organisation is called O.E.D.A.⁽¹⁹⁾ It was established in 1967. It had 35 members during the school year 1981-82. Its members were mainly part-time teachers of Greek schools and the majority of them were unqualified. O.E.D.A. organises 1-2 educational seminars yearly.

(iv) The inspector of 'diaspora'.⁽²⁰⁾ This is a Greek inspector who is responsible for the inspection of Greek schools for Greek children in Western European countries. The inspector of 'diaspora' comes to

London from time to time to inspect the Greek supplementary schools, which are under the control of K.E.S. However, this is done very rarely.

The administration of the schools under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A., is as follows:

O.E.S.E.K.A. is supposed to have responsibility for the formulation of educational policy in the schools of all 23 parents' associations, which it represents. These associations represent 46 Greek schools with 3,150 pupils.* However, the main part of the administrative work in the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. is carried out by K.E.A., the Greek Cypriot educational delegation, which is under the auspices of the Cyprus High Commission in London. There were five headteachers and twenty teachers in this group in 1982, who were fully employed in the Greek schools in Britain. One of the five headteachers of this educational group had no teaching commitments, but was in charge of the group. This group is appointed in the Greek schools in Britain and is given the general guidelines for its work by the Cyprus Ministry of Education. These guidelines are worked out between the members of the educational group during their regular meetings organised once a week in the office of K.E.A. This is accommodated in the premises of the Cyprus High Commission.

The members of K.E.A. work in collaboration with the parents' committee of each of the Greek schools, where they teach. There are teachers from K.E.A. in all the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. The headteacher in each of these schools must always be a member of K.E.A. This is one of the proposals which each parents' committee has to accept, before having any teachers from K.E.A. appointed to its school. In 1982, there were exceptions to this, in two cases, where

*Statistics for the school-year 1981-82, given to the writer by the president of O.E.S.E.K.A., in January 1982.

the parents' committee had appointed a headteacher before the arrival of K.E.A. in London, in 1977. Thus, it is not only the four headteachers who have the responsibility of administering the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. but also the other twenty teachers of K.E.A. as well.

In order to identify the range over which the formal organisation of the administration of the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. takes place the following description is given.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--|
| (a) | Public Interest Level | (a) At the public interest level are O.E.S.E.K.A. and the Cyprus Ministry of Education. |
| (b) | Managerial Level | (b) At the managerial level are the headteachers who are in charge of K.E.A., the other members of K.E.A. and the parents' committees. |
| (c) | Technical Level | (c) At the technical level are all sorts of teachers who are employed in the Greek supplementary schools. |

It should be emphasised here again that there is always interaction between the people belonging to the three groups of the formal organisation.

People or groups outside the formal organisation who have influence on the formulation, adoption and implementation of educational policies for the schools belonging to O.E.S.E.K.A. could be considered as the following:

- (i) The parents' associations and parents as individuals.
- (ii) The Cyprus High Commissioner.
- (iii) The teachers' organisation.

2. Efforts for the establishment of a Common Co-Ordinating Body.

The need for a common body to be responsible for guiding and administering the educational efforts of all the educational organisations of the Greek community, was felt long ago. It was first expressed during the first educational seminar which took place

in July 1964. That seminar had been organised with the initiative of the then Metropolitan of Thyateira. As a result of the discussions of that seminar was the establishment of the Central Educational Committee of the Archbishopric of Thyateira and Great Britain, (K.E.S.)⁽²¹⁾ O.E.S.E.K.A. was established in 1971, as was mentioned in Chapter I.

The period of the 1960s was a period of further development of the Greek Community and the Greek Supplementary schools, as was described at the beginning of this chapter. The number of churches was increased as was the number of church schools and independent schools.

In the 1960s two major events took place, which had a significant reflection on the problem of the community.

(i) The accession of the Archbishop of Thyateira Athenagoras (1964)

and

(ii) the takeover of power in Greece by a military junta (1967).

Athenagoras reorganised and improved the Church. Thus in a few years' time the number of churches more than doubled, increasing from 5 to 12. He also reorganised and increased the number of Greek schools and established the Central Educational Committee, K.E.S.⁽²²⁾

Parallel to the development of Greek schools had been the efforts at their unification. An attempt was made in 1967, when the Greek Parents' Association asked the Cyprus government to help the two main educational bodies of that time, - O.E.S.E.K.A. had not been established yet - to come to an agreement. The Cyprus government responded by sending the chief inspector, A. Christodoulides, in the same year. Mr. Christodoulides was asked to study the problem of the Greek community and submit a report to the Cyprus government for further consideration.⁽²³⁾ Mr. Christodoulides' report was submitted to the Cyprus government in the same year 1967. It was not followed by any kind of solution of the community's problem, however.

It is believed that this problem of the Greek community in Britain is more complex than it seems to be. It has become an issue of controversy, as topical today as it always was, not an only educational one but ideological too. On the one hand is the Church with a rightwing ideology, and on the other hand are the schools of O.E.S. E.K.A. and the other independent schools, the majority of which are thought to be of leftwing orientation. Thus the failure of the efforts at a unification of the Greek schools in Britain should be seen in this context.

A second attempt took place in 1971 when the Cyprus government sent to Britain the Minister of Education Mr. F. Petrides, to help the representatives of the community to come to an agreement. A meeting was organised for this purpose in which the participants were Archbishop Athenagoras, Mr. F. Petrides and representatives of the other schools which did not belong to K.E.S. The representatives of those independent schools suggested that in order to agree on the establishment of a Central Co-ordinating Body of the Greek schools their two main proposals should be accepted:

- (i) The Church should stop being involved in the Greek schools.
- (ii) K.E.S. should be abolished.

Archbishop Athenagoras accepted many of the proposals which were submitted by the representatives of the independent schools, but he rejected the two proposals that affected negatively the role of the Church in the Greek schools. He also stated that in the case of the establishment of a Central Co-ordinating Body of the Greek Schools he should be its Chairman because it was the Church which had first established Greek schools and run them successfully for years.

That second attempt resulted in failure again. Moreover, the Cypriot Minister of Education Mr. F. Petrides resigned from his position a few months later. It is believed that his resignation was a result of pressures from the military regime, because he agreed

with the proposals of the independent schools' representatives in Britain.

The military regime tried to penetrate the Greek organisations in Britain. It is claimed that it managed to influence to some degree those organisations which consisted mainly of Greeks from the mainland, who were more or less dependent on the Greek government, i.e. the Church and K.E.S. It had no influence at all on the other educational organisations because, as was mentioned earlier, those were mainly of leftwing orientation.

That political antagonism had a catastrophic reflection on the Greek community and the efforts at a unification of the Greek Supplementary schools.

A third effort towards this purpose was done in the school year 1980-81. During this year, the ministers of Education of Greece and Cyprus, visited London and had discussions on that problem with representatives of the Greek community. No official notification was given to the public or the Greek press about the results of those discussions. It became obvious, however, that they did not find any solution to the problem, because the problem still exists and the prediction about its future solution is rather pessimistic.

It was cited earlier in this Chapter that the two significant representative bodies of the Greek community, which are very much involved in this issue are K.E.S. and O.E.S.E.K.A. The members of these two educational bodies see the problem from different angles and consequently they suggest different solutions.

The Archbishop of Thyateira Dr. Methodios sees two main channels of Greek education in Britain. The one is the Archbishopric of Thyateira and the other is the Greek Cypriot educational group, K.E.A. He maintains that he tried very hard for the establishment of a common educational administration body for all the Greek schools of

the Greek community in Britain, but he argues that such an idea cannot be accomplished, because there is a difference of opinion on fundamental aspects of the issue. Such a difference of opinion is related to the role of the common educational administrative body. The Archbishop maintains that the schools committees should have the flexibility to choose the kind of education which they want for their children. Such freedom and flexibility is given to the parents through the organisation of the Greek Orthodox communities which was established in 1978.⁽²⁴⁾ That organisation always functions according to the guidance of the Archbishop of Thyateira. In addition, two bishops chosen by the Archbishop are always included in the central committee of the organisation. One of the main objectives of that organisation is the all round support to the work of the Central Educational Committee of the Archbishopric, K.E.S.⁽²⁵⁾

In a last analysis the Archbishop argues that the Greek Cypriot educational delegation should come under the control of the Central Educational committee, K.E.S., which is under his presidency, as is the Greek educational delegation. This Greek delegation is employed exclusively in the schools of K.E.S. and is controlled mainly by it. The educational policies for the Greek supplementary schools should have their origin in K.E.S.⁽²⁶⁾

The president of O.E.S.E.K.A., on the other hand, expressing the views on behalf of his organisation, maintains that O.E.S.E.K.A. sees the solution of this important problem on three levels. The first one is the level of formulation of educational policies. The other two are the levels of adoption and implementation. As far as the first level is concerned, O.E.S.E.K.A.'s view is that the Cypriot Ministry of Education should have responsibility for the formulation of educational policies for the Greek Supplementary schools in Britain, because the majority of the pupils of these schools come from Greek Cypriot

parents. For the other two levels O.E.S.E.K.A. suggests that a central committee should be responsible. That committee should be elected by all Greek parents and should have responsibility for all aspects related to the organisation of the Greek Supplementary schools so as to succeed in the implementation of the relevant educational policies.⁽²⁷⁾

In terms of the strength of the Greek supplementary schools (first question in the introduction) the schools are strong because

- a) Most are under the aegis of larger organisations - KES or OESEKA - which can provide stability, sharing of resources etc.
- b) They have backing from powerful organisations - the church, the governments of Greece and Cyprus.
- c) The organisations are democratically run and represent the wider Greek community.

But there are deep divisions between the schools' organisations, which inhibit a common approach, especially in their relations to the state school system.

E. Finance. Greek supplementary schools have a much sounder financial base than those of several other groups, which is part of their strength. However, the financing of Greek supplementary schools is an important element in maintaining these schools and has assumed increased importance with the spread of these schools. In fact these are two interrelated problems, i.e. the rising demand for learning the Greek language and culture, by children with Greek origin and the financial constraints which the Greek supplementary schools are facing.

The inevitable financial constraints which the Greek schools are facing constitute a problem for their overall development. The constraints are likely to become more severe, because those who control these schools have to give much more attention to obtaining greater and better educational results out of the resources they already have.⁽²⁸⁾

1. Expenses

Each parents' committee in general, is responsible for supplying the financial resources for the normal work of its Greek school. These resources must cover:

(i) The payment of teachers, when these do not belong to either the Greek or the Greek Cypriot educational delegations.

(ii) The payment of rent in the cases where the premises they are using are rented either from the local education authorities or from elsewhere.

(iii) The purchase of audio-visual aids for the Greek school.

(iv) Sometimes the transport of pupils from their homes to the Greek school and vice versa.

The payment of teachers who are appointed by the community differs from school to school, but not greatly.* For instance, the teachers who are appointed on a part-time basis in the Greek schools which are under the control of the church are paid about £3.60 p to £4.00 per hour. (29)

In the case of the schools which are under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A. the payment of teachers is as follows:

For 2 hours of teaching they are paid £ 9.50 p.

For 2½ " " " " " " £11.00 p.

For 3 " " " " " " £12.00 p. (30)

In the case of Greek supplementary schools which are accommodated in the buildings of state schools in the area of the Inner London Education Authority, the payment of teachers is undertaken by this authority. It is estimated that about 20 teachers are paid by the ILEA in five schools.

As far as the rent of the school buildings is concerned, again the situation differs from school to school, depending on the area in which the school is located.

* All the payments mentioned in this chapter refer to the school-year 1981-82.

The Greek schools for instance which are functioning in the area of the Inner London Education Authority can use the school premises without paying any rent. In the other areas the rent differs from one to another, to a considerable degree. The following examples show the difference:

-In the London Borough of Haringey the parents' committees pay £1.00 for each room for three hours.

-In the London Borough of Barnet they pay on Saturdays £0.75 p. per hour for each room and £1.70 p. per hour for the hall. On the other days they pay £0.40 p. per hour for each room.

-In the London Borough of Enfield they pay £2.25 for each room, for three hours, on Saturdays and £3.20 for each room for three hours in the evenings.

-In the London Borough of Brent they pay £3.80 p. for each room, for three hours and £13.00 for the hall for three hours.

-In the Borough of Waltham Forest they pay £6.00 for each room for three hours, etc.⁽³¹⁾

In the case of transporting children from their homes to the Greek supplementary schools and vice versa, the expenses could be, £6.75 p. for the payment of the driver, each night, and £8.00 for the purchase of petrol, weekly. In this case the same bus and driver can serve up to six Greek schools per week.⁽³²⁾

2. Financial Resources

(i) Resources from abroad

Substantial resources for the maintaining of the Greek supplementary schools come from abroad, both from Greece and Cyprus. They are in the form of teachers, textbooks and money.

In the school year 1981-82 the government of Greece appointed 70 teachers to the Greek supplementary schools in Britain. These teachers are paid by the Greek government and are fully employed in the

Greek schools which are under the control of the Central Educational Committee of the Church, (KES).

The Greek government also supplies all the Greek schools with textbooks, free of charge. Some of these textbooks come to Britain directly from Athens and some come to Britain through Cyprus. They are subsequently distributed to all Greek schools independently of which administrative body runs them. The Greek government also subsidises the Greek supplementary schools which are under the control of K.E.S. with an amount of money reaching £300 for each school. (33)

The government of Cyprus appoints 25 teachers in the Greek schools in Britain since 1978-79. These teachers are paid by the government of Cyprus and are mainly working in the schools which are under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A. and in the independent schools. Four of these Greek Cypriot teachers, however, have also taught in three of the schools of K.E.S., during the school year 1981-82. The salaries of these 25 teachers and headteachers, including another two who are seconded to other services reach about £22,000 monthly. In March 1982 for instance the exact amount of the net salaries for these 27 teachers was £21,463.92 p. (34)

The government of Cyprus contributes to the needs of the Greek supplementary schools in Britain also in other ways. It sends textbooks, some published in Greece and some published in Cyprus. It also sends various audio-visual aids, e.g. maps. pictures, cassettes, films, projectors etc., all free of charge. These textbooks and audio-visual aids are originally sent to the Cyprus High Commission. From there they are distributed to the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and independent schools, through the members of the Greek Cypriot educational delegation and the parents' committees.

(ii) Tuition fees

The tuition fees which the pupils of the Greek schools pay to the parents' committees, constitute a substantial economic base for each one of these schools. There are no fixed tuition fees for the Greek schools which belong to the various parents' committees or the various educational organisations. There is similarity in the amount of tuition fees in cases where parents' committees are associated, e.g. in the case of the Greek schools which are under the control of the Central Educational Committee of the Church, K.E.S., or in the case of the schools which belong to the Greek Parents Association, or those which belong to the Association of North London, etc.

In the case of pupils who attend Greek schools which are under the control of K.E.S., the tuition fees range between £30.00 p. to £48.00 p. for each pupil yearly, depending on the economic condition of the parents. (35)

The tuition fees, which are paid to the parents' committees of the Greek schools that come under the control of the Greek Parents Association could be used as another example.

Table 26
Greek Parents Association
Tuition Fees 1981-82

Number of children from each family	Duration of lessons			Transport by school bus
	2 hours PER WEEK	3 hours PER WEEK	4 hours PER WEEK	
<u>Tuition fees paid yearly or by 3 instalments</u>				
1	£27.00 yearly or 3X£9.00	£33.00 yearly or 3X£11.00	£37.50 yearly or 3X£12.50	£30.00 yearly or 3X£10.00
2	£39.00 yearly or 3X£13.00	£51.00 yearly or 3X£17.00	£58.50 yearly or 3X£19.50	£54.00 yearly or 3X£18.00
3	£51.00 yearly or 3X£17.00	£66.00 yearly or 3X£22.00	£81.00 yearly or 3X£27.00	£78.00 yearly or 3X£26.00
4	£60.00 yearly or 3X£20.00	£69.00 yearly or 3X£23.00	£90.00 yearly or 3X£30.00	£90.00 yearly or 3X£30.00

(iii) Other Resources

(a) Besides the tuition fees there are some other sources from which the Greek supplementary schools raise money or obtain resources in general for their needs. These are dinner and dances which are usually organised by each Greek school once a year, concerts, raffle tickets, and various other activities, subscriptions, donations etc.

(b) There are also some Greek supplementary schools which get other financial support, depending on the area in which they are. For example, the Greek schools which are created in the area of the London Borough of Haringey and are under the control of the Greek Parents Association, get considerable financial support through the Haringey Council Grant. This grant is enough to cover the expenses of the building where the offices of the Association are located together with the salaries of non-teaching personnel there, consisting of three clerks. (37)

Concluding this section, the following could be pointed out:

(i) The economic strength of the Greek community in Britain and its organisations allow it to pay teachers and rent buildings. This contrasts with economically and organisationally weaker groups such as West Indians. Compared to other ethnic groups, Greek supplementary schools have a sound financial base.

(ii) However, there is some reliance on outside agencies, particularly the governments of Greece and Cyprus and on English Local Education Authorities (and variations in help that these agencies provide). This may create difficulties as the schools are in effect controlled by two different kinds of agency (responsible to different governments) and potential conflict between these agencies would threaten the schools.

F. The Structure and Organisation of Greek Supplementary Schools

Introduction

(i) The Greek schools, especially in the London area, are organisationally stable and efficient. They have sufficient pupils to be capable of being organised into age grades.

(ii) They are within reach of most substantial centres of Greek population.

(iii) They provide a continuous education throughout the year between 2 and 5 hours a week.

(iv) There are some difficulties of accommodation.

Most of the Greek Supplementary schools function in London where the majority of Greek Cypriots and a few Greeks from Greece live. It was cited at the beginning of this chapter that there are about 67 such Greek Evening or Saturday schools in London and about 40 in various big cities of Britain where Greeks live e.g. in Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cardiff, Eastbourne, Glasgow, Great Yarmouth, Hastings, Leeds, Liverpool, etc. (38)

In London most of these schools are located in its Northern part, where the majority of the Greek community is concentrated. Greek supplementary schools, however, are scattered in all parts of London, wherever Greeks are living.

According to statistics prepared by the Central Educational Committee of the Archbishopric, the number of Greek pupils in schools under Church control was 5,108 during the school year 1980-81. The number of pupils in the other Greek schools which come under the control of the Greek Parents Association, the North London Parents Association and other organisations and school committees was about 3,150 pupils in the same school year. (39)

The proportion of all Greek children who attend Greek schools could be estimated as follows:

If the total Greek community in Britain is 150,000 and between 15% -20% are children aged 6-15, then 22,500-30,000 are in this age group. So between 27%-35% of all Greek children aged 6-15 were enrolled in supplementary schools in 1980-81. It is claimed that a higher proportion of Greek children attend Greek schools but they do not attend for six years.

The Greek supplementary schools which are under Church control function mainly on church premises. The rest of these schools which come under the control of the various parents organisations and committees function in the buildings of either primary or secondary schools. The use of these English school premises on a double shift basis is convenient because the work of the Greek supplementary schools usually takes place between 6.00 p.m. - 8.30 p.m., at a time by which the English schools have finished their regular work. A considerable number of these Greek schools also function on Saturdays and a few of them on Sundays.

The Greek schools are organised on a six grade basis. In cases where the number of children in one class is large, there is a concern for groups of children who can be classified at different ability levels. The average number in each grade or group is between 15-25 children. The age of children in these six grades is between 6 to 15 years.

It could be claimed that age grading came effectively into practice when the teachers of the second Greek Cypriot educational delegation started teaching in the supplementary schools in Britain in 1977. Since then age grading is very widely practised. Greek schools always follow the school year as well as the summer and other holidays of the English primary schools in the area where they are established.

The children enroll in the Greek schools in September. Until 1977-78 the situation was very different. The children could enroll any time in the year; this created problems for the teachers and the schools in general, because there were always new pupils in the classes. It is claimed that in that period children on average spent approximately 3 years in the Greek schools. An estimate in 1982-83 showed that children stay about 4-5 years in the Greek schools.

The majority of these schools are of primary level except for a good number of classes which prepare children for the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.), in Modern Greek. There are such classes for both the G.C.E. 'O.L.' and G.C.E. 'A.L.' In the school year 1980-81, out of a number of 3,150 pupils in OESEKA's schools and the independent ones, 514 pupils were enrolled in G.C.E. 'O.L.' and 160 in G.C.E. 'A.L.' It is estimated that a similar proportion of children were enrolled in G.C.E. classes out of 5,108 pupils of K.E.S.' schools in 1981.

Each of the Greek schools functions once or twice per week. The time of the opening of these schools is between 5.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. On Saturdays they are open for a variety of times between 9.30 a.m. and 5.30 p.m. In research which took place among 45 Greek Supplementary schools the relevant picture was as follows:

Table 27
Greek Supplementary Schools
Allocation of time per week
School year 1980-81

8	schools	worked	for	2.00	hours	per	week
9	"	"	"	2.30	"	"	"
11	"	"	"	3.00	"	"	"
1	"	"	"	3.30	"	"	"
12	"	"	"	4.00	"	"	"
1	"	"	"	4.30	"	"	"
<u>3</u>	"	"	"	<u>5.00</u>	"	"	"
45				24.30			

(40)

It is believed that a Greek school should be open at least three times a week, for three hours each time, to be able to provide a full course for pupils.

An analysis of schools, indicates that schools in the London area, especially in the main centres of Greek settlement in North London, tend to be larger, have more teachers and are open for more days a week than those in other areas. They can clearly provide a fuller and more varied curriculum. Similarly KES schools tend to be larger and open for more hours than those of O.E.S.E.K.A.

The following table shows the Greek schools in London which come under Church control. The first column shows the name of the Greek school which is always named after a church. It also shows the postal district of the church which is the same for the homonymous Greek school. In fact the majority of these schools operate on church premises and it is very rare to find any of them functioning in rented premises.

Table 28

Greek Supplementary Schools in London
under Church control 1980-81

<u>Name and postal district</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Days of the week and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
1. St. Sophia's Greek School London W.2	210	Wednesday and Thursday 5.00pm-7.00 pm Saturday 9.30am-1.00 pm	6
2. St. Barnabas' Greek School (and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary) N.22	1,117	Every day, (except Friday), 5.30pm-7.30pm Saturday 9.30am-1.00pm 2.00pm-6.00pm	28
3. St. Andrew's Greek School N.W.1	542	Every day 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 9.00am-1.00pm	12

Table 28 (Cont.)

Greek Supplementary Schools in London
under Church control 1980-81

<u>Number and Postal district</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Days of the week and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
4. St. Mary's Greek School London S.E.5	200	Saturday 9.30am-2.30pm	6
5. All Saints Greek School N.W.1	105	Monday until Friday 5.00pm-7.30pm	6
6. St. Nicholas' Greek School W.12	160	Monday until Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	7
7. St. John the Baptist's Greek School N.8	120	Monday until Friday 5.00am-7.00pm Saturday 10.00am-2.00pm	6
8. St. John the Theologist's Greek School E.8	160	Wednesday and Friday 5.00pm-7.00pm Saturday 9.30am-1.30pm	8
9. Holy Cross's Greek School N.W.11	365	Saturday 9.00am-1.00pm	11
10. St. Anargyri's Greek School N.W.5	14	Saturday 9.30am-12.15pm	1
11. Christ the Savior's Greek School S.E.2	50	Saturday 10.00am-12.00 2.00am-4.00pm Sunday 2.00pm-4.00pm	6
12. St. Nektarios' Greek School S.W.18	62	Saturday 2.30pm-4.30pm Monday 5.00pm-6.30pm	3

Table 28 (Cont.)

Greek Supplementary Schools in London under Church control 1980-81			
<u>Number and postal district</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Days of the week and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
13. St. Demetrios' Greek School London N.9	361	Monday until Saturday 5.30pm-7.30pm	9
14. St. Lazaros' Greek School E.7	24	Saturday for 3 hours	2
15. St. Constan- tine's and St. Helen's Greek School S.E.19	88	Tuesday and Friday 5.30pm-8.00pm Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm and 3.30pm-6.30pm	5
16. St. Panteleimon's Greek School West Harrow	85	Saturday 9.30am-1.00pm	4
17. St. George's Greek School Kingston, Surrey	126	Saturday 9.30am-12.30pm Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm	7
Total number of pupils	<u>3,789</u>	Total number of Teachers	<u>124</u> (41)

The table that follows gives similar details about the Greek schools which are under church control and are scattered in various cities and towns in Britain.

Table 29

Greek Supplementary Schools under Church control,
in various cities and towns outside London, 1980-81

<u>Name of town or city</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teacher</u>
1. Birmingham	180	Saturday 10.30am-3.30pm	9
2. Brighton	45	Saturday 11.00am-1.00pm	1
3. Bristol	90	Friday 5.45pm-8.15pm Saturday 1.00pm-4.30pm	9
4. Cambridge	48	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	2
5. Cardiff	60	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm Sunday 2.30 hours	4
6. Westwood Heath Coventry	40	Saturday for four hours	2
7. Eastbourne East Sussex	30	Friday 5.00pm-7.00pm	1
8. Glasgow	44	Tuesday two hours Friday two hours Saturday four hours	3
9. Great Yarmouth	63	Saturday morning for three hours Saturday afternoon 2.00pm-5.00pm	4
10. Hastings, East Sussex	50	Monday 6.45pm-8.15pm Tuesday 4.45pm-7.00pm Wednesday 4.45pm-7.00pm Saturday 10.00am-12.30pm	3
11. Leeds (There are five different Greek schools in Leeds)	A. 28 B. 30 C. 29 D. 16 E. 14	Saturday 10.00am-1.30pm Saturday 11.00am-2.00pm Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm Thursday 5.00pm-7.00pm Wednesday 5.00pm-7.00pm	2 2 2 1 1
12. Liverpool	40	Saturday 2.00pm-4.00pm	3
13. Leicester	30	Saturday 3.00pm-5.00pm	3

Table 29 (Cont.)

Greek Supplementary Schools under Church control,
in various cities and towns outside London, 1980-81

<u>Name of town or city</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teacher</u>
14. Luton (There are two Greek Schools)	A. 57 B. 34	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.30pm Thursday 6.00pm-8.30pm	2 2
15. Manchester	40	Saturday 10.30am-2.30pm	2
16. Margate, Kent	57	Two hours every day	1
17. Middlesborough	32	Monday 7.00pm-9.00pm Saturday 10.00am-12.00	2 2
18. Northampton	40	Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 3.00pm-6.00pm	1 1
19. Nottingham (two Greek schools)	A. 45 B. 30	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm Saturday 3.00pm-7.00pm	2 2
20. Oxford	25	Saturday 2.30pm-5.30pm	1
21. Plymouth, Devon	37	Saturday	1
22. Reading	15	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	1
23. Southampton	36	Saturday 10.00am-2.00pm	2
24. Southend-on-Sea Essex	12	Saturday 2.00pm-4.00pm	1
25. Torquay	27	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	1
26. Weston Super Mare	65	Friday 6.00pm-9.00pm Saturday 9.00am-1.00pm	4
Total number of pupils	<u>1,349</u>	Total number of Teachers	<u>80</u> (42)

In addition to the Greek supplementary schools described in the table above there are a number of Greek schools in other towns for which no details are as yet available, because these schools are still under construction. There are such cases in the towns of Buckingham, Bradford, Colchester, Edinburgh, Gillingham, Jersey and Dublin.⁽⁴³⁾

It was stated earlier in this Chapter that in addition to the group of Greek supplementary schools which are under the control of the Central Educational Committee of the Greek Orthodox Church, there is another group of well organised Greek schools which is controlled by O.E.S.E.K.A. and a third, smaller group of independent Greek schools. There follows below a table of the Greek schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and the Greek independent schools, showing the number of pupils the days they work, the time allocated to each day, and the number of teachers as well.

These schools are 47 in number. Members of the Greek Cypriot Educational Delegation help in the organisation of all these schools and teach in all of them as well.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Table 30

Area of London

Greek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A.
and Independent Schools

<u>Area and Name of School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	
<u>Islington & Hackney Area</u>				
1. Hackney	31	Tuesday	6.00pm-8.00pm	4
		Thursday	6.00pm-8.00pm	4
2. Shelbourne	170	Wednesday	6.00pm-8.00pm	12
		Friday	6.00pm-8.00pm	
3. Pooles Park	37	Friday	6.00pm-8.30pm	2
4. Ambler	31	Monday	6.00pm-8.00pm	2

Table 30 (Cont.)

Area of LondonGreek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A.
and Independent Schools

<u>Area and Name of School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
<u>East London Area</u>			
1. Upton Park	21	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm	2
2. Leyton	74	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.30pm	6
3. Dagenham	38	Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3
<u>South London Area</u>			
1. Brixton	40	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3
2. Tooting	93	Saturday 9.30am-1.00pm	5
3. Fulham	51	Saturday 10.00am-2.00pm	3
4. Dulwich	38	Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3
5. Streatham	70	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	4
6. Bermondsey	27	Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm	2
<u>Haringey Area</u>			
1. South Haringey 'A'	70	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	6
2. South Haringey 'B'	70	Saturday 2.30pm-5.30pm	4
3. South Haringey 'C'	15	Thursday 1.30pm-3.30pm	1
4. William Forster	78	Thursday 6.00pm-8.30pm	6
5. Earlham	36	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.00pm Friday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3

Table 30 (Cont.)

Area of LondonGreek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A.
and Independent Schools

<u>Area and Name of School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
<u>Haringey Area (Cont.)</u>			
6. West Green	45	Wednesday 9.30am-12.00 Thursday 9.30am-12.00	2
7. Risley	14		2
8. Rokesley	74	Friday 6.00pm-8.30pm	6
9. Seven Sisters	45	Thursday 6.00pm-9.00pm	3
10. Rhodes	17	Tuesday 3.30pm-5.00pm Thursday 3.30pm-5.00pm	2
11. Tiverton	44	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.30pm	4
<u>Enfield Area</u>			
1. Raglan	40	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm Wednesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3
2. Bowes	127	Saturday 9.00am-1.00pm	7
3. Oakthorpe	66	Saturday 2.00pm-5.00pm	4
4. Hazelwood 'A'	164	Saturday 10.30am-1.30pm	9
5. Hazelwood 'B'	59	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	4
6. Tottenham 'A'	98	Saturday 11.00am-2.00pm	5
7. Tottenham 'B'	88	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 6.00pm-8.00pm	5
8. Tottenham 'C'	27	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.30pm	3
9. Southbury	39	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm Tuesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	4

Table 30 (Cont.)

Area of London

Greek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A.
and Independent Schools

<u>Area and Name of School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
<u>Enfield Area (Cont.)</u>			
10. Huxley	50	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 6.00pm-8.00pm	3
11. Minchenden	48	Tuesday 6.00pm-8.00pm Wednesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	4 (46)
<u>Barnet & N.W. London Area</u>			
1. Coppettswood	54	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.30pm	4
2. East Barnet	25	Monday 6.00pm-8.30pm	2
3. Kingsbury	78	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	6
4. High Barnet	41	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm Wednesday 6.00pm-8.00pm	4
5. Queenswell	104	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	7
6. Ashmole	63	Monday 6.00pm-8.00pm Thursday 6.00pm-8.00pm	4
7. Willesden	63	Wednesday 6.00pm-8.30pm	5
8. Potters Bar	54	Saturday 2.00pm-5.00pm	4
9. Moss Hall	65	Friday 6.00pm-8.00pm Saturday 2.00pm-5.00pm	4
10. Manor Hill	95	Saturday 9.30am-1.30pm	5
Total number of pupils	<u>2,677</u>	Total number of Teachers	<u>190</u>

Table 31

<u>Area Outside London</u>			
Greek Supplementary Schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and			
<u>Independent Schools</u>			
<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Days and time of functioning</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
1. Weston Super Mare	56	Friday 6.00pm-9.00pm Saturday 9.00am-1.00pm	4
2. Reading	17	Saturday 10.00am-1.00pm	1
Total number of pupils	<u>73</u>	Total number of Teachers	<u>4</u> (47)

The frequency of working of these Greek schools was:

33 Greek schools worked once a week and

14 " " " twice a week.

The number of Greek schools in relation to the day of the week on which they were functioning, was as follows:

Table 32

The numbers of Greek Supplementary Schools in relation to the day of their functioning

School year 1980-81

Monday	8	schools	
Tuesday	4	"	
Wednesday	8	"	
Thursday	8	"	
Friday	6	"	(48)
Saturday	13	"	

Though the O.E.S.E.K.A. schools are smaller than those of K.E.S., yet the majority of all Greek schools have enough pupils and teachers and are open for sufficient hours to provide an effective Greek cultural education. Though there are the known weaknesses of the inconvenient time, the lack of audio-visual aids, the lack of

qualified teachers and so on.

Accommodation

All these 47 Greek supplementary schools, the majority of which, as was stated earlier, belong to O.E.S.E.K.A., while the rest are independent, are accommodated on the premises of state schools as was mentioned earlier. The only exception is the case of the school of Weston Super Mare, which used premises belonging to the Greek community there.

All education authorities require rent for allowing the Greek schools to use their school buildings, with the exception of the Inner London Education Authority which allows the use of school premises in the area, free of charge. The parents' committees or parents' organisations pay the necessary rent to the authorities. (49)

In the case of the Greek schools, which are under the control of K.E.S., the situation concerning their accommodation is very different. In London there are 20 Greek schools controlled by K.E.S. Of these 14 are accommodated in premises belonging to the Greek Orthodox Churches or the Greek Communities, while the other 6 schools use rented premises.

The situation of the Greek schools of K.E.S. outside London is similar to the above. Of the 34 of these Greek schools, only ten are accommodated in rented premises while the others are established in buildings owned by either the Greek communities or the Greek Orthodox Church in each town. (50)

It would be interesting to describe here a quite different Greek school which the Greek government opened in London in 1980. It is the Hellenic College.

The idea for the Hellenic College had been put forward in 1977 by the late Archbishop of Thyateira and G. Britain Athenagoras.

The Greek Government agreed with the idea and, with the aid of the Labour Government which was then in office, the preparatory work for the establishment of the College was begun. Sir Harold Wilson, who was the British Prime Minister of the Labour government at that time, is now on the Board of Governors of the school.⁽⁵¹⁾

In the school there operate classes from nursery to school-leaving age. Parallel to following the Greek syllabus the Hellenic College prepares children for British universities. In 1981-82 about 20 Greek teachers were appointed to the College by the Greek government and 12 British teachers were paid by the College to teach all the subjects necessary for GCE 'O.Level' and 'A.Level'. The Greek government supplies the Greek teachers and the British government is not financially involved.⁽⁵²⁾ It is believed that the Hellenic College gets generous financial support from Greek ship-owners and other wealthy members of the Greek community in Britain.

The first problem the College had to overcome was the alarming expansion from a handful of pupils in 1980 to 140 at the beginning of the school year 1981-82.

The second problem was the different levels of the Greek language among the pupils. To overcome this problem the Greek teachers had to give individual tuition to children who were weak in the Greek language.

It has been the aim of the College to keep fees as low as possible, to enable more children to enroll in it. Its fees are not regarded as cheap but compared to British public schools are most reasonable.

There exists an excellent social cross-section in the school, illustrated by the following table of the occupations of the fathers of the children:

Table 33

Occupations of the fathers of children
in the Hellenic College

Civil Servants	4	
Directors	9	
Private employees	11	
Policemen	1	
Sea Captains	10	
Shipowners	4	
Shipping Agents	4	
Military	5	
Cooks	2	
Waiters	2	
Industrialists	2	
Lawyers	3	
Teachers	11	
Merchants	4	
Mechanics	2	
Businessmen	4	
Pilots	2	
Civil Engineers	5	
Architects	3	
Pharmacists	1	
Journalists	1	
Diplomats	1	(53)

(This list is not exhaustive, but designed to show the even spread over the social spectrum)

Of the 140 children, 15 are Greek Cypriots. Thirty-six children whose parents are with the Greek Civil Service attend the school free and 16 children are on a half-fee scholarship basis.

In 1981-82 four large school buses transferred the children from their homes to the School and vice versa.

Interestingly, the Greek Community of London had established a Hellenic College in Bayswater in 1870. It lasted for 14 years. It seems that about a century after that establishment, the Greeks of

London still feel the need to transfer the Greek culture to their children taught in a Hellenic College.⁽⁵⁴⁾

This institution is a good example of a full-time school which emphasises two important aspects:

- (i) To teach children their mother-tongue and culture and
- (ii) At the same time to prepare children to live in Britain and be equal to their peers of the dominant group as far as the English language and educational opportunities are concerned.

It is assumed that this school which provides this kind of full-time education will serve as an experimental institution; it will show whether it is possible for such a school to survive in Britain.

Concluding this chapter, it could be argued that on the basis of wide impressionistic evidence the Greek Supplementary schools have improved very much since the 1960s, and particularly in the years since 1977. Thus, they have increased:

- (i) Both the numbers of Greek schools and their pupils.
- (ii) The frequency of working of the Greek schools and
- (iii) The number of years that the children attend these schools.

The supplementary schools have developed the capacity to provide an organisationally sound and systematic education for Greek children in Greek culture, despite the ideological and administrative divisions described earlier in this chapter.

The organisational structure of schools provides the framework in which the aspirations of the Greek community can be fulfilled. These aspirations are to transmit a Greek culture to Greek children in Britain. This culture is transmitted through the content of education - the curriculum of the supplementary schools - which will be examined in the next chapter.

Notes and References

- (1) Christodoulides, A.,
Ekthesis epi tou provlematos tis en Vrettania Hellenikis
Pareikias, op.cit. p. 28
- (2) Ibid. p. 29
- (3) Ibid. p. 30
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Kentrikon Ekpaedeftikon Symvoulion,
'Statistiki' (Statistics, by the Central Educational
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- (7) Interview by the writer with Bishop Gregorios, in March 1982.
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Britain.
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Chapter VTHE CURRICULUM OF GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The Greek Supplementary schools have curricula which provide a full and systematic introduction to Greek culture. They focus on teaching the Greek language. But they also provide teaching in Greek and Greek Cypriot literature, history, geography, music, dance, traditional festivals and the Greek Orthodox religion. They give a teaching which is not found in English state schools.

But the Greek supplementary schools curricula are provided for Greek children living in Britain, who attend English state schools. So analysis of the curricula of the supplementary schools should, to some extent, be made in terms of what is regarded as good curriculum practice in full-time state schools.

The school curriculum is at the heart of education.⁽¹⁾

What is taught in a school and the way it is taught are both important aspects of a curriculum. The first concerns the content and the second the approach and methods of teaching. Both aspects are important for the achievement of the aims and objectives of the curriculum and merit specific attention.

It is evident, however, that under the circumstances of the functioning of the Greek evening or supplementary schools in Britain, the formulation, adoption and implementation of a balanced and adequate curriculum is difficult. The first step in working towards a satisfactory curriculum in these schools is a recognition that these schools are voluntary and the pupils coming to them have usually a poor knowledge of the Greek language. Another important aspect is that the control of these schools does not belong to one authority.

After recognising these facts and the other circumstances under which the Greek supplementary schools function it is clear why

the existing curricula are rather inappropriate.

Before proceeding it is worth citing here some of the circumstances which are considered as having a negative effect on the work of the Greek Supplementary schools:

(i) The time when these schools function is mostly in the evening and is inconvenient to many parents and children. The only exception is Saturdays, when there is the possibility that some Greek schools work during the day.

During the evenings, the psychological and physical situation of children, who are expected to come to the Greek classes and try to concentrate and learn, is not very helpful. It is natural that after their daily work in the English schools the children feel tired and rather unwilling to attend any more lessons in the evening.

(ii) The location of the Greek schools. Sometimes access to such institutions means considerable travel by the children and their working parents. This has obviously negative consequences on the work of these schools.

(iii) The premises in which the Greek schools operate in most cases are the buildings of state schools. In general these buildings offer a strange environment for the teaching of Greek language and culture. The items, for instance, which are displayed throughout are related to the work of the English school and they have no relation to the work which is done in the Greek classes.

(iv) Use of audio-visual aids. It is widely accepted that the use of audio-visual aids is necessary for effective teaching. In the case of the Greek schools, however, the use of any audio-visual aids becomes problematic. This is for two reasons in particular, the lack of any storage space to keep them after their use. There are a few cases where the Greek school is allowed to have a cupboard, somewhere in the building in which to keep the audio-visual aids.

(v) The attitudes of caretakers, teachers and headteachers, which in many cases are not positive towards the use of their premises by other people.⁽²⁾

(vi) Last but not least, the teachers should be considered. A considerable number of them, as will be described later, are unqualified. Thus, no matter how well the curriculum is planned it is not successfully implemented by the teachers. A successful implementation of the curriculum cannot be expected from unqualified teachers.

A. Aims and Content

After these references to the various aspects which affect the curriculum, an endeavour will be made to describe the curricula which are used in the Greek Supplementary schools. The description will be rather general since there is no uniformity between schools. There are two kinds of curricula used in the Greek Supplementary schools. One originates from state schools in Greece and the other from schools in Cyprus.

Teachers working in the schools which are under the control of the church get the central guidelines of their work from a curriculum prepared by experienced teachers in Greece. This curriculum is introduced by the educational adviser who is responsible for the Greek schools in Western Europe. This curriculum is assumed to be appropriate for all Greek schools which function in various countries of Western Europe. Some tens of thousand Greek children are living with their parents in these countries some on a temporary and others on a permanent basis.⁽³⁾ This curriculum makes little concession to the particular circumstances of Greek children in Britain.

Teachers working in independent schools or schools which are under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A. use the guidelines for their work

from the curriculum prepared by the educational adviser and the members of the Greek Cypriot educational delegation, which comes under the auspices of the Cyprus High Commission in London.⁽⁴⁾

1. The Aims of the Curriculum

In examining a curriculum the first three of its four ingredients should be considered, i.e. the aims, the content, and the methods.

Evaluation, although it comprises part of the curriculum, will not be discussed here, because as will be explained in this chapter there is not only one kind of prescribed curriculum for the Greek Supplementary schools. Besides even in the cases where there is a kind of prescribed curriculum it is not followed in practice by all the teachers. It is believed that under these circumstances evaluation of the curriculum is rather impossible. The main aim of all Greek schools is to teach the children their mother-tongue and culture. The two kinds of curriculum mentioned before are quite similar as far as the first ingredient of the curriculum is concerned. It was noted in Chapter IV that an aim which is very much emphasised in the curriculum originating in Greece and not included in the aims of the Greek Cypriot Curriculum is that the Greek language and the other subjects of the curriculum should be taught to such level as to enable children of Greek origin to adjust themselves to the education system of Greece in cases where they return there. This aim is stressed in the curriculum coming from Greece because this curriculum is proposed for all Greek schools in Western European countries where, in many cases as previously stated, thousands of Greek workers are living on a purely temporary basis and intend to return to Greece after a certain period of time.⁽⁵⁾

2. The Content

A simple approach to the content of the curriculum is to make a brief summary of its most significant components. The content

of the Greek curriculum is characterised by greater detail. Each of its subjects contains many headings and sub-headings.⁽⁶⁾

The fundamental components of the content of both curricula are:

- The Greek Language
- Religious Education
- Greek History
- Greek Geography
- Greek Culture

Usually in a working period of two hours the time allocated to the various subjects is as follows:

- (i) 60 minutes for the teaching of Greek language.
- (ii) 10 minutes for play-time .
- (iii) 30 minutes for History, Geography or Religious Education .
- (iv) 20 minutes for Music and Dancing .

A. Greek Language. Greek language is generally accepted as an essential subject in the curriculum of every Greek school. Thus half at least of the working time in every school is allocated to Greek language.

The Greek mother-tongue is of vital importance in the development of Greek children as individuals and as members of society. It is also the principal means of communication between the children and their parents and relatives in Cyprus or Greece.

The teaching of the Greek language is concerned with the essential skills of speech, reading and writing. The achievement of these objectives is pursued through listening, oral exercise of the language, Greek grammar, analysis of sentences, classification of words, some syntactical exercises, paraphrasing, spelling, essays, drama and recitation.

Owing to the fact that the majority of teachers in Greek supplementary schools give priority to the skills of reading and writing, the focus of attention has recently been directed towards speech,

a skill which has been neglected hitherto. It is widely believed that the teaching of the Greek language as a whole has been adversely affected because of the neglect of oral exercises in the language.

(i) Listening and Speech. Qualified teachers (especially Greek Cypriots) believe that these two skills are closely interrelated. In order to develop the skill of listening children must be given the opportunity of listening to good speech. Listening to good speech will contribute to good speech on the part of the children. These objectives can essentially be achieved through the actual good speech of teachers and through suitable tapes.

These teachers believe that great emphasis should be given to the development of the skills of listening and speech in the early school age stages. Such development is assumed to provide the foundation on which the future development of the child in the reading and writing of the language will be built.⁽⁷⁾

The usual process for the further development of the speech of children is to give them the opportunity to speak about something that they know quite well. This can be either from their experiences or from what the teacher teaches them. According always to the age and interests of the children, opportunities for speech can be taken from a wide range of topics. These include the reporting of news by children, description of facts from their personal or family life, description of pictures, the telling of stories and Greek myths. It also includes recitation, drama and singing. The children should be encouraged to ask questions and re-tell in their own words the stories which they have been told or have read.

In later stages the development of the skills of listening and speech will be pursued through the teaching of selected topics from Greek and Greek Cypriot History and the Greek traditions. In fact all the subjects of the curriculum should have speech as a fun-

damental part of their approach.

(ii) Reading. Reading takes up a considerable part of the work in Greek Supplementary schools, particularly in the cases where the teachers are unqualified. In the majority of such cases the text-book becomes the guide of the whole school-work. The traditional method of reading aloud by the teacher followed by the reading aloud by the whole class together, is commonly in use. This traditional method, however, benefits the child in some way. The child who has not yet acquired the skill of reading, gains confidence in pronouncing the Greek language by participating in class-reading.⁽⁸⁾

The introduction of children to the first reading of the Greek language is usually approached by the whole sentence, method in the case of qualified teachers who have learned this approach. The majority of teachers in the Greek Supplementary schools however, use the phonetic method in their approach to the first reading of the language. A combination of the two methods is the most suitable when the children are learning the letters of the Greek alphabet and when they are building up new words.

The pupils who acquire the mechanism of reading can proceed to the reading of more difficult passages in the Greek language. Reading material. The Greek Ministry of Education and Religion provides a number of text-books that cover the needs of all Supplementary schools in Britain. Some other kinds of texts are produced and sent to Britain by the Cypriot Ministry of Education. Another source, which provides the schools with reading material is the Greek Cypriot Educational Delegation, which is seconded to the Cyprus High Commission. The reading material produced by this group of teachers is regarded as being the most suitable for the needs of the Greek children in U.K. The material is based on the needs, interests and abilities of the children in Britain while the texts

coming from Greece and Cyprus are designed for the children living in those two countries.

At present the reading material which has been produced by the group of Cypriot teachers is distributed to the schools in the form of duplicated sheets. This material is used in all OESEKA schools and in a number of Church schools. The Cypriot Ministry of Education, has started the publication of this material in book form. Thus the books for the first year of the Greek schools in Britain were published and used during the school year 1982-83.⁽⁹⁾

(iii) Writing. Closely related to the skill of reading is the skill of writing. Writing starts along with reading. The early stages of copying sentences, words and letters gradually give place to more difficult written exercises, e.g. answers to questions on the meaning of chapters, completion of sentences with missing words, completion of words with missing letters, comprehensions etc. Written work is also done in Grammar and in all the other subjects of the curriculum e.g. History, Geography etc.

The type and level of the reading material and the exercises for writing that the teacher offers to children depend on several educational aspects.

The age of a child, for instance, and his ability to use and understand the Greek language should determine what the teacher gives to each child for reading and writing.

In the classes of G.C.E. in Modern Greek, 'A.L.', the children are provided with books of Greek literature which are prescribed by the school examination boards of the universities of London and Oxford. In these classes the children do more advanced work which presupposes a good understanding of the Greek language. The children who are accepted in such classes are chosen from those who pass the examinations of G.C.E. 'O.L.' in Modern Greek. These are

usually pupils of above average ability.

(iv) Grammar. Grammar is another important subject in the curriculum of the Greek Supplementary schools. The curriculum of the Ministry of Education of Greece in particular which is proposed for the schools under the control of the church includes more topics and more details about Grammar than the Greek Cypriot one. The main topics of Grammar which are covered in the curriculum of Greek Supplementary schools are the following:

Sentence. The meaning of sentence, formation of simple sentences with verb and subject. Use of capital letters at the beginning of sentences and full-stops at the end of sentences. The use of question marks and exclamation marks at the end of sentences.

Accentuation. Understanding of the accentuated syllable and the suitable accent which must be placed on it.

The 24 letters of the Greek alphabet. Vowels and consonants, etc.

Analysis of sentences, into words, syllables and letters. Names of syllables.

Exercises for recognition and use of the parts of speech e.g. Articles, pronouns, nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions. (10)

It is widely accepted that the actual curriculum, is always very different from that which is officially proposed. This also applies to the subject of Grammar. What is actually taught in Grammar depends on many things e.g. the teacher, the guidelines given by the headteacher of the school, the ability of children to understand the language and absorb the topics of Grammar.

A general suggestion about Grammar is that it should not be taught through rules but through appropriate exercises. For this purpose there is a wide range of exercises on each grammatical topic. These exercises have different degrees of difficulty.

A. Language innovation

Before the description of a very recent language innovation, reference will be made to the language question in Greece. The language question was raised at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century by linguists such as G. Psycharis and M. Triantaphyllides. Since then it was remained an issue of controversy among politicians and educators.⁽¹¹⁾ The problem is related to the phenomenon of 'diglossia', which means that there are two forms of the Greek language - the pure form 'Katharevousa' and the popular 'Demotike',⁽¹²⁾

On the educational battle-ground the contemporary adherents of 'Katharevousa' emphasise the expressive superiority of this form of Greek language, to express abstract conceptions and delicate meanings;⁽¹³⁾ they also claim that 'Katharevousa's close structural relationship with ancient Greek could (i) facilitate the study of classical texts and the Holy Writ (ii) demonstrate the cultural continuity of the Greek nation and thus (iii) serve as an elevating force in restoring the nation into a position equivalent to its glorious past.⁽¹⁴⁾

On the other hand the advocates of 'Demotike' reject the arguments against it and claim that this form of language derives from the common language of the Hellenistic and Christian times and thus represents the organic continuity of older forms of Greek, such as the ancient 'Attike', the language of Greek classical writers.⁽¹⁵⁾

'Katharevousa' has been considered as the language of the ruling class, the Church hierarchy and the educated Greeks, while 'Demotike' has been considered as the language of the masses and illiterate Greeks. 'Katharevousa' became by law the official language of Greece in the 1911 Constitution. It remained as such

until 1964, when the liberal government of G. Papandreou established by Legislative Decree the 'Demotike' as the official language of Greece. (16)

An innovation which has been introduced in the schools of mainland Greece by the Government of President Andreas Papandreou (son of G. Papandreou), since May 1982, is the abolition of the various kinds of accents. It has been advocated that these accents cause confusion to the learning of the Greek language and they do not contribute anything of value to the language. As a result of this innovation the only concern with accentuation is now the understanding of the accentuated syllable and the placing of a point on it. This new system of accentuation is called 'monotonikon' a Greek word meaning one accent. This innovation was introduced in the education system in Cyprus and in the supplementary Greek schools in Britain in the school year 1982-83.

It should be emphasised here that traditional approaches to teaching - the phonetic approach to learning reading, lack of encouragement of children's speech, emphasis on formal grammar - may be discouraging for pupils in an English environment. It should be noted, however, that these approaches to some extent have been associated with unqualified teachers. Attempts are being made to modify teaching methods.

B. Religious Education

Religion is regarded to be one of the most significant integral components of national identity and culture. Among the most important Greek cultural activities and customs are those related to the Greek Orthodox religion.

In the case of the Greek Cypriot curriculum for the Greek supplementary schools, there is no prescribed content for the subject of Religious Education. There are guidelines only, adopted by the

Greek Cypriot educational group during its various educational meetings in the Cyprus High Commission. These guidelines suggest that the teachers should approach the subject of Religious Education in such a way as to make the children love the Greek Orthodox religion and Church, and make them respect the priests, the icons etc.

It has been agreed that the lessons of Religious Education should refer mainly to the various occasional holidays as they appear on the calendar and are celebrated by the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek community in Britain. Such topics in chronological order of the Greek Orthodox calendar are as follows:

- The life and miracles of St. Demetrios.
- The introduction of the Virgin Mary to Church.
- The life and miracles of the Apostle Andreas. His visits to Cyprus and Greece.
- Christmas. The birth and childhood of Jesus Christ. Customs on the occasion of Christmas.
- St. Basil (Father Christmas). Traditional stories and customs related to this Saint.
- Easter. The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ. Traditions and customs related to Easter.
- Other occasional holidays e.g. St. Constantinos and St. Helen. Apostle Barnabas, the founder of Christianity in Cyprus etc.
- Prayers. Religious songs and sketches.

The guidelines of this curriculum are introduced to the various Greek supplementary schools through the members of the Greek Cypriot Educational delegation. Members of this delegation work in all schools which are under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A. and in all independent schools. Four of them work also in three big schools which are under the Church control.

In the case of the curriculum of Greece which is proposed for the Church schools there is more detail as to the content of the subject of Religious Education. The most important topics are the following:

- The Creation of the World.
- The Patriarchs.
- Joseph.
- Exodus, Jesus of Navi.
- The Judges and the Kings.
- The prophets.
- Aspects of the life of the Virgin Mary.

Aspects of the life of Jesus Christ e.g.

- Miracles of Jesus Christ.
- The teaching of Jesus Christ.
- The Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord etc.

The Spread of Christianity.

The schism in the Church.

Religious innovation in the West.

The Church

- Parts of the church.
- Architectural styles of churches etc.

Catechism

- General views of World Religions.
- Introduction to Orthodox Christianity.
- The Ten Rules of the Old Testament.
- The Symbol of the Greek Orthodox Belief, etc.

Liturgiology

- The christian Worship.
- Place and ways of Worship, etc. (17)

Religious education is part of the curriculum in both church and independent schools. In the church schools, however, religious education is central alongside language and is seen to be the Key element of Greek culture.⁽¹⁸⁾ Part of the instruction of religious education in the church schools takes place in a church. It is believed that the independent schools are mainly concerned to point out the most important events in the church calendar.

The place of Religious Education in the curriculum is related to a widely shared view that the subject has a distinctive contribution to make to a child's identity and understanding of his culture. It provides also an introduction to the Christian tradition which has profoundly affected Greek culture. Religious Education should form part of the curriculum's concern with personal and social values. It can also help in the understanding of the religious and cultural diversity of contemporary society.⁽¹⁹⁾

C. History

History is regarded as a subject that could play a significant role in the formation of national identity and culture. Here again a distinction between the Greek and the Greek Cypriot curriculum should be made. History in the Greek curriculum is prescribed in detailed syllabuses and refers entirely to the history of Greece. In the case of the Greek Cypriot curriculum there are no written syllabuses. However, the lessons of history in the Greek Supplementary schools which are under the control of O.E.S.E.K.A. deal with the history of both Greece and Cyprus. This is because the history of the two countries is closely linked in many aspects.

a. History in the Greek Cypriot Curriculum

As far as the Greek Cypriot curriculum is concerned, the topics and the ways of approaching the subject of history are discussed and decided during the various educational meetings of the

Greek Cypriot educational group, in the Cyprus High Commission. The decisions of those meetings were that history could be approached in various ways.

(i) One way suggests that history could be approached by focussing on occasional national holidays. These holidays could be used as centres of interest on which projects of history could be based. Such a national holiday is the 28th of October, otherwise called 'Ochi Day'.⁽²⁰⁾ This is the day when in 1940 the Greek Prime Minister, Metaxas, replied 'No', to the ultimatum of Mussolini, which demanded that Greece should surrender to the fascists.

Another national holiday, which the Greeks celebrate, wherever they are, is the 25th of March. This is the anniversary of the start of the Greek Revolution in 1821. The revolution was against the Ottoman Empire, and both the Greeks and the Greek Cypriots participated in that revolution, because both Greece and Cyprus were under Turkish occupation. The Turks occupied Greece from 1453 until 1821 and Cyprus from 1570 until 1878 when the island was ceded to Britain.⁽²¹⁾

The 20th of July constitutes another date which could be the subject of a history lesson in the Greek Supplementary schools. This is the day in 1974, when Turkey invaded Cyprus and sliced off 40% of its territory.

(ii) A second approach to the subject of history is to teach it through lessons related to significant events and the life of great men and women in Greek and Greek Cypriot history, and the lessons to be learned therefrom. Such topics could be, Evagoras the King of Salamis (410 B.C.), the Greek Cypriot Revolution 1955-59, etc.

(iii) A third way is to approach history chronologically, through a selection of topics from ancient times, the Middle Ages and more recent times.

From Ancient Times

The island's prehistory goes as far back as the beginning of the 6th millenium B.C. Early in the 2nd millennium B.C. the Achaean-Greeks established city-Kingdoms in the island and introduced the Greek language, the Greek religion and the Greek way of life. (22)

Religion in Cyprus in Ancient Times was of paramount importance. For example the worship and festivals of Aphrodite at Paphos, were the centre of the national, religious and cultural life of the island. (23)

The Ten Kingdoms of Cyprus. The Kingdom of Salamis and its King Evagoras (410 G.C.). The progress of Education, Architecture, Sculpture, Commerce etc.

From the Middle Ages, e.g.

The Romans in Cyprus.

The Byzantine rule in Cyprus, etc.

From the Modern Times, e.g.

The Turks in Cyprus. The British administration. The proclamation of Cyprus to an independent democracy, etc.

In this approach to history there is flexibility and freedom for the teachers to adopt the method which suits them better and to choose the topics they believe are more relevant to their subject of history. In the case of the unqualified teachers, their main guide tends to be the history text books from which they choose Chapters to teach. It should be noted here again that both the topic and its degree of difficulty depend on the age and the level of the class. Very interesting and popular topics, in the first two classes of the Greek Supplementary schools are topics from the Greek Mythology, e.g.

(i) Heroes from the Greek mythology such as Theseas, Hercules, Jason etc.

(ii) From the ancient Gods of Olympus such as Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, etc.

(iii) Selected stories from the Trojan War etc. (24)

b. History in the Greek curriculum

It was suggested that the subject of history in the Greek curriculum is very detailed. It is also well organised.

The subject is introduced by suggestions to the teachers asserting that they have not only the responsibility of teaching Greek history but they should also teach the history of Europe and the history of the country where the Greek school is established. In this notion, subjects in the Greek history which are not very important they should be omitted. (25)

Further than this, the introducing notes advise the teachers not to spend their time in insignificant historical details like the memorisation of unimportant names of persons and places or dates. Teachers should also use the relevant maps, pictures, films etc. to illustrate their lessons in history. Discussion of the various historical events between the teacher and the pupils should be an integral part of the lesson. Finally the pupils should be given the opportunity to do some written work on history either in the school or at home. (26)

The various lists of topics for History begin in class III. This is because in neither Greece nor Cyprus are the children introduced to history earlier than this class. The most representative topics which are prescribed for the classes III, IV, V and VI are as follows:

Class III

The 12 Gods of Olympus.

The myth about Prometheus.

Traditional mythological stories about the head of Greek race.

Class III (Cont.)

Hercules and his labours, etc.

Theseas, his journey to Athens, Theseas's labours.

The extermination of Minotaur, etc.

The Argonautical expedition, etc.

The Trojan War, The sacrifice of Ifigenia. The blockade of Troy etc.

Odysseus and his wanderings about, etc.⁽²⁷⁾

It is evident that the topics for the lessons of history, which are proposed for Class III in the Greek Supplementary schools are based on the Greek Mythology. Such topics fascinate the children and prepare them to understand the real historical topics in later stages.

Class IVThe first Greeks

The Aegeans and their civilization, etc.

The Myceanean civilization, etc.

The Trojan war etc. The poems of Homer Iliada and Odyssey.

The Greek Cities

Sparta and the organisation of its State.

Its laws and the upbringing of children.

Athens. The organisation of the Athenian State.

Solon and his laws, etc.

Cleisthenes, the founder of the Athenian democracy, etc.

The Unity of the Greeks

National and spiritual bonds, common language, common religion, common name, amphicteoneae, oracles, panchellenic religions celebrations and athletic games, etc.

The Persian Wars

The Marathon battle, Meltiades.

The Thermopylae battle, Leonidas.

The Persian Wars (Cont.)

The destroy of Athens by Xerxis.

The naval battle of Salamis, Themistocles and Aristides. Kimon and the liberation of Greek cities in Asia Minor, etc.

The progress of Greece after the Persian Wars

Pericles and the organisation of the Athenian democracy. Organisation of the Athenian society, the form of government etc.

'The Golden Age of Pericles.' The Acropolis of Athens. The progress in fine arts, architecture, sculpture, painting etc.

Conflicts between the Greek Cities

The Peloponnesian War. The most important events of that war and its results.

The rule of Sparta, Ayesilaos, etc.

Macedonian Rule

King Philippos and his policy.

Alexander the Great. The union of Greeks and their expedition to Asia, etc. Their expeditions to Egypt and India. The death of Alexander the Great. The work of Alexander the Great and its civilizing significance.

The successors of Alexander the Great. The hellenistic years etc.

The history of the host country in general lines. (28)

Class VRoman and Byzantine history

The Roman Empire and the Greeks. The foundations and the beginning of the great progress of the Roman Empire.

The civil wars of the Greeks. The expansionist wars of the Romans and the conquest of the hellenistic East. Greek influence on the Romans. Europe during the years of the Roman Empire.

Class V (Cont.)Transition of the Roman Empire to Byzantium

Constantine the Great, his work and his successors.

Theodosios the Great and his successors.

Joustinianos and his work.

Heracleios and the most significant events of his Empire.

The dynasty of Isaurs.

The Macedonian Dynasty and its wars against the Arabs.

The West. The new national States in Europe.

The crusades and their results.

Byzantium and the most important Greek States.

Ottoman Turks and the conquest of Constantinople.

The vigour of the Byzantine Culture and its civilizing role.

The situation in Europe after the fall of Byzantium.

Explorations and discoveries of new countries.

The Enlightenment in Europe. (29)Class VITurkish occupation of Greece, etc.

Greek communities in Greece and abroad.

The preparations for the liberation of Greece.

The intellectual strength of Hellenism. Secret schools etc.

The various revolutionary movements for the liberation of Greece etc.

The Peloponnesian revolution and the liberation of part of it.

Theodoros Kolokotronis etc.

The revolution in the other parts of Greece.

The naval battles of Greeks against the Turks. Andreas Miaoulis etc.

The exit of Mesolongi etc.

 (30)

Class VI (Cont.)

Phillelenism in Europe. Lord Byron etc.

The national assemblies of the Greeks.

The conclusions from their struggle for liberty.

The free Greek state.

John Kapodestrias etc.

The union of Eptanesos with Greece.

The revolution in Crete, etc.

The Macedonian struggles. Pavlos Melas etc.

The liberation of Macedonia, Epeiros and the Greek islands,
(1912-1913).

Greece and the first World War.

The expedition to Asia Minor etc.

The events of 1940 in Greece.

The resistance of the Greek nation against the foreign conquerors
the Italians and the Germans.

The liberation of Greece from the German-Italian axe.

The sufferings of the Greek nation during the period 1944-49.

The value of national union for the safety of the mother-country. (31)

The Greek History curriculum is more formalised than that of the Cyprus delegation and reflects syllabuses of Greece. It makes few concessions to the position of children in Britain. The Cypriot curriculum allows more choice for teachers to react to the needs of children in Britain.

D. Geography

Geography is another important subject in the curriculum of the Greek Supplementary schools.

a. Objectives. One of the basic objectives of the subject of Geography is to motivate children to watch, record and compare.

Another objective is to train the children to seek for

their parents for information about their place of origin in Cyprus and to report such information in the class, (ii) to speak in the class about their experiences and visits to Cyprus, (iii) to ask and get information about Cypriot products which are imported to Britain. Most of them are used by Cypriots in their everyday life, particularly by Cypriot families living in London, (iv) to know about the climate of Cyprus and make an endeavour to compare this climate with the climate in Britain, (v) to draw the map of Cyprus and mark on it the towns, the villages of their parents' origin, the two main mountain ranges, the plains and the harbours of the island. On another map of Cyprus they place sources of the products etc. The children are always helped by the teacher to carry out all these activities.

Depending on the age and ability of children the following aspects are included in the subject of Geography, particularly in the top classes: The Turkish occupied area of North Cyprus. The natural resources of the island. The industrial activities with particular reference to the tourist industry, the agricultural production and the general economic development of the island.

Some elements from the Geography of Greece are also introduced to the children of the top classes, such as the map of Greece, its capital and main towns, its main rivers and mountains. The intense Mediterranean climate, land and crops. The diversity of topography and the wide range of climatic conditions permit the diversification of crop production, etc.

Geography in the Greek curriculum

In the Greek curriculum which is prescribed for the Greek schools in Western European countries and Germany in particular, the syllabuses for the lesson of Geography start from class III. In this class, however, the focus of interest is mainly the area of the host country where the children are living. The aspects which refer to

the Geography of Greece include:

(i) The map of Europe. Tracing of Greece and the host country.

The examination of the route of the journey followed from Greece to the host country.

(ii) The map of Greece. The children should be encouraged to find the biggest towns of Greece and the place of origin of each child. (34)

Class IV

The curriculum in Class IV includes the following:

(i) Revision of the content of the subject of Geography for class III.

(ii) The position of Greece on the globe and its frontiers with other countries.

(iii) Mainland Greece and the Greek islands.

(iv) Topography of Greece.

(v) Historic and cultural review of Greece.

(vi) Economic development of Greece with particular reference to navigation and tourism.

(vii) Examination of the various geographical areas of Greece in general lines.

(viii) Brief examination of Greece in the form of travelling descriptions of its main parts. (35)

Class V

Examination of Greece by region.

(i) Macedonia - Thraki

(ii) Epeiros and the Ionian Islands

(iii) Thessalia

(iv) Sterea Hellas

(v) Peloponnesos

(vi) The Aegean Sea and its islands

(vii) Crete

(viii) General review in the form of travelling descriptions of

the main parts of Greece. (36)

Class VI

- Greece and the host country of each child.
- The rest of the world (the other continents), in relation to Greece and hellenism.
 - (i) Mediterranean Sea, the crossroads of three continents.
 - (ii) Europe.
 - (iii) Asia
 - (iv) Africa
 - (v) America
 - (vi) Oceania. (37)

As with History, Language and Religion, in the Greek curriculum the formal syllabuses of Greece are followed by the K.E.S. schools while the Cypriot syllabuses focus on Cyprus and do not expect as detailed or formal knowledge of the country of origin. It takes more account of the situation of the children in Britain.

E. Greek Culture

Besides the teaching of the Greek language and the other subjects of the curriculum of the Greek supplementary schools which they have been described, another significant subject of the curriculum of these schools is the teaching of Greek culture and traditions. This is pursued through the teaching of Greek dancing and Greek music in addition to the teaching of selected topics from the Greek history, Greek tradition etc. Greek dancing and Greek music in particular serve another purpose. They both entertain the children and increase their motivation for participating in the Greek supplementary schools and the country of their parents' origin.

a. Greek dancing

The teaching of Greek dancing includes traditional Greek and Greek Cypriot dances, usually taught by professional teachers of

dancing or teachers having some specialisation in such dancing. Almost every child in the Greek supplementary schools shows great interest in Greek dancing and enjoys participating in this.

b. Greek Music

During this lesson various traditional Greek or Greek Cypriot songs are taught. In addition to them some representative modern songs from both those countries are taught.

c. Recitation and drama

During this lesson the children are taught how to recite properly poems written by Greek and Greek Cypriot poets. They are also taught how to perform various plays written in Greece and Cyprus. These plays refer to various characteristic scenes of Greek life and tradition and they amuse the children very much.

These activities are usually the same in KES and OESEKA schools. It is believed that in recent years, after 1974, all Greek schools give priority to the teaching of plays and poems which are related to Cyprus. They do it in order to express their support and understanding of its national problem.

Recitation and drama are given considerable emphasis in schools both in Greece and Cyprus, because besides their educational value, these lessons contribute a lot to the programmes of concerts, which the schools prepare and invite the parents and other guests to attend them. Such concerts are organised 3-5 times yearly on average in the schools of Greece, Cyprus and the supplementary schools in Britain as well.

It may be assumed that all qualified teachers from Greece and Cyprus have reasonable skills in these activities, because both recitation and drama constitute part of the curriculum of the pedagogical Academies in the two countries. From personal observation

it can also be noted that some of the part-time unqualified teachers have very good skills in these activities.

d. Organisation of cultural activities

The Greek supplementary schools give great emphasis to the organisation of concerts consisting of cultural activities. This is because it is believed that it is through these activities that children will live the culture and tradition of their parents and understand better some of the values of Greek civilisation.

In addition to their civilising content these concerts give the opportunity to many members of the community to meet either by getting involved in these concerts or by attending them. This kind of involvement or mixing of people with the same origin, reinforces their feeling of belonging to a group of people with common cultural characteristics and identity.⁽³⁸⁾

This account of the curriculum suggests that, while the subjects and timetables of all Greek supplementary schools in Britain are broadly similar, there is a divergence between the KES Church schools which tend to follow a more formal curriculum reflecting conditions in Greece and the OESEKA and independent schools which have curricula which are more responsive to the conditions of the pupils in Britain. The latter curriculum is more dependent on high quality teachers and their effective initiatives. But it is more related to the conditions the children face. However this distinction is based on formal and prescribed curriculum practice rather than on what happens in practice.

The Greek supplementary schools' curriculum in practice is at a distance from the defined subjects and topics of the prescribed curriculum. One reason is that the curriculum of these schools is gradually and constantly being changed in its content, emphasis, scope and interpretation. The continuous development in educational

thought and practice make the issue of a substantial revision of the curriculum, always necessary. In these terms, at the beginning of the school year 1981-82, the Cypriot Ministry of Education asked the 25 teachers who constitute the Greek Cypriot educational delegation in Britain to revise the curriculum of the Greek supplementary schools. This group of teachers is regarded to be the most appropriate to make such a revision because all its members have an experience range in these schools of two to seven years. The task which is being pursued by this group is expected to be completed by the end of the school year 1981-82.⁽³⁹⁾

It is realised today how much the world, in which the modern child is growing up, has changed. The general standard of life has improved, and life itself is being lived at a faster rate. More than this, opportunities for the enrichment of experience make it necessary for those engaged in education to review their task afresh. Here could be added that the people of the world today are nearer to each other and their lives more closely linked together than ever before.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Relative to this is the fact that people with Greek Cypriot origin or Greek origin, visit Cyprus or Greece, more often today than before. For these reasons the curriculum is constantly being revised and thus the operational curriculum is never the same with the one which was prescribed some years ago.

Another reason for which the operational curriculum varies from that which is prescribed is the following. When you analyse in the light of experience the central task of the curriculum, you find that its successful accomplishment depends on a delicate adjustment of many variable factors. The reason is that we are dealing with human minds, and not with dead matter.⁽⁴¹⁾

In this sense, although the curriculum proposed for the Greek supplementary schools could be regarded as fundamentally the same in all these schools, it should not be taken crudely as meaning

that the names of subjects, which might appear in the schools' timetable represent the operational curriculum. The curriculum differs from school to school in terms of the directive given to headteachers by the administrators, the guide given to teachers by their headteachers, the emphasis given to different aspects of the curriculum and especially the ways of teaching.⁽⁴²⁾

A further reason for which the curriculum differs from school to school is related to the quality of teachers who teach in each case. Their education, their experience, their enthusiasm, their belief in the work they are doing all are of major importance and play their role in the way the teachers interpret the curriculum and implement it.

What schools teach and achieve is largely a measure of the dedication and competence of the headteacher and the whole staff and of the interest and support of the parents.⁽⁴³⁾

As far as the content of the two curricula is concerned the following clarification should be made: The reason for which the Greek curriculum contains more subjects and is more detailed than that with Greek Cypriot origin is because, as it was cited earlier in this chapter, the Greek curriculum is advocated for all Greek schools in Western European countries, e.g. West Germany, Sweden, Holland etc. In those countries the Greek schools have much more time allocated to them, than the Greek schools in Britain. This is because in addition to the aims described in the previous chapter they have another significant one, which the Greek schools in Britain usually have not. This additional aim of the Greek schools in Western European countries is to prepare the Greek children in such a way and to such degree as to enable them to adjust themselves easily to the Greek Education system when they return to Greece.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This is owing to the fact, which was previously explained, that there are many

thousand of Greeks living in Western European countries on a temporary basis and they return to Greece after their work-permits expire.

Owing to the fact that the time available for Greek Supplementary schools in Britain is limited, the amount of topics which is possible to be taught from each subject of the curriculum, is comparatively limited. Each teacher has to judge what should best respond to children's interests and capabilities in each case. Thus the operational curriculum in individual schools is shaped by the headteacher and particularly by each teacher. It could be stated here, that out of observation, experience and relevant discussions with the administrative staff and the teachers of the various Greek schools, in no one case the curriculum they follow is identical with the prescribed one. Further than that the majority of teachers, the unqualified in particular have never seen or read any curriculum for the Greek supplementary schools. In the most cases the basis of the teaching of the unqualified teachers is the text book. As far as their methods are concerned they are rather traditional. They consist basically of reading aloud from the text book by both the teacher and the pupils, some writing related to the reading material, some spelling and lot of copying.

It has been repeatedly stressed during the weekly educational meetings of the group of the Greek Cypriot teachers that it is crucial for the achievement of good results in the work of Greek schools, to emphasise the oral exercise in the Greek language. It is evident that the relative neglect of this aspect of the language has led to the phenomenon of finding children who can read Greek material quite satisfactorily but often they do not understand what they read. Another consequence of the neglect of the oral exercise of the language is that many pupils of Greek schools have difficulty in expressing their thoughts or describing their experiences in Greek orally and in writing, although they read Greek quite well. Closely

related to this neglect is the rather poor Greek vocabulary of the pupils of Greek schools. This is owed to the fact that these children have not a good opportunity to speak Greek, so as to improve and enrich their vocabulary, either in their Greek classes or at their homes.

Concluding it would be emphasised that the school curriculum represents for teachers an opportunity for conscious choice about what they teach and for pupils it represents what society is perceived as valuing as important.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The content and level of the various subjects of the curriculum depend on the age, interest and capacity of children. In the last analysis, however, the successful application of the curriculum is a serious task depending on the teachers.

The capacity of the schools to follow curricula which are effective and relevant to the needs of children and the Greek community in Britain depends ultimately on the skills of the teachers.

The next chapter analyses the character of the teachers in the Greek supplementary schools.

Notes and References

- (1) D.E.S., The School Curriculum, London, H.M.S.O. 1981, p. 1
- (2) These views are the outcome of the personal experience of the writer and her colleagues in the Greek Supplementary schools in London.
- (3) Helleniki Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonni, Analytikon Programma yia ta Hellenika Sholeia; yia ta Hellenopoulla stis hores tis Thytikis Evropis. (Curriculum for the Greek schools, for the Greek children in Western European Countries) Bonn 1980, p. 2
- (4) The writer was a member of this educational delegation; she was also the leader of a group of Greek Cypriot teachers working for the completion and improvement of the curriculum for Greek Supplementary schools.
- (5) Helleniki Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonni, Analytikon Programma yia ta Hellenika Sholeia; op.cit. p. 3
- (6) This is a general impression you get when you study this curriculum which is prescribed for all Greek schools in Western European countries.
- (7) Cyprus High Commission, Curriculum of Greek Cypriot Schools in Britain. London 1981, p. 1
- (8) Ibid. p. 2
- (9) Information given to the writer by the educational officer in the Cyprus High Commission in April 1982
- (10) Helleniki Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonni. Analytikon programma yia ta Hellenika Sholeia. op.cit. Summary of pages 21-31
- (11) Michael, M., The Language Factor in Greek Education: School Policies since 1945. M.A. Dissertation, University of London, Institute of Education, 1980 p. ii
- (12) Ibid. p. 27
- (13) Mattheou, D., The Politics of Educational Change. A Case Study of the Greek Secondary School curriculum in the Post-World War II Period Ph. D. Thesis, University of London, Institute of Education, 1980, p. 35
- (14) Ibid. p. 36
- (15) Ibid. p. 37
- (16) Michael, M., The Language Factor in Greek Education: School Policies since 1945, op.cit. p. 28
- (17) Helleniki Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonni, Analytikon Programma yia ta Hellenika Sholeia; op.cit. Summary of pages 32-35

- (18) Michael, M., The Language Factor in Greek Education: School Policies since 1945, op.cit. p. 5
- (19) D.E.S., The School Curriculum, op.cit. p. 8
- (20) 'Ochi' is the pronunciation of a Greek word which means, 'no'.
- (21) Cyprus. Public Information Office, Cyprus in Brief. Nicosia, 1977, p. 11
- (22) Ibid. p. 8
- (23) Ibid. p. 11
- (24) Cyprus High Commission, Curriculum of Greek Cypriot Schools in Britain (1981), op.cit. p. 3
- (25) Hellenikie Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonna, op.cit. p. 36
- (26) Ibid. p.p. 36, 37
- (27) Ibid. p.p. 38, 39
- (28) Ibid. p.p. 40, 41, 42
- (29) Ibid. p.p. 43, 44
- (30) Ibid. p. 46
- (31) Ibid. p. 47
- (32) Ibid. p. 163
- (33) Ibid. p. 164
- (34) Ibid. p. 165
- (35) Ibid. p. 166
- (36) Ibid. p. 167
- (37) Ibid. p. 168
- (38) Cyprus High Commission, Curriculum of Greek Cypriot Schools in Britain. London 1978, p. 4
- (39) One of the decisions of the educational meeting of K.E.A., on the 26th of April 1982.
- (40) Board of Education, Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers. H.M.S.O. London 1937, p. 6
- (41) Gordon, P., & Lauton, D., Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries, Hodder and Stoughton, London 1978, p. 189

- (42) Primary Education, London, H.M.S.O. 1959, op.cit. 114
- (43) D.E.S., The School Curriculum, op.cit. p. 3
- (44) Helleniki Demokratia, Presbeia sti Vonna, op.cit. p. 3
- (45) N.U.T., Education for a Multicultural Society, Evidence to the Swann Committee of Inquiry, Submitted by the National Union of Teachers, op.cit. p. 4

Chapter VI

THE TEACHERS IN GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Introduction

There are two types of questions about the teachers in supplementary schools which are important in an assessment of these schools' capacity to meet the need to transmit a Greek culture to children in Britain in an effective way.

(i) Are there sufficient teachers? Are they formally qualified, trained and experienced? Are their conditions of work and pay sufficiently good for them to carry out their functions effectively? These are the questions that would apply to the effectiveness of teachers in any school system and have relevance for the Greek supplementary schools.

(ii) Are the teachers on the one hand, competent to transmit Greek language, religion and other subjects of the curriculum and, on the other, can they effectively teach children who are Greek in origin but have been brought up and live in Britain in British conditions?

The first question can be considered by examining pupil-teacher ratios, class sizes, the qualifications, experience and training of teachers, the proportions of full-time and part-time teachers, their teaching hours and pay. The second question can be answered by investigating the content of teacher-training in Cyprus and Greece, the knowledge and experience of Britain and the English education system of the teachers and the degree of initial and in-service teacher preparation for teaching in Greek supplementary schools in Britain.

1. Teachers in Greek Supplementary Schools

The teachers who are employed in the Greek Supplementary schools fall into three major categories.

(i) The teachers who are appointed in Britain by the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion.

(ii) Those who are appointed by the Cypriot Ministry of Education.

(iii) Those who are teaching in the Greek supplementary schools as part-timers and they are appointed either by parents' organisations or parents' committees.

The teachers belonging in the first category are all qualified, educated in the Greek pedagogical Academies. Almost all are employed in the schools of K.E.S., which is under the control of the Church.

The teachers in the second category are also qualified, educated either in the Teachers' Training Colleges in Cyprus or the Pedagogical Academy there, which emerged from the amalgamation of the two Colleges in Cyprus in 1959.

The teachers of this group, which is called otherwise KEA, teach mainly in the schools of OESEKA. Four of them teach also in schools of K.E.S. ⁽¹⁾

The teachers of the third category are employed by either parents organisations or parents committees and can work in any Greek supplementary school. As far as their qualifications are concerned they could be divided in three different groups as follows:

(i) Qualified Greek or Greek Cypriot primary school teachers not belonging to either of the two educational delegations mentioned earlier in this chapter.

(ii) Greek or Greek Cypriot teachers with secondary or further education qualifications in various specialisations.

(iii) Students of universities or other people of various voccations without any teacher training qualifications. ⁽²⁾

2. Pupil-teacher ratios

Considering the conditions under which the Greek supplementary schools operate, there is great difficulty of calculating pupil-teacher ratios, when there are both full-time and part-time teachers and when pupils only receive around 2-4 hours teaching a week.

However, if it is assumed that each full-time teacher teaches 16 hours a week and each pupil attends 4 hours Greek classes a week then the following table explains the full-time teacher-pupil ratio.

Table 34
Full-time teacher-pupil ratio 1981-82

	A	B	C
	Full-time teachers	Pupils	Teacher-Pupil Ratio $\frac{AX4}{B}$
K.E.S. Schools	51	5,000	1:25 (approximately)
OESEKA and Independent Schools	25	3,150	1:31 (approximately)
Total	76	8,150	1:28 (approximately)

Evidence from OESEKA and independent schools suggest that the full-time teachers only teach about half the teaching hours (45.50%) and that part-timers teach the rest (see table 42). If this applies to all Greek supplementary schools then the real teacher-pupil ratio is only half of that of the full-time teacher-pupil ratio (1:14), which is good by state primary school standards of around 1:20

3. Teacher qualifications, training and conditions of work

A distinction should be made between full-time teachers employed in K.E.S. schools, full-time teachers working in OESEKA and independent schools and part-time teachers employed in both kinds of school.

(i) Full-time teachers from Greece

The circumstances regarding the teachers from Greece are as follows: Under the 695/1970 legislation order of the government of Greece the Administration of Education for Greek children abroad was established. For the implementation of that legislation order the creation of two educational groups for the Greek schools abroad was decided and accomplished. (3)

The growth of the numbers of teachers employed by the Greek government was as follows:

Table 35

Growth of the numbers of teachers from Greece

<u>School year</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Number of Schools where they taught</u>
1970-71	9	13
1971-72	13	12
1972-73	14	19
1973-74	25	20
1974-75	11	19
1975-76	22	28
1976-77	14	18
1977-78	16	15
1978-79	17	18
1979-80	23	16
1980-81	52	41
1981-82	71	43 (4)

During the school-year 1971-72 one of the teachers of the Greek educational delegation taught in the school of the Greek Consulate. Since 1972-73 two Greek teachers are employed exclusively in this school and are changed every two years. In the school-year 1979-80 one of the teachers of the Greek educational delegation taught in two schools of O.E.S.E.K.A., besides his teaching in the schools of K.E.S.

Since 1977 it has become a principle for the Greek General Consulate in London, to appoint teachers of the Greek educational delegation in big Greek supplementary schools not only in London but also in Greek schools in other towns of Britain.

The 695/1970 legislation order was amended with legislation order 154/1973 and included the following:

(i) If a teacher who is working in Greek supplementary schools abroad is going to become a member of a Greek educational delegation he can take the relevant oath in front of the Greek General Consul or the Greek educational adviser of the country where he is working. Along with this he must apply to the Greek Ministry of Education and Religion to be detached and appointed in the country where he is working. By the end of the school year he can return and work in schools in Greece.

(ii) Until 1976 the detachment lasted for three years. After 1977 the detachment can last for five years but each teacher has to apply for such extended detachment at the beginning of each school year.

Since 1977 many teachers from Greece took advantage of the relevant legislation came to Britain for one year and returned to Greece by the end of it.

On July 1981 an educational adviser was appointed at the Greek Embassy in London as the head of the Greek educational delegation.⁽⁵⁾ The offices of the Greek educational delegation are in the premises of the Greek Embassy in London.

In 1981-82 as was shown above there were 71 Greek qualified teachers in Britain. It is estimated that about 51 of them were working in Greek supplementary schools, while the others were employed in the Hellenic College, as was noted in page 195

(1) Of the 51 Greek qualified teachers who were working in the Greek supplementary schools about 45 were qualified primary school teachers,

while the others were qualified secondary school teachers.

(2) In Greece there is a requirement that they have five years teaching experience before applying to become members of the Greek educational delegation in Britain.⁽⁶⁾ It is believed that the teachers belonging to the two educational delegations in Britain have around 10-15 years teaching experience on average. In terms of qualifications and competence it seems that these full-time teachers from both countries in England belong to various levels of qualifications and various degrees of competence.

(3) It is estimated that the teachers of the Greek educational delegation taught in 41 schools in 1981-82, as was mentioned earlier. Their teaching time ranged between 4 to 10 hours weekly. Their main responsibility was teaching in the Greek schools and help for the organisation of school concerts. These teachers are reasonably competent, qualified and experienced in terms of the education system of Greece.

(ii) Full-time teachers from Cyprus

These teachers belong to the Greek Cypriot educational delegation called 'K.E.A.' It is employed mainly in the Greek supplementary schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. This delegation came to Britain in January 1977. Originally it numbered only seven teachers. In October 1978 the number was increased to 13 and in September 1980 it was again increased and became twenty five members. This group consists of three headteachers Grade A, two headteachers Grade B, seven deputies and twelve teachers. All of them are qualified primary school teachers. There is however another member of this delegation who is a qualified secondary school teacher.⁽⁷⁾

Each member of this educational group works about 22-24 hours per week. Most of this time is spent in teaching which takes place mainly in the evenings. Part of this time is allocated to

regular educational meetings which take place once a week while other four hours per week are spent to the production of suitable reading material for the pupils of the Greek supplementary schools.

During the school year 1980-81 the members of the Greek Cypriot educational delegation worked in 47 schools as follows:

<u>Table 36</u>			
<u>Greek Supplementary Schools,</u>			
<u>the teachers of K.E.A. and other teachers</u>			
<u>School year 1980-81</u>			
<u>School</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>pupils</u>	<u>Teachers</u> <u>of K.E.A.</u>	<u>Other Teachers</u>
<u>I. Islington & Hackney Area</u>			
1. Hackney	31	3	1
2. Shelbourne	170	2	10
3. Pooles Park	37	1	1
4. Ambler	<u>31</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	269	7	13
<u>II. East London Area</u>			
1. Upton Park	21	1	1
2. Leyton	74	2	4
3. Dagenham	<u>38</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	133	5	6
<u>III. South London Area</u>			
1. Brixton	40	2	1
2. Tooting	93	2	3
3. Fulham	51	2	1
4. Dulwich	38	2	1
5. Streatham	70	2	2
6. Bermondsey	<u>27</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>
	319	12	8 (8)
<u>IV. Haringey Area</u>			
1. S. Haringey 'A'	70	2	4
2. S. Haringey 'B'	70	2	2
3. S. Haringey 'C'	15	1	-
4. William Forster	78	3	3

Table 36 (Cont.)

Greek Supplementary Schools,
the teachers of K.E.A. and other teachers

School year 1980-81

<u>School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Teachers of K.E.A</u>	<u>Other Teachers</u>
IV. <u>Haringey Area (Cont.)</u>			
5. Earlham	36	2	1
6. West Green	45	2	-
7. Risley	14	2	-
8. Rokesley	74	3	3
9. Seven Sisters	45	2	1
10. Rhodes	17	2	-
11. Tiverton	<u>44</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	508	23	16
V. <u>Enfield Area</u>			
1. Raglan	40	2	1
2. Bowes	127	2	5
3. Oakthorpe	66	2	2
4. Hazelwood 'A'	164	2	7
5. Hazelwood 'B'	59	2	2
6. Tottenham 'A'	98	2	3
7. Tottenham 'B'	88	2	3
8. Tottenham 'C'	27	3	-
9. Southbury	39	3	1
10. Huxley	50	1	2
11. Minchenden	<u>48</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	806	24	27
VI. <u>Barnet & N.W. London Area</u>			
1. Coppettswood	54	2	2
2. East Barnet	25	1	1
3. Kingsbury	78	3	3
4. High Barnet	41	3	1
5. Queenswell	104	2	5
6. Ashmole	63	2	2
7. Willesden	63	2	3
8. Potters Bar	54	2	2

Table 36 (Cont.)

Greek Supplementary Schools,
the teachers of K.E.A. and other teachers

School year 1980-81

<u>School</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>Teachers of K.E.A</u>	<u>Other Teachers</u>
VI. <u>Barnet & N.W. London Area (Cont.)</u>			
9. Moss hall	65	2	2
10. Manor Hill	<u>95</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	642	20	25
VII. <u>Area Outside London</u>			
1. Weston Super Mare	56	1	2
2. Reading	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
	73	2	2
Total	<u>2,750</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>97</u> (9)

The majority of the above 47 schools belong to O.E.S.E.K.A., while the rest of them are independent. Apart from these in 1980-81, four teachers from the Greek Cypriot educational delegation taught in three schools belonging to K.E.S., the St. Barnabas Greek school, St. Sophia's and St. Andrews Greek school.

The members of the Greek Cypriots delegation, as in the case of their Greek colleagues have different numbers of years of teaching experience. None of them has less than 8 years of such experience. In terms of competence and qualifications there is again variation. Greek Cypriot teachers similarly as their Greek colleagues have various degrees of competence. Concerning their qualifications the greatest difference is due to the fact that some of them acquired higher academic qualifications during the years they stayed in Britain.

(iii) Part-time teachers

It was explained earlier in this chapter that this group of teachers consists of both qualified and unqualified. Here follows an endeavour for the illustration of the proportion of this category

of teachers in the Greek schools in Britain and the range of their qualifications and jobs. The two tables that follow refer to these teachers who are employed in the KES schools. The first one classifies the teachers both qualified and unqualified and concerns those who teach in Greek schools in London. The second one makes a classification of all the teachers who are employed in the KES schools in the various British towns.

Table 37
Part-time teachers
in the Greek Supplementary Schools of K.E.S.
Area of London 1980-81

Qualified Primary School Teachers	52	
Qualified Secondary School Teachers	33	
Priests	3	
Qualified Nursery Teachers	3	
University graduates without teacher training	5	
Musicians	2	
Dancers	2	
Lawyers	3	
Clerks	6	
Students in British Colleges or Universities	11	
Housewives	<u>2</u>	
	122	(10)

Table 38
Part-time teachers
in the Greek Supplementary Schools of K.E.S.
Area Out of London, 1980-81

Qualified Primary School Teachers	22	
Qualified Secondary School Teachers	15	
Priests	2	
Qualified Nursery Teacher	1	
University Graduates without teacher training	3	
Students in British Colleges or Universities	11	
Architects	1	
Housewives	<u>7</u>	
	62	(11)
The grand total of both tables	<u>184</u>	

The following table concerns the classification of teachers of the biggest Greek supplementary school in Britain, which belongs to K.E.S. The school is St. Barnabas Greek school and it is in Wood Green in the area of North London.

Table 39

<u>Teachers in St. Barnabas' Greek School</u>		
<u>Vocation</u>	<u>Number of teachers</u>	<u>1981-82 Qualifications</u>
1. Priests	2	University qualifications in Theology.
2. Headteachers	1	University of London M.A. (Ed.)
3. Teachers of Primary schools	7	Diplomas of Greek Pedagog. Academies.
4. Teachers of Secondary schools	2	Greek university diplomas
5. Nursery teachers	1	Diploma of Greek Pedagogical Academy.
6. Students	7	Pursuing diplomas or degrees in British universities.
7. Lawyers	2	
8. Clerks	4	
9. Electric Engineer	1	
10. Housewife	<u>1</u>	
Total	28	(12)

The table that follows intends to identify the numbers of teachers both qualified and unqualified in the Greek supplementary schools of the Greek Parents Association, the biggest one in Britain. In the same time the table intends to identify the vocational range related to the unqualified teachers who are employed as part-timers in the 21 Greek Supplementary schools and the 9 youth clubs of the same parents association.

Table 40

Teachers working in the schools of the Greek Parents Association
London 1981-82

<u>Vocation</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>
1. Teachers belonging to K.E.A.	21	Certificates of Teachers' Colleges. Some with London University diplomas and degrees.
2. Other teachers	5	Certificates of the Teachers' Training College of Cyprus or the Pedagogical Academy's in Greece.
3. Mathematicians	2	University certificates.
4. Teacher of foreign languages	1	Diploma for the teaching of foreign languages.
5. Lecturers, translators	1	University degree.
6. Clerks	2	Stenography certificate etc.
7. Students	6	Pursuing diplomas or degrees.
8. Engineers	3	
9. Housewives	<u>1</u>	
	42	(13)

The numbers of teachers and the illustrations concerning their qualifications or vocations do not indicate by themselves the time allocated to teaching by any group of teachers. In this sense the following table intends to show the amount of the teaching time of the various categories of teachers in the schools where the teachers of the Greek Cypriot educational group, KEA, works. The majority of these schools consists of the O.E.S.E.K.A. schools while the rest constitute the group of independent schools.

In the classification of the categories of teachers in the tables that follow, the letter (a) indicates the teachers of the Greek Cypriot Educational group, K.E.A. The letter (b) indicates other qualified teachers not belonging to K.E.A. or the educational

group from Greece. The letter (c) indicates teachers of secondary or further education of various specialisations and letter (d) indicates students or other persons of various vocations, not having any educational qualifications.

Table 41

Teaching time and Staffing of the schools of O.E.S.E.K.A. and Independent schools 1980-81

School	Weekly teaching-time	Category of Teachers			Teaching-time allocated to each category of Teachers (in hours)				
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
<u>I. ISLINGTON & HACNEY</u>									
Hackney	4.0 hours	3	-	-	-	12.0	-	-	4.0
Shelbourne	4.0 "	2	2	4	4	4.0	8.0	16.0	16.0
Pooles Park	2.0 "	1	1	-	-	2.5	2.5	-	-
Ambler	<u>2.0</u> "	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>
	12.0 "	7	4	4	4	20.5	12.5	16.0	20.0
<u>II. EAST LONDON</u>									
Upton Park	2.0 hours	1	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	2.0
Leyton	2.5 "	2	1	1	2	5.0	2.5	2.5	5.0
Dagenham	<u>2.0</u> "	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>
	6.5 "	5	1	1	4	11.0	2.5	2.5	9.0
<u>III. SOUTH LONDON</u>									
Brixton	2.0 hours	2	-	-	1	4.0	-	-	2.0
Tooting	3.5 "	2	-	3	-	7.0	-	10.5	-
Fulham	<u>4.0</u> "	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>
	9.5 "	6	-	3	2	19.0	-	10.5	4.0

Table 41 (Cont.)

Teaching time and Staffing of the schools of O.E.S.F.K.A. and Independent schools 1980-81

School	Weekly teaching-time	Category of Teachers				Teaching-time allocated to each category of Teachers (in hours)			
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
V. AREA OF ENFILED									
Ragland	4.0 hours	2	-	-	1	8.0	-	-	4.0
Bowes	4.0 "	2	-	3	2	8.0	-	12.0	8.0
Bowes (Youth Club)	2.0 "	1	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	4.0
Oakthorpe	3.0 "	2	1	1	-	6.0	3.0	3.0	-
Hazelwood A	3.0 "	2	1	3	1	6.0	3.0	9.0	3.0
Hazelwood B	2.0 "	2	-	1	2	4.0	-	2.0	4.0
Tottenham A	3.0 "	2	-	-	3	6.0	-	-	9.0
Tottenham B	2.5 "	2	1	-	3	5.0	2.5	-	7.5
Tottenham C	2.5 "	3	-	-	-	7.5	-	-	-
Southbury	4.0 "	3	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	4.0
Huxley	5.0 "	1	2	-	-	5.0	10.0	-	-
Minchenden	4.0 "	3	1	-	-	10.0	4.0	-	-
	39.0 "	25	6	8	15	77.5	22.5	26.0	43.5

VI. AREAS OF BARNET & N.W. LONDON

Coppettswood	2.5 "	2	1	-	-	5.0	2.5	-	2.5	(16)
East Barnet	2.5 "	1	-	-	1	2.5	-	-	2.5	

Table 41 (Cont.)

School	Weekly teaching-time	Category of Teachers			Teaching-time allocated to each category of Teachers (in hours)			
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
VI. AREA OF BARNET & N.W. LONDON (Cont.)								
Kingsbury	3.0 hours	3	-	-	3	9.0	-	9.0
High Barnet	4.0 "	3	1	-	-	12.0	44.0	-
Queenswell	3.0 "	2	1	-	4	6.0	3.0	12.0
Ashmole	4.0 "	2	2	-	-	8.0	8.0	-
Willesden	2.5 "	2	1	-	2	5.0	2.5	5.0 (17)
Potters Bar	3.0 "	2	1	-	1	6.0	3.0	3.0
Moss Hall	2.0 "	2	-	-	2	4.0	-	4.0
Manor Hill	4.0 "	1	1	-	3	4.0	4.0	12.0
Manor Hill (Youth Club)	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>-</u>
	32.5 "	21	9	-	16	63.5	69.0	50.0
VII. Area Outside London								
Weston Super Mare	4.0 hours	1	2	-	-	7.0	8.0	-
Reading	<u>3.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u> (18)
	7.0 "	2	2	-	-	10.0	8.0	-
Grand totals								
for all schools	<u>146.5 hours</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>287.0</u>	<u>140.5</u>	<u>147.0</u>

Table 42

<u>Amount of weekly teaching time for each category of teachers</u>	<u>Approximately</u>
1. Teachers of the Greek Cypriot Educational group, K.E.A.	287.0 hours or 45.50%
2. Other qualified teachers not included in K.E.A.	140.5 hours or 22.20%
3. Teachers of Secondary or Further Education of various specialisations	57.0 hours or 9.00%
4. Students or persons of various vocations without any pedagogical qualifications	147.0 hours or 23.30%

While there are many part-time and unqualified teachers, it is clear that almost half the teaching is carried out by full-time trained teachers and less than a quarter by teachers without qualifications. This situation has only emerged recently as, it has been shown above; the number of full-time teachers from Greece and Cyprus increased greatly since the late 1970s. Some of the criticisms of supplementary school teachers applied more to the period before the late 1970s than to the position in the early 1980s.

d. Payment of Teachers

The teachers of the two educational groups the Greek, and the Greek Cypriot are appointed in the Greek supplementary schools in Britain by the Greek and the Cypriot, Ministries of Education, respectively. The teachers of each one of these two groups are also paid by the Greek and the Cypriot governments respectively. Each one of these teachers is paid his or her salary that ^{he or she} should get in Greece or Cyprus, plus £400 monthly as expatriation allowance. The other categories of teachers which are appointed by the Churches in the case of the schools of K.E.S., and the parents associations or the parents committees in the case of O.E.S.E.K.A. and independent

schools, are paid by the Churches, parents associations or parents committees respectively. In these cases there is a payment range between £3.50 p. and £4.50 p. per hour. The exact amount of payment of these part-time teachers is decided by each individual Church school, O.E.S.E.K.A. or independent school. In the schools controlled by the Greek Parents Association for instance the payment of teachers in 1981-82 was as follows:

For two teaching hours they were paid £9.50 pence

For two and a half teaching hours they were paid £11.00 pence

For three teaching hours they were paid £12.00 pence (19)

The payment of teachers in the biggest Greek school, the St. Barnabas Greek school could be used as another illustration in the issue of the payment of teachers who are not belonging to either of the two educational groups. Each teacher in St. Barnabas Greek school is paid £4.25 pence per hour independently to the amount of his or her teaching time. (20)

Salaries, at least for full-time teachers from Cyprus and Greece, are sufficiently good for able teachers to be attracted to Britain. But part-time payment is much lower than English teachers would expect. It means that part-time teachers are either dedicated to their tasks for other reasons and regard the payment, as fairly nominal or are relatively unqualified and inexperienced if they are prepared to work for these rates.

e. Teacher Competence in the curriculum of the Greek Supplementary Schools

The capacity of the full-time and trained part-time teachers to teach effectively the subjects of the curriculum of the supplementary schools can be assessed by examining teacher-training in Cyprus and Greece.

This examination will be restricted to the teacher-training of primary school teachers because these constitute the over-whelming majority of qualified teachers in the supplementary schools, while secondary school teachers teaching in these schools are very few. An indication of this is shown in table 42.

a. Teacher Education in Cyprus

The initial training of primary school teachers in Cyprus is based on a three-years course at the Pedagogical Academy in Nicosia, which is run by the Ministry of Education.

The number of places at the Academy are determined by the requirements of the schools, for teachers. A relevant estimate is prepared each year by the Ministry of Education. Many young people in Cyprus wish to become teachers but the places at the Pedagogical Academy are usually limited.

There is an entrance examination to the Academy and all candidates must have completed a six year secondary school, recognised by the Ministry of Education in Cyprus.

During the three years course the students study a wide range of subjects. They can also choose some subjects as optional such as Music, Art, Handicraft, Drama, Physical Training, Domestic Science and Gardening. The three years course at the Pedagogical Academy produces teachers with a general rather than a specialist outlook.

The studies of students in the Pedagogical Academy cover subjects as follows: General Education, General Teaching Principles, Psychology, Philosophy, Religion, Modern and Classical Greek, Greek Civilisation, Methods of Teaching, Biology, Hygiene, Citizenship, Sociology, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and English. (21)

The students of the Pedagogical Academy go out to schools on teaching practice twice every year. During this teaching practice they are closely watched and guided by their tutors.

The newly appointed teachers are usually sent by the Ministry of Education to large schools, where they have a wider range of opportunities for educational knowledge and experience, than in small schools. They stay there for their two probationary years.

Improvement in teaching methods is left to in-service training and the educational advice of headteachers and inspectors. Official in-service training for Cypriot teachers is provided by the Pedagogical Institute. It was established in 1973-74, with UNESCO's financial help and advice. It offers in-service training through educational courses and seminars for teachers.

In-service training for teachers in Cyprus is also provided through other ways and means as follows:

- (i) Conferences, organised regularly during the year by the inspectors.
- (ii) Headteachers conferences.
- (iii) New teachers conferences.
- (iv) Conferences on various subjects of the curriculum, organised by the Ministry of Education.
- (v) Staff meeting and discussions on pedagogical subjects, organised weekly by schools individually.
- (vi) Educational radio and television.
- (vii) Scholarships abroad.
- (viii) Exchange of visits between teachers of various schools.
- (ix) Seminars organised by experts from abroad. (22)

Until 1976 the promotion of all teachers was based on inspectors' reports. These reports were sent to the Head of the Department of Primary Education and through him to the Committee of

Educational Service which is responsible for promotions. Since 1976 teachers' work is evaluated on different lines.

According to new regulations, published in the Government Gazette N 223/76 the assessment of teachers should not be based exclusively on the inspectors, but it should be based on a collective endeavour in which the teacher, the headteacher and the inspector are involved.⁽²³⁾

b. Teacher Education in Greece

The Greek primary school teachers get their initial training in one of the 14 Pedagogical Academies in Greece. These are two-years institutions. They admit students who completed successfully a full six-years course in a secondary school, and are "physically and psychologically healthy", have "excellent" conduct and pass an entrance examination. In 1975-76 the total enrolment of students in the Greek Pedagogical Academies was 2,258.⁽²⁴⁾

The programme of studies is regulated in detail through legislation and/or decrees which also specify the aims and general content of each subject.

As in the case of the primary teacher training in Cyprus, primary teacher training in Greece has academic, professional and practical subjects. Professional training includes the teaching of music and dancing which are seen to be very important in the curriculum of the Greek supplementary schools in Britain. A significant difference in the teacher training in the two countries is that while in Cyprus they study English as a foreign language, in Greece they study French. Thus many Greek teachers have a very limited knowledge of English when they arrive in Britain.⁽²⁵⁾

The training of primary school teachers in Cyprus or Greece equips these teachers to teach in the schools of Cyprus or Greece. It does not prepare the teachers to teach the subjects of the curriculum

of the Greek supplementary schools in Britain or to use the appropriate teaching methods in these schools.

c. Preparation for Greek and Greek Cypriot teachers to teach in schools in Britain.

It is believed that the teachers who are sent to Britain to teach children who are partly Greek should have a relevant preparation in order to teach efficiently in the Greek supplementary schools.

(i) They should know the English language mainly for communicating with the children, particularly in cases when the knowledge of Greek of children is of very low level. They should also have a knowledge of British society so as to be able to have a better understanding of the children's behaviour.

(ii) They should have a knowledge of the position of the Greek community in England.

(iii) Knowledge of teaching methods used in English schools is essential for the establishment of a coherence of methods in the two school systems.

Weakness in any of these areas is likely to lessen the effectiveness of teachers in teaching Greek children in Britain.

(iv) There are efforts being made in Britain to provide for in-service education of teachers in Greek schools or classes.

One such important effort is that which will take place in the school-year 1983-84. It concerns an one-year part-time course for the acquisition of the R.S.A. Certificate in the Teaching of Community Languages with special reference to the Greek language, validated by the Royal Society of Arts.⁽²⁶⁾

This course is designed to be particularly useful to teachers of the Greek language, whether in local education authority or in community schools. The course draws upon the resources and

equipment of the Multicultural Study Centre at the Polytechnic's All Saints site, and on the Polytechnic's expertise in teacher education.

Attendance. The course is taught on Monday evenings from 6.30 p.m. to 9.45 p.m., commencing on 3 October 1983, for 30 weeks. There are also two Saturday day schools, class-room observations of experienced teachers.

Assessment. Award of the Certificate is based on written examinations, assessment of course work and assessment of teaching practice.

Entry Requirements. Candidates should be at least 18 years of age and they should: (i) either have completed a full course of secondary education in Greek or (ii) have obtained an A level in Modern Greek. Emphasis will be given to oral proficiency.⁽²⁷⁾

It is assumed that teachers teaching ethnic minority children either in the state school system or the community schools should have together with their teaching qualifications an awareness of concepts from immigration theory. The concepts 'assimilation', 'segregation' and 'integration' have been used in immigration theory to describe processes which are involved. Where individuals or groups become 'assimilated' they are absorbed into the majority culture so that differences between the groups disappear and they become part of a relatively homogeneous larger group. There is a good deal of support to the view that assimilation implies that the minority culture does not merit being preserved and its loss is not to be regretted. The process of 'segregation' involves the setting up of culturally discrete communities, each one with a range of supporting institutions. Examples of the process of segregation can be found in a number of societies where minority groups seek to establish their uniqueness, through isolation from the majority groups of that society, or in situations where the dominant group forcibly segregates minorities. It is known that Jewish communities all over the world exemplify

the former and black communities in many countries exemplify the latter.⁽²⁸⁾

According to the model of integration cultures become integrated which means that the various culture groups reach an accommodation that neither destroys their cultural integrity nor separates them to the point where contact is lost.⁽²⁹⁾

It is believed that the Greek community in Britain is socially accommodated according to a model which is between the Jewish one and the model of integration.

It is thought that in Britain at the present time there is no consensus on the model of society which is to be pursued generally and which can be used by teachers in developing appropriate curricula. This lack of purpose is missing not just in the dominant British group, but also from the ethnic minorities themselves.⁽³⁰⁾

After what has been discussed in this chapter about the role of community teachers in particular it is obvious that such role cannot be undertaken by anyone. The fact, therefore, that about 23.30% of the teaching in the Greek supplementary schools is done by unqualified teachers, is an indication that more qualified teachers are required in these schools. However, this cannot be afforded today, because of economic reasons.⁽³¹⁾

Besides, it could be said that the continuous changing in education, the changing of life's values and the changing needs of the society in general, demand not only qualified teachers, but the continuous up-dating of the qualified teachers as well.

It is believed that in order to have more qualified teachers stimulated in the work of the Greek supplementary schools some of the main problems which the teachers of these schools encounter should be considered by those involved in the establishment and maintaining of the schools.

(i) Lack of interest on behalf of children

For various reasons there is lack of interest on behalf of children in the Greek supplementary schools. It is believed that the fact that these schools are organised outside normal school hours and are not linked with the state school system creates negative attitudes in the children towards these schools and makes the teachers' efforts less effective.

(ii) Preparation for teachers to teach in the Greek supplementary Schools in Britain

It is maintained that teachers who teach in the Greek supplementary schools should be proficient in English and should have a knowledge of the English education system, the British society and also a particular knowledge of the position of the Greek community in Britain, as stated in page 258.

Efforts being made in Britain to provide for in-service education of teachers in Greek schools should be encouraged, (see p. 258).

A realisation of some other problems that the teachers of the Greek supplementary schools encounter could contribute to a better understanding of their situation, e.g. the weather which differs very much from that in Greece or Cyprus, the distance between the teacher's accommodation and the Greek school which is sometimes quite long and in an unknown environment, the hostile attitudes of some caretakers and English teachers towards the Greek schools etc.

Two weaknesses of teaching personnel in Greek supplementary schools have been identified in this chapter. First there are unqualified, untrained and relatively underpaid part-time teachers. This situation has improved in recent years as more full-time teachers have been appointed to take over a higher proportion of all teaching. But part-time teachers still have an important role and their training and rewards may have to be improved if they are to be more effective.

Secondly, full-time teachers, while have been trained to teach Greek culture to children in Greece or Cyprus, have little experience of the position of Greek children in Britain and have little understanding of the teaching methods that these children experience in full-time maintained schools in Britain.

Both deficiencies might be remedied by the provision of more teacher training courses for Greek teachers by British educational authorities and, in the first case, by LEA payment of supplementary school teachers. This would require much more co-operation between Greek supplementary schools and English LEAs. Whether this can occur will depend on the attitudes of the Greek community and of British educationists which will be examined in the next two chapters.

Notes and References

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- (3) Written information given to the writer by the secretary of the Greek educational delegation, in the Greek Embassy in London, in March 1982
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid.
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- (8) Ibid. p. 3
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- (16) Ibid. p. 13
- (17) Ibid.
- (18) Ibid. p. 14
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- (22) Ibid. p. 43
- (23) Ibid. p. 44
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- (25) Michael, M. & Mclean, M., Greek and Greek Cypriot Supplementary Schooling in England and Wales, op.cit. p. 8
- (26) Middlesex Polytechnic, RSA Certificate in the Teaching of Community Languages with special reference to the Greek language, p. 1
- (27) Ibid.
- (28) Saunders M., Multicultural Teaching, A guide for the classroom, op.cit. p. 12
- (29) Ibid.
- (30) Ibid. p. 14
- (31) Interview by the writer with the president of O.E.S.E.K.A. op.cit.

Chapter VIIRESPONSES TO GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS, FROM GREEK
AND GREEK CYPRIOT GROUPS AND ORGANISATION

To determine the feasibility of the Greek supplementary schools as a solution to problems of the maintenance of a Greek cultural identity in Britain, it is necessary to know the strength of support for these schools in the Greek community. The strength of this support has been indicated partly in early chapters in the descriptions of the schools, their enrolments and the organisations that support them. But attitudes can also be detected by questioning members of the Greek community in England about their views on supplementary schools.

Two approaches to such a study could be taken. Either the questioning of large numbers of ordinary people in the Greek community could be undertaken. Or else the questioning could be restricted to leading members of Greek community organisations on the assumption that their views are representative of the Greek community as a whole. The latter approach has been adopted. Interviews have been conducted with a range of individuals who were prominent in Greek community organisations. Interviewees were invited to answer a questionnaire (see appendix), some of whom answered many questions, while others only a few.

This chapter will deal with the responses to Greek supplementary schools from Greek, Greek Cypriot groups and organisations and persons having a significant position in the Greek community in the United Kingdom.

On behalf of the Cyprus Ministry of Education a senior officer there expressed views for the Greek Supplementary schools in the United Kingdom. This chapter is mainly based on the views of these persons.

These views of the various persons interviewed will be presented in this chapter in a sequence as follows:

First the views of the two senior representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United Kingdom will be presented. They will be followed by the views of the senior representative of the Greek Embassy in London and the views of the Consul General of the Cyprus High Commission. Afterwards the views of the president of the Federation of Educational Societies of Greek Cypriots in Britain will be recorded, followed by the views of a representative of the Greek Parents Association.

Finally the views of two representative personalities of the Greek Community in London will be presented.

After the presentation of the responses to Greek supplementary schools from Greek and Greek Cypriot groups, organisations and representative personalities of the Greek Community in Britain, the views of a representative of the Cyprus Ministry of Education will be presented.

The main questions asked were: What should be the aims of the Greek supplementary schools? Who should control them? Can "Greek" education be given better in Greek supplementary schools or in the English state schools that the children attend? What should be the responsibility of the British education authorities towards the supplementary schools and classes? What should be the relations of the state school teachers to the teachers that the Greek community appoints to the Greek schools? (See Appendix).

1. The views of a senior representative of the Church

A senior representative of the Greek Orthodox Church in Britain ⁽¹⁾ expressed the following views on the Greek supplementary schools:

The Greek schools in Britain have been a significant achievement of the Greek community. They have been established by the Greek community and they are also being financed and maintained mainly by it.

a. Aims. The Greek schools are proposed as a means of enabling the members of the Greek community to keep their Greek identity. People of Greek origin are an easier target for assimilation than 'coloured' people. 'Coloured' people cannot be easily assimilated, because of their colour characteristic which always reminds them that they belong to a certain racial or ethnic group. The matter is not the same with the members of the Greek community, whose facial and other characteristics are similar or even identical to those of Anglo-Saxon people.

b. Control. As far as the control of the Greek schools is concerned the senior representative of the Church expressed the view which has been stated in chapter IV that all these schools should be under the control of the K.E.S., the Central Educational Committee of the Archbishopric. In these terms both the educational groups from abroad, the Greek and the Greek Cypriot one should be administered by the K.E.S.

c. The Role of the Archbishopric

Speaking about this aspect the senior representative of the Church said that the Archbishopric helped many Greek communities in towns or cities out of London, to establish their own Greek supplementary schools. It also helped them towards acquiring their own school building, an aspect which contributes immensely to the efforts of Greek schools. The freedom that children feel when they move in a school building owned by the community, the maps of Greece and Cyprus the photographs from Greek places and Greek life that can be displayed around help the teachers in their efforts to transmit to

the children elements from Greek culture and tradition.

d. Suggestions about the future functioning of Greek Supplementary Schools

Expressing views about this aspect, the Church's representative repeated that it is of first priority that the Greek Schools in Britain should have a Common Administrative Body and that this body should be under the control of the Central Educational Committee of the Archbishopric (K.E.S.),

It has been explained in Chapter IV that the issue of this Common Administrative Body has become a matter of debate between the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion, the Cyprus Ministry of Education, the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain and the Greek educational organisations in Britain. There is no consensus of opinion as to who will control such a body and thus the problem continues to exist.

Another of the suggestions of the senior representative of the Greek Orthodox Church was that teaching in the Greek schools should be left to qualified teachers only. Finally he added that all Greek schools should have their own school buildings well equipped with audio-visual aids.

The views of this senior representative of the Church about the control and administration of Greek supplementary schools have been a matter of controversy between the Church and O.E.S.E.K.A. as was discussed in chapter IV.

2. Views of another senior representative of the Greek Orthodox Church in Britain, about the Greek Supplementary schools. ⁽²⁾

This senior representative of the Greek Orthodox Church emphasised in his statement the cultural role of the Greek supplementary schools. He said that these schools should be regarded as important cultural centres not only for the children of the Greek community but for the whole Greek community as well.

The children who attend these schools learn something about Greek culture and tradition. As far as the community is concerned it can broaden its horizons through the cultural activities of the Greek schools.

Aims. Speaking about the aims of the Greek schools this representative of the Church added three more to those which have been analysed in chapter IV. Thus Greek schools should extend their aims as follows:

- (i) To strengthen the bonds of the Greek family.
- (ii) To keep the Greek community active and alive, and
- (iii) To offer to children and their parents the Christian Orthodox education.

In these terms the Greek schools in Britain should be considered as a continuation of Greek culture and tradition. This Greek culture and tradition should be transmitted to the members of the Greek community for many reasons.

Greek religious tradition is important, because it is historically and linguistically connected with Hellenism. It should be transmitted to future generations of the Greek community through the Greek schools.

Continuing his arguments the senior representative of the Church said that the Greek community in Britain is going through a transitional stage of its life. Whether one likes it or not the children of this community are very much affected by the broader cultural environment. It is for their benefit to adjust to it. It would be an advantage for them if the Greek school, the family and the Greek community could help these children to adjust and integrate more easily.

3. Views of the Educational Adviser of the Greek Embassy in London about the Greek Supplementary Schools in Britain.

The Educational Adviser ⁽³⁾ of the Greek Embassy in London expressed his views about the Greek schools in Britain as follows:

It would be an ideal solution if Greek language and culture could be taught to children with Greek origin in their state schools. The same could be said for the education of children with Greek origin, who are living in other countries such as Germany, Sweden, Canada, Australia etc. Until the time comes that this ideal solution will become a reality, the Greek Supplementary schools will be useful for the following reasons:

(i) They help children with Greek origin to realise their identity in a better way.

(ii) They offer to the children with Greek origin a sort of Greek environment.

(iii) They organise cultural activities for both the children and their parents.

These activities offer an opportunity to parents to meet socially, something that they badly need.

Many Greek schools, however, function under difficult circumstances. Although the parents of the pupils of these schools are British citizens, British authorities do not contribute to the functioning of these schools as they should. For instance, parents' committees should not pay rent for using the buildings of state schools. School buildings and other facilities as well should be offered to these schools without any charge.

Concluding, the Greek Educational Adviser expressed the hope that Greek language and culture will soon find some place in the mainstream schools of children with Greek origin so as to make the function of these schools unnecessary.

4. Views of the Consul General of the Cyprus High Commission about the Greek Supplementary schools.

The Consul General⁽⁴⁾ of the Cyprus High Commission spoke about the Greek Supplementary schools as follows:

Everyone must belong to something, he must have an identity. If a person has not an identity this affects his happiness. He will always try to find where he belongs.

A child who lives between two cultures must not stay alone. The family and the school must help him to know his identity. These Greek schools help children of Greek origin in many ways, by teaching their home language, religion, customs and traditions.

The work of Greek supplementary schools contributes towards the better adaptation of children of Greek origin, to the multi-cultural society of Britain.

It is very interesting that the great majority of Greek parents send their children to the Greek schools, although the conditions under which these schools function are not convenient either for the parents or the children.

5. The Statement of the President of O.E.S.E.K.A.⁽⁵⁾ about the Greek Supplementary schools.

Expressing general views on the Greek supplementary schools, the president of O.E.S.E.K.A. pointed out the following:

(i) The teaching of Greek language and culture should be introduced in the state school system so that children with Greek origin should have the opportunity to learn them.

(ii) When children learn their mother-tongue they can realise their identity, and this helps them to become better citizens. The local education authorities should undertake their responsibilities and help towards this end.

(iii) The Greek schools and Greek clubs usually cover some of the needs of children between 7-14 years old. There is a significant

gap for any cultural provision between the ages of 14-18. And this is a problem. No single organisation could solve this problem alone. It is the combined responsibility of OESEKA, the Cypriot government and the local education authorities to solve this problem.

(iv) Commenting on the functioning of Greek schools the President of OESEKA said the following:

School-buildings. The buildings of state schools should be provided for the teaching of mother-tongue and culture, free of charge.

Audio-visual Aids. Greek schools need suitable reading books and other teaching material in order to achieve their aims.

Teaching Staff. More qualified teachers are needed in the Greek schools in general. There is, however, an urgent need of qualified teachers for the classes of G.C.E. Modern Greek, 'O.L.' and 'A.L.' and for the teaching of Greek Music and Greek Dancing in particular.

Common Educational Co-ordinating Committee. Some of the views of the president of OESEKA on this issue have already been mentioned in chapter IV.

Commenting on this issue, the president of OESEKA expressed his concern because he could not see any solution of the problem in the near future. He insisted that such a Committee should be controlled by the Cyprus Ministry of Education and not by K.E.S. and the Church. He argued that the pupils in the OESEKA come from Cyprus and it is the responsibility of the Cyprus government to be interested in their education in their mother-tongue and culture. The Cyprus Government finances 25 qualified teachers from Cyprus who teach almost exclusively in the O.E.S.E.K.A. schools. OESEKA is grateful to the Cyprus Ministry of Education for this and other help from Cyprus in audio-visual aids. OESEKA would like to see the Cyprus Ministry of Education control a future Common Educational Co-ordinating Committee for the Greek Supplementary Schools in Britain.

6. The views of a senior member of the central committee of OESEKA

A senior member of the central committee of O.E.S.E.K.A., who is also the organising secretary of the biggest association of parents organisations in Britain expressed his views about the Greek supplementary schools as follows⁽⁶⁾.

(a) Aims of the Greek supplementary schools

The main aim of these Greek schools is to help the children of the Greek Cypriot immigrants in Britain to know their background through the teaching of Greek language and culture. It is evident that by doing this task the Greek schools contribute to a better understanding between the children and their parents. They enable the children to establish respect towards their parents and their own self-respect. In the last analysis the work of the Greek supplementary schools is a great contribution towards the creation of a more balanced community and a more balanced society in general. This work of the Greek schools should be done during the first 6-10 years of the life of the child.

Another aim of the Greek supplementary school is to become the centre of community activities. This is worthy in many ways. In the Greek school the parents themselves get together and establish better relationships.

Through this interaction they can establish social relationships among themselves and the scope of social activities increases in general. Through such relationships there is always the possibility of the development of the business of Greek Cypriots. In this context the children of Greek Cypriots feel more secure.

Continuing he stated that the Greek Cypriot has a shy personality by nature. In Britain, particularly this characteristic exists to a greater degree owing to the lack of good communication, because of the difficulty in the language. He, therefore, is trying

to overcome this disadvantage by creating his own business and mixing as much as possible with his fellow-countrymen. In this notion his world, even in Britain, is concentrated around the Greek Cypriot community. The Greek Cypriot in general avoids having to come in contact with the teachers of his child in the main-stream school, again because of his lack of English. This situation, however, is quite the contrary with the Greek supplementary schools.

Thus the establishment of many Greek classes and youth clubs in the various parts in London where mostly the Greek Cypriots concentrate constitutes a vehicle for helping these people to overcome the language problem to a large extent, and bringing them together so that they will be able to face their various difficulties, social, cultural etc., in a more effective way.

7. The views of a leading representative of the Greek community in Britain. (7)

(a) Why the Greek schools are useful

These schools are not only useful but in fact indispensable.

Children with Greek origin should be identified in two categories. The children who came to Britain from Cyprus or Greece and the children who were born in Britain from Greek parents. In the first case, the children who come to Britain from Cyprus must of course learn English, but at the same time their education should proceed along Greek lines. This is because these children will not be able to catch up with the English education system in such a short time and more than that, having been born in Cyprus and having lived there for varying lengths of time, depending on the age at which they came over here, they will have the emotional need to learn Greek.

The Greek supplementary schools are also indispensable for the children of the second generation, that is to say for children that have been born in Britain. This is of course a very vast issue

but it is believed that the children of Greek origin are integrated but they are not assimilated in British society. In other words they are not accepted on equal terms, as indigenous children. They will be considered as foreigners as long as their names sound Greek, their religion is Greek Orthodox and of course their cultural characteristics are different from those of the British. The worst thing that can happen to them is to be in 'no man's land'. This means that if they are not accepted by their environment, by the people of this country as being indigenous British and if they are not accepted by the Greeks as being Greek, then they will be in 'no man's land'. It is an axiom, that every human being must have a psychological refuge, a pigeon-hole in which to belong. There is an exception of course with supra national people who do not want to belong to...a herd. So for the reasons which have been explained the Greek supplementary schools are necessary mainly for the integration of children of the Greek community.

(b) The teaching of Greek language and culture in the regular timetables of schools

The teaching of Greek language and culture in the regular timetables of English schools would have some distinct advantages. The Greek school as a weekly or daily school has a different environment with different characteristics from the state schools. Usually the conditions in which they are functioning include many disadvantages. One disadvantage is the time of their functioning. Many children are tired and they do not want to go to their evening Greek school. When the Greek school takes place on Saturdays again they do not want to go because they want to play or go shopping or just stay home and rest like their peers in the main-stream school. Another disadvantage is the discipline in the Greek school, which is entirely different from the discipline which is followed in the main-stream schools where the children go every day. So integrating the

Greek language and culture in the timetables of the main-stream schools would be very useful. There will be one thing missing. And this is the Greek atmosphere which one finds in a Greek supplementary school which is established by the priest or representatives of Greek parents. This Greek atmosphere is mostly related to the teaching of Greek History and tradition, to national pride etc. and it should be regarded as an advantage of the Greek schools.

On balance of course, if a child can be made to attend happily a Greek school, it is better. But if not then it is certainly easier and more effective to be taught Greek in his state school.

(c) Resources of the Greek supplementary schools

Arguing on this aspect the person interviewed said that things are changing. The British authorities are realising that not only is it not wrong, but it is good for the upbringing of the children of the Greek community to have the opportunity to be taught the language of their parents in state schools. Thus they seem to have assumed this responsibility, which is right.

(d) Youngsters who see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context

Expressing his views on this subject, the interviewed person sustained that this is what happens, unfortunately. Once the decision to immigrate to this country has been made, Cypriots are trying to bring, as it is said, 'the soil of their country on the soles of their shoes' and create their own ghetto over here. On these terms they are naturally not accepted by the other indigenous British people, particularly if both parents are Greek. The situation is different if one parent, especially the mother, is British. Then it is easier for the children to be accepted, otherwise they will be considered as migrants.

So, youngsters of Greek Cypriot origin naturally feel Greek Cypriots living in a British context. This is really the situation.

8. A well-known personality among the Cypriot community, one that has for many years been involved in the social and educational affairs of the Cypriot community and continues to play important role in these aspects, expressed his views as follows: ⁽⁸⁾

(a) The establishment of Greek supplementary schools

Since the Second World War there has been an influx of ethnic minorities into Britain mainly from the ex-colonies and many of these minorities have come at some time or other to create schools for their own children, the mother-tongue schools, e.g. the Asian community, the Turkish community, the Greek community etc. Today in Britain the movement for mother-tongue schools is quite strong and reasonably well established.

The establishment of Greek supplementary schools seems to be not only useful but also an inevitable and essential service.

(i) The reasons for the creation of such schools were primarily the pressures of the parents. They wanted these supplementary schools to enable them to communicate with their children. It is a problem, when children from ex-colonial countries become Anglicised in Britain and soon they can only communicate in English. Their parents cannot understand English well and they cannot communicate properly with their children. Therefore, these supplementary schools are the best way available, to enable the parents and their children to communicate. It is a crucial point and it should be overemphasised. There has been a lot of unhappiness in the past and there is still a lot of unhappiness because of this lack of communication and this cultural gap between the first generation of immigrants and their children.

It should be noted that sometimes it's not a matter of one generation. It's a matter of many generations' gap. Somebody for instance who has come to Britain from Asia or from Cyprus, where he grew up in an agricultural environment, is completely removed from an urban environment like that of London. The children of such parents, who grow up in the sophisticated industrial society have many and great differences in understanding with their parents. Therefore, although ordinarily there is a cultural gap between first and second generations, in the case of the various ethnic minorities including the Greek Cypriot one, the gap is more than one generation.

Thus it is very useful that the mother-tongue is being taught in the supplementary schools. It keeps the family together, it brings peace to the family and this situation is very beneficial for the child and for his education in general.

(ii) Advantages. There is also the advantage that the children who learn their mother-tongue as well as English so becoming bilingual, are more broad-minded than if they were not taught their mother-tongue. It is not only a matter of a language. By learning a language you learn of a culture, you learn of a history, you learn of another part of the world.

Continuing his views on the Greek supplementary schools the person interviewed, referred to his experience as a teacher twenty years ago, when he was teaching in a local school in the area of Islington in North London. He happened to teach Greek Cypriot children, who were also attending Greek supplementary schools. He noticed that those children in general were well ahead in their educational progress, of the rest of the children in the school. He attributed that to the fact that the Greek children broadened their attitude by being taught their mother-tongue and culture. Therefore, the Greek supplementary schools from that point of view are useful.

They are also useful for the indigenous children, because gradually they, themselves become aware of another culture. This broadens their attitudes too and benefits their education. The person interviewed stated that this was found experimentally that the creation of Greek supplementary schools benefits both the children with Greek origin and the indigenous children.

Supplementary, mother-tongue schools are also very useful for the indigenous people at large. This is because when the indigenous population tolerate the idea of immigrant children learning their mother-tongue and culture, this attitude improves understanding and tolerance on behalf of the host community. It broadens the understanding of the indigenous people. Another aspect is that the teachers themselves are becoming gradually supportive and the educational system as a whole benefits. This is because, inevitably these things are being talked about in the schools and among educationists and among sociologists and gradually a sense of tolerance is encouraged along with a sense of understanding for the people of ethnic minorities. Thus in this way the Greek supplementary schools benefit the community at large and also they do improve relations among people even on a wider level than that of the local community.

b. Resources

Concerning the resources of these Greek supplementary schools, it is true that until now almost all the resources for the teaching of Greek among the Greek community have been supplied from the Greek community itself and from Greece and Cyprus.

There was a directive from the Department of Education and Science in Britain eight years ago or thereabouts, requesting the local authorities to help the ethnic minorities to teach their mother-tongue and culture to their children. That directive, however, was instructive and it had not been adopted. Local authorities were just

left to themselves and it was not implemented. The Inner London Education Authority accepted it. But even this authority did not go out of its way. It was left to the Cypriot community for instance or to any other community to apply for facilities. The Greek community did not make full use of it. The Islington Greek Cypriot school is the only one which has been created on that basis, after considerable pressure. This school is financed by the ILEA.

c. The teaching of Greek language and culture in the regular timetables of the mainstream schools and the responsibilities of British authorities and the Greek Community towards this matter.

(i) Speaking about this matter the interviewee said that the Schools' council initiated a pilot scheme which certainly opens up a new situation. It is a project for the teaching of Greek mother-tongue in the mainstream system in Britain. (More about this project is written in chapter VIII).

The British government is certainly under an obligation. It has always been under a moral obligation to help promote the linguistic and cultural needs of its citizens. However, now, one expects that a lot more is going to be done. The scene changes considerably, because as this subject has to be introduced to the mainstream system, a lot is going to be done. Teachers, books, research and lots of facilities have to be adjusted to be relevant for this innovation. Such educational adjustments have to be introduced especially in London where the Greek Cypriot community is concentrated.

(ii) The responsibility of the Greek community towards the teaching of Greek language and culture in the mainstream schools.

The extent of the implementation of this policy, of the teaching of the Greek language and culture in the mainstream system and the success of this implementation as well, depends largely on the Greek community. It is very important that the Greek community

should pressurise all the time. This policy is not going to be implemented if the members of the community do nothing themselves but just expect things to be done by the authorities. Even if it is implemented without any involvement from the community, it may lose a lot of its colour.

Several languages for instance are now being taught in English schools, e.g. French, Italian, Germany, Russian etc. But there is something different in the teaching of a language in the English schools. It must be kept in mind that it is not only the language that is needed but the ethnic culture too. The Greek culture is a living culture. Here lies the difference between the teaching of Greek language in a mainstream school and the teaching of Greek language in a Greek supplementary school, where the emphasis on the teaching of Greek culture gives an additional colour and interest to the lessons.

Thus there are two aspects here. One is that the Greek Cypriot community should keep up the pressure, to encourage and pressurise the British government and the local authorities to supply proper facilities for the teaching of Greek in the mainstream system.

The other aspect is that the Greek community should be organised and be in a position to make sure that the quality and the rewards of that teaching in the English schools do not get lost. Because if that teaching is not followed by the community it can be a very quiescent type of teaching. Culture is wider than language and for the Greek community a new prospect is being created; it must work and contribute towards the success of this prospect.

In these terms the Greek community has to create the resources to follow and to supervise the teaching of Greek language and culture in the mainstream schools. It must not be expected that

an ordinary mainstream school can supervise as well as if the school had Greek teachers and the teachers of the Greek or the Greek Cypriot delegations. The teaching of the Greek language in the mainstream schools needs following up and studying to see how it could be carried out more effectively. You must have proper facilities to teach it properly. One cannot have a book and say that one teaches the language. It is obvious that there is a lot more to be taught, to help the children to acquire as broad as possible an understanding of the Greek language and the Greek culture.

In order to illustrate better what he meant the person interviewed, referred to the particular school which he is running. He said that they started from one class and now they have 17 classes. All the time they find that a little bit more is needed to enlighten, to enrich the teaching that is given to children. So they create one more class and one more class to supplement. It is a voluntary school and they have the freedom to do it, he added. They also have the freedom to go bring any facilities wherever they can find them. Whereas in a mainstream school there will not be that freedom, nor there will be that sensitive watching by the school. In that school there are seventeen teachers, helping each other towards success. There will not be the same facilities for following the progress of Greek teaching in a mainstream school.

Therefore, the Greek Cypriot educational delegation and the educational organisations of the Greek community will have to continue watching and working to see how they can maximise the usefulness of that teaching into the mainstream schools.

d. The relationship between the teachers of the mainstream system and the teachers of the Greek supplementary schools.

It is obvious that there is a need for some cooperation between these two categories of teachers, because the children are caught between two cultures and two pressures. For this reason they

need support and understanding. And if these do not exist, both the children and the schools will be led into difficulties. Experience has shown, that if the state school teachers are understanding the need and value of the community school then the children with Greek origin benefit greatly by making full use of these schools. This in return, as it was stated earlier in this interview, has a beneficial effect on the general education of these children.

This situation has been tried out. For quite a few years now it has been found experimentally that the Greek children in a number of state schools were among the first to go and reach a high level in their examinations. They were among the first to pass G.C.E. examinations. They started by passing G.C.E. in Modern Greek at the ordinary level and the advanced level. From there they went on and passed in English and in other subjects. Then they went to colleges and universities, whereas the remaining children could not do it for quite a few years. The other children later on took courage and they also did progress. The point is that by learning Greek it does help, it does not do any harm to the wider learning of the children. Thus if the state school teachers are supportive and understanding they can help not only in the advancement of learning Greek but also in the advancement of the wider education of these children of Greek origin.

It has also been noticed that where this attitude is not constructive but hostile as it has been many times, the children have been discouraged from learning Greek, because it has been thought that the learning of Greek would be at the expense of learning English or other subjects and that the children would get confused and that this could harm their wider learning.

The way out is that there should be discussion and in-service courses for the mainstream teachers to understand the value of multicultural education. There are fortunately some courses today

in this direction. Southlands College for instance runs a diploma for teachers, on multicultural education. This should be far more wide-spread. Certainly all teachers of schools where there are ethnic minorities, in this case children of Greek origin, should have supplementary courses to help the teachers to understand the meaning and the importance for these children of learning their mother-tongue.

e. Advantages and disadvantages of Greek supplementary schools

Although some of the advantages of the Greek supplementary schools have been mentioned in the previous pages of this interview some more of them were stated by the person interviewed.

It was emphasised, that primarily these schools help to keep the family together. They help in the understanding between the parents and their children and thus make them more contented. It is known that in families where there is a breakdown of communication, disasters follow. The children grow apart, the parents despair. And the children suffer as much as the parents. So one very major advantage is that the Greek supplementary schools fulfil a social need, whether they plan it or not. They help to keep Greek families in unity and harmony.

These schools have also major educational advantages. They teach a very useful language which is rich as is the Greek culture.

Generally, one can notice all the time that as the children grow they go deeper and deeper into their studies. The advantages are very great and now there are classes in these schools enabling the Greek children to make an interest in the wider Cypriot community. In the particular school which is run by this Cypriot community relations officer they are starting a course which enables children to become community workers specialising in work for the Cypriot community. It is obvious that the advantages of Greek supplementary schools are quite broad. It is expected, for instance, that more and

more of these children are going to take responsible jobs in the council and government, to serve the needs of the Cypriot community.

Understandably the Greek supplementary schools are not an easy matter. They are not all advantages, but have their difficulties. Especially in the beginning there is a lot of bitterness and resentment on the part of the children themselves and on the part of their teachers. These conflicts can create a lot of confusion and a lot of unhappiness in the child. These are very real difficulties and where they still exist they are considered a disadvantage. One assumes, however, that the acquisition of all knowledge, and that all educational projects and schools have obstacles and difficulties. But once you manage to establish an educational project or school, the advantages follow.

One could argue today that if all the minorities had accepted that when they came to Britain they had to settle down completely and become assimilated and anglicised they might have avoided some of the intercommunal conflicts. It is a reasonable argument to which there is not a concrete answer. It can be said, however, that if there is intolerance towards the mother-tongue and culture of people one should not give in and accept this situation. It is the responsibility of people to preserve their human dignity and culture.

With all the bitterness, with all the difficulties, on balance the benefits of the Greek supplementary schools outweigh the disadvantages.

f. The identity of children with Greek origin

Some of the children who are born here from Greek Cypriot parents take some time before they are able to sort out what they are. Originally they feel confused and they do not know whether they are Greek or English. It is natural for a child at school to want to be a part of his peer-group. Thus they think of themselves

originally as being anglicised. However, although they grow up in an English environment the fact that they have a parent culture which is different sooner or later brings them into contact with reality and they do experience some conflict. The Greek school helps children to overcome this conflict, this uncertainty about their culture.

Gradually, as time goes on, the children come to accept that they are Greek Cypriot children with twin cultures, the Greek Cypriot and the English culture. In this way they have an enriched, broader culture. As time goes on they accept it and expect the others to accept it too.

It is impossible to have a child from Greek Cypriot parents, born in Britain and be pure Greek Cypriot or pure British, simply because is affected by both cultures. However, it is a useful thing for a child, to inherit his parents' culture and also develop the culture of his environment. He is then a richer person. In the end one finds that when these people mature they are the more complete personalities. One notices this in many walks of life. The institutions have also recognised this and they give due respect to people who have more than one culture because they are richer human beings as educationists, as sociologists etc.

9. Responses to Greek supplementary schools from the Cyprus Ministry of Education

On behalf of the Ministry of Education in Cyprus a senior officer⁽⁹⁾ there expressed views about the Greek supplementary schools in Britain, as follows:

First, he made a general statement about these schools explaining that societies in general have moved from their original position of the 'melting pot'. This attitude of total assimilation has been substituted by the social model of the mosaic. This means that people emigrating to a country must get from the host country

all those elements which are necessary for them to feel equal members of their new country. At the same time, however, they must not abandon their cultural characteristics; they must not be assimilated into the new society.

In this context the emigrant should be given every support in order to feel as an equal member of his new country. Otherwise, he will be unhappy. However, even when every possible support is given to the immigrant towards the objective stated above, the problem will always exist, particularly among people of the first generation. Adults who emigrate to a country continue to feel the characteristics of their own ethnic culture and tradition. It is impossible for them to get rid of those characteristics.

On the other hand, they try hard so as to feel equal to the other people in the same society. The problem of social inequality will exist among emigrants of the first generation. It is only in the second generation that the problem begins to become less acute.

As far as the children of immigrant parents are concerned, the same problem exists for them. The children who were born in the new country want to be equal to the others in the same society. They do not like any discrimination against them. They are, however, facing a dilemma. On the one hand is their home, which requires from them not to abandon their ethnic culture and tradition, but to feel as Greek Cypriots; and on the other hand, is the strength of the peer-group that attracts the children and requests them to belong to their peer-group and not to their parents' group. Here lies the problem. And it is at this point that the appropriate education system will play its role. It must see that the two contradictory parts, the home and the peer-group do not conflict and create problems for the children. Both home and the education system should co-operate and make this problem less acute for the children of immigrant parents.

After his introductory statement the senior officer of the Cyprus Ministry of Education answered questions about the Greek supplementary schools. Here follows a summary of his answers.

a. Views about the supplementary schools in Britain

Speaking about the Greek supplementary schools, the senior officer of the Cyprus Ministry of Education expressed positive attitudes towards these schools. He added that these schools should contribute to the solution of the problem which has been explained above. He stated that he is against dividing policies. For this reason the work done in these schools should be done cautiously.

The objective of offering to children elements from their ethnic and cultural identity should not create conflicts in the children and should not make difficult their co-operation and adjustment in the society of the host country. Their ethnic and cultural characteristics should make them feel proud about their background but they should not keep them separate from the other groups of the society in which they live.

b. The teaching of Greek language and culture in mainstream schools, where there are large numbers of children with Greek origin.

Speaking on this aspect the senior officer of the Cyprus Ministry of Education said that it should be an ideal solution if the Greek language and culture could be taught in an integrated curriculum in the state education system. Such an integrated approach could benefit both the children of Greek ethnic background and the children of the other ethnic groups too. First the children of Greek ethnic background should feel more happy and confident, if their home language and culture were recognised by their mainstream school. This fact could contribute positively to the formation of their personality.

As far as the pupils from the other ethnic groups are concerned this integrated approach could benefit them in the sense that

they could have an opportunity to know something more about the pupils from Greek ethnic background and this could contribute to a better understanding between the children of the various ethnic groups.

c. The responsibility of the British education authorities for the Greek supplementary schools

Expressing views on this issue the interviewee said that it was his belief that countries like the United Kingdom, which have a variety of ethnic groups should contribute to the teaching of the home language and culture of the children of these groups, particularly where the number of children of such a group is big enough to justify such an endeavour, like the case of children from the Greek community in Britain.

By making this contribution the British education authorities would enable the children with Greek ethnic background, to become better citizens without conflicts with the other ethnic groups and what is basically significant, without conflicts within themselves. On the contrary, if these children are left to grow up without any such help, they will probably become divided personalities, and they will not become useful assets as citizens of tomorrow.

d. Youngsters who see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context

The senior officer described this tendency as a problem. He argued that since people who are established in a country intend to stay and live in that country they should accept that they are citizens of that country. In the case of Greek Cypriots living in Britain they should accept that they are British citizens. They could be proud of their Greek ethnic and cultural background but they should not underestimate the values of their new country. In these terms they should contribute to its progress and well-being. They should feel equal to the other members of the society in which they live.

e. The relations between the teachers in the mainstream system and the teachers in the community schools

Proceeding to this issue, the senior officer of the Cyprus Ministry of Education said that there should be close co-operation between these two groups of teachers for the benefit of children. Thus they should exchange visits with their respective schools. The teachers of the Greek schools should visit the mainstream schools of their pupils to see how they respond and behave there. In the same way the teachers from mainstream schools should visit the Greek supplementary schools and see what kind of work the children are doing there. This kind of awareness on the part of teachers from both sides could help them do a better job in their schools.

f. Advantages and disadvantages of the Greek supplementary schools

Arguing on this aspect the senior officer pointed out that the major advantage of these schools is the opportunity they offer to children of Greek origin, to know the Greek language, culture and tradition.

Referring to disadvantages, he pointed out two of them: the first is a kind of stress put on children. He argued that it is a burden for them to finish their work in their mainstream school and to be asked once or twice a week to spend their free time in another school, learning another language. It is usually boring for children to ask them to do extra work during their free time.

The second disadvantage is that children are asked to do something that their peers are not doing. Thus children of Greek origin may ask themselves why they have this sort of work while their classmates do not. In this sense, he argued that the supplementary schools make a kind of distinction between children from Greek origin and children from the dominant group.

This kind of disadvantage, however, can be mediated through a right approach based on close co-operation and understanding between the teachers of Greek supplementary schools and those of the mainstream schools.

Concluding this chapter the following points could be made

(i) There were differences between KES on the one hand and OESEKA on the other. The former believed that all Greek supplementary schools should come under the control of KES.

(ii) The latter particularly believed that while the Greek supplementary schools had a major function they still faced major difficulties which could only be overcome by help from British educational authorities.

There are major groups or important individuals in the Greek community, especially those who are more politically conservative and church-orientated, who believe that Greek supplementary schools should remain totally independent of British educational authorities.

There are other important groups and individuals, however, who actively support greater contacts between Greek supplementary schools and British educational organisations and greater help from British official bodies for Greek schooling.

Whether the closer relationship envisaged by the latter groups is possible depends on a correspondingly positive response from LEAs and other state agencies in Britain. The attitudes of some British educationists to Greek supplementary schools will be examined in the next chapter.

Notes and References

- (1) Views expressed by His Eminence Dr. Methodios, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, President of the Central Educational Committee of Thyateira and Great Britain (K.E.S.). His interview with the writer took place in the Archbishopric in London, on the 24th of March, 1982.
- (2) Views expressed to the writer by Bishop Gregorios on the 3rd of March, 1982. Bishop Gregorios comes from Cyprus. He is responsible for the Greek Orthodox Church of an area of North London where the majority of Greek Cypriots in London concentrate. He is responsible for the Greek school of St. Barnabas, the biggest one in Britain. This school is known for its interesting cultural activities which are organised very frequently.
- (3) These views were expressed to the writer by the Greek Educational Adviser Dr. E. Tsaparlis, during an interview in the Greek Embassy in London, on the 14th of June, 1982. (Dr. Tsaparlis was called back to Greece and a new educational adviser took his place in April 1983).
- (4) Views expressed to the writer by the Consul General of the Cyprus High Commission, Mrs. Myrna Kleopa. The interview took place in the Cyprus High Commission, on the 24th May, 1982.
- (5) The President of O.E.S.E.K.A., (Federation of Educational Societies of Greek Cypriot in Britain) Mr. Chr. Stylianou expressed his views to the writer, during an interview on the 18th of January, 1982.
- (6) The senior member of O.E.S.E.K.A. and the Greek Parents Association Mr. M. Christodoulides expressed his views to the writer on the 28th January, 1982.
- (7) Doctor Homer Habibis expressed his views to the writer on the 14th of June, 1982. He is a well known person in the Greek Community and he has been involved in the functioning of Greek supplementary schools in London. He is also the President of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood and the President of the Association of all organisations of the Greek Cypriots in Britain.
- (8) Vakis Zesimos expressed his views to the writer during an interview on the 23rd of July 1982 and on the 26th of August 1982. He is the Cypriot Community Relations officer and Head of the Shelbourn Greek School.
- (9) Views expressed to the writer by Dr. Andonis Papadopoulos, Acting Officer-in-charge of Primary Education, in the Ministry of Education, Cyprus. The interview took place on the 2nd of April 1983.

Chapter VIIIRESPONSES TO GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS
FROM ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES AND ORGANISATIONS

This chapter will be based on a number of interviews with persons having an area of responsibility in British education. This responsibility is related to either the formulation of educational policies or the adaptation and implementation of these policies. In this notion the persons interviewed represent the national level, the local level and the level of the school.

The justification is that policies on Greek mother culture teaching have not been made explicit in written sources. Therefore policy makers at each level have been interviewed.

At the national level those interviewed have been persons in the Department of Education and Science, persons in the Schools' Council and in the National Union of Teachers.

At the local level interviews have taken place with persons in the Inner London Education Authority and the Borough of Haringey Education Service. These are the two main areas, where there is a concentration of pupils of Greek Cypriot origin.

At the level of the school interviews have taken place with two headteachers of primary schools. A Greek supplementary school is accommodated on the premises of one of these schools and some of its pupils of Greek origin, attend Greek classes. The teaching of Greek language and culture has also been introduced in the timetable of this state school. The other is the headteacher of an infants' school where more than one third of the pupils are of Greek origin.

1. National level

The person who expressed the national view on the Greek supplementary schools, on behalf of the Department of Education and Science, was one of Her Majesty's Inspectors (H.M.Is)⁽¹⁾, in the

D.E.S. (2) That H.M.I. (3) introduced the D.E.S. responses to questions about the Greek supplementary schools by describing the position of the Department of Education and Science, for the education of the children of a culturally plural society, the British society. He discussed some very important issues, and arguments related to the matter. Those arguments give the general background on which the D.E.S. responses to the Greek supplementary schools are based.

Originally the H.M.I. made the assumption that minority groups would be assimilated totally, into British culture. In this sense it was assumed that there would not be any need for changes in the social structure and in the cultural structure of British society. He continued by arguing that, that view could not be sustained, because it became evident, that minority groups were not going to give up their cultures, as they wished their children to have the same types of cultural experiences as their own. They wished their children to be able to speak their languages so that they would communicate in the home and their communities and have contacts with their families, abroad. So that was a matter of natural and normal development among the communities themselves. They were not going to abandon their cultures. That development coincided with international recognition, that minority groups would not actually abandon their culture and be totally assimilated, of which there are lots of examples across the world. The various ethnic groups generally maintain their own culture.

a. How does the D.E.S. respond to the problem

Continuing his argument the H.M.I. referred to the problem, inherent in this situation, which is that once you accept the fact that it is perfectly normal to be British and to be Greek Orthodox or to be British and to be Moslem, how do you actually respond to that in the education system. The H.M.I. admitted that that is a difficult area and he added that it is the point at which the D.E.S. had now arrived.

He proceeded to say that, if you had a culturally plural society, two things would emerge: the first one was that the particular characteristics of children in the school system would be diverse. They would have different languages, they would have different religions and they would have different social customs also. So the particular requirements of those children would continue to need to be met in the school system. And they would cover things like: how do you respond to the mother-tongues? And do you actually succeed in teaching English withdrawing children to centres, or do you have to do it in the actual system itself? And where does the use of the mother-tongue come into the learning of English? How do you transfer from one language to another? Those are sorts of pedagogical problems for schools.

The second issue which emerges is, how do you actually then do, what is necessary for the sake of long-term social harmony. To educate all children into an acceptable cultural variety, so that they will accept on an equal basis, the various groups and individuals who behave in different ways, into what has been traditionally a British society.

b. Mother-Tongue Teaching

H.M.I. continued that now, what the schools have, or they are beginning to have more and more, is consideration of things like 'mother-tongue teaching.

Such considerations are beginning to be looked at from four points of view. It is not just one single straightforward issue. There are a number of different issues as they perceive it in the Department of Education and Science and in the discussions that the H.M.Is. have with local authorities.

But their position in the D.E.S. is certainly the position that the Inspectorate came to on this. And the views they have come to on this are of four dimensions.

(i) The first one is that young children come into the school for the first time as non-English speakers or partial English speakers. They are exposed to English through the media and other contacts in the environment, as non or partial English speakers. Now, how do you actually further their education performance at that stage? You do not want them to have their learning retarded from the point when they enter school, because they may have an incapacity, to deal with the English language itself and with the curriculum through the medium of the English language.

At this point, in order to illustrate his arguments on the issue of mother-tongue teaching, the H.M.I. referred to a relevant mother-tongue and English teaching project, which was set up in Bradford. The Department of Education and Science asked some schools in Bradford to teach through English, part of the time with young children entering school for the first time and part of their time through their first language. (Punjabi in that case) And also to do what normal first schools would do, the normal activities. So, part of their time was spent doing their work in their first language and part of their time doing their work in English.

That research showed several interesting features. One was that the parents became much more involved in the school, because they had actually to co-operate with the teacher. They were concerned to know that their children would be able to communicate properly with the teacher. So that was one very good benefit.

The second benefit was that the children settled into the school much more quickly. There was less difficulty in their coming to terms with what the school was actually doing.

The third benefit was that their learning developed more quickly. They actually learnt to cope with the learning, that the teacher expected, more quickly.

The fourth benefit, which also surprised many of the infant teachers, is that they learnt English more quickly than groups who were learning through English all the time. So there were positive benefits from using that approach in the schools.

Now, the practical difficulties of applying that in all schools are very great. The schools do not have the teachers to do it at this stage and there are lots of difficulties in that area. Many local authorities are trying to do other things, e.g. they are using the parents to come in and work with the children or they are having nursery teachers who can speak the first language of children, while they are working with them, etc.

But the research did indicate what the D.E.S. expected it to indicate, that there were benefits in that approach.

(ii) The second dimension is the maintaining of a language through the mainstream schools. That creates great difficulties. In the primary schools the system is very much based on the class teachers, teaching a class of children and being responsible for all their activities. It isn't normal for children to be taken out for specific things, like language teaching. The class operates as a group and the teacher teaches the class as a group. To take a group of children out and teach them a language is divisive as they would miss something which they should be doing in their class with all their classmates.

The Schools' Council Project, is looking at this from the Greek aspect. It is working with groups of children in the classroom. But that cannot be a totally satisfactory arrangement, or, not for a long time.

The other problem about maintaining it through the mainstream system is that there are community groups, who will argue that if you take their language out of the community context and put it in the school then you weaken it, because it will not be operating

within a live situation. You will be in effect teaching it divorced from its context. Some community groups do not want the authorities to undertake mother-tongue teaching. What they are asking for is support and help to do it better in the community schools.

(iii) The third dimension of it is a very straight forward one: whether examination courses in these languages that the community has, can be offered, on the basis that it will be an important issue in the personal development of a child that he is able to pursue learning in a language other than English. It is recognised that this can be done in the same way that French and German are taught. But also in this case, because the child already has a start he would be able to take it on to a high level.

The other aspect is that these youngsters would have the opportunity of making available as a national resource, a wide range of languages in this country, operating on a high level. And that is important for a country which is not notoriously successful at having access to a lot of people who can speak languages other than English. That in itself is a very important area. There are no real difficulties of principle about doing that. That is being developed in quite a lot of schools so that a variety of different languages is being taught at examination level.

(iv) The fourth dimension which the Schools' Council is looking at, is how do you get monolingual teachers to respond to the language skills that children bring into the classroom so that these children can be enabled to respect what they already have and recognise it as a valuable asset. The other question on this aspect is, what type of project work or themes would the schools do round the language skills that the children have.

c. Views on the Greek Supplementary Schools and the other community schools in general

The H.M.I. said that all schools would by and large welcome any initiative that community groups take. He expressed the hope that they will continue to do it and that they will develop it.

He continued, referring to the sorts of reservations that teachers sometimes have. These reservations are related to the way that the teaching is done. Teachers in the mainstream system argue that the teaching in supplementary school is not in line with the way that the school system has developed teaching approaches and they do express some concern about that. The way that the problem is resolved, if it needs to be resolved, is by closer links between the community classes and the schools. The case of the Inner London Education Authority is a good one. They pay for a number of supplementary schools and they have a direct interest in their work, because that is part of their commitment.

So the view on behalf of the Department of Education and Science would be that they are all in favour of the supplementary schools although they have some concerns about them. One of their concerns would be the extent perhaps to which they differentiate the development of language in the context of culture, or the extent to which it may be related to religious activity. Such activities are respectable but the D.E.S. could not see them as part of mother-tongue teaching. There are complications of that kind. But as the Secretary of State told the Greek Archbishop, he is very supportive to what the community itself did and is doing.

There is not any question about any negative views about what the communities are doing. The complications are related to how the mainstream system becomes involved in it, if it becomes involved at all.

d. The teaching of Greek culture in mainstream schools, with large numbers of children of Greek origin

Speaking on this aspect, the H.M.I. said that it is important to take into account the cultures of the children that are taught. He expressed the view, however, that it may not necessarily be the school's responsibility to actually teach the children their own culture. The teachers have to draw upon it for educational purposes and they need to know about it so that they can use it positively in the sense of knowing the children they teach and building upon their previous experience. But the actual teaching of the culture to the children e.g. teaching Greek history or teaching other aspects of Greek religion perhaps may not be necessarily the responsibility of the school. But to take account of them would be, because the educational process needs to take account of the previous experiences of children. It is also important to make sure that there is a sensitivity and awareness among all the groups in the school of the various constituent powers that make up the school.

In some specific areas like Religious Education where there is a trend to teach a variety of religions the school is expected to teach major world faiths like for example Judaism, Islam and so on. They can become part of the curriculum, and increasingly that is the case. If the education system could draw on the resources that the community of this country has, to make teaching more effective that would be a very good outcome.

e. Youngsters who regard themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context.

Arguing on this issue the H.M.I. said that he would be thinking in terms of the minorities in this country as being British, but with cultural characteristics. There are for example about eleven thousand Portuguese living in London. They probably do not see them-

selves as British and will not. But by and large most communities including the Italian community settled in this country since the last war and other groups of more recent migration have settled here permanently. They are not here temporarily, although they wish to maintain their culture. The Department of Education and Science would tend to see it in that context. These are great issues for the communities themselves. In the case of the members of the Greek Cypriot community, do they see themselves as being bi-cultural, British and Greek Cypriot? Continuing, the H.M.I. expressed the view that the cultural characteristics of the group may well be maintained better by the community, and the education system will not need to take care of them.

It is true that many people in Britain would not say they are English but they would say they are British. A Scotsman will never say he is English, but most Scotsmen would say they are British. In the same sense most Welshmen would say they are Welsh and non English, but they would say they are British. It is not easy to predict how people will see themselves in the future. If you take youngsters of West Indian background they would very often say that they are British West Indians. So there is the connection still with the Carribean background but the reality has also affected them and hopefully they have decided they are British youngsters too.

That is a dilemma concerning the issue of identity, in terms of individuals themselves as well as the society, which in the end the individual has to resolve. If, for example, the youngsters who are of Greek Cypriot background see themselves as Greek Cypriots and still see Cyprus as being in a sense their national home, that is a dilemma, they have to resolve at some point. In the Department of Education and Science the thinking of this would largely be, that if

this society is a multi-cultural society, it can accommodate the cultural differences easily enough in the mainstream schools and draw upon whatever the backgrounds of pupils are. But that depends also upon the minority community's acceptance of the provisions of the society.

This is not similar at all to the perception of other European countries of migrant workers. In other European countries their perception of people who settle in their country is that of migrant workers. But because of Britain's historical past, the association of people in this country is rather different. So, for example the Turks in Germany are seen very differently from the way that they are seen in this country. This is the distinction.

Summarising the views stated above it becomes obvious that the D.E.S. representative supported mother-tongue teaching to children of the ethnic minority groups. Two aspects, however, emphasised by him, should be pointed out:

(i) Resources. It is difficult for educational authorities to provide the appropriate teachers and teaching aids for the teaching of mother-tongue and culture to the children of so many ethnic minorities in Britain.

(ii) What kind of citizens would emerge from an education which would help children of minority groups to keep their own ethnic culture and still feel themselves British citizens?

2. Responses to the Greek Schools from the Schools' Council

The Schools' Council was chosen to express views about the Greek Supplementary schools because it is interested in multicultural education and it has been involved in the Greek supplementary schools as will be explained in this section.

The person who spoke on behalf of the Schools' Council⁽⁴⁾ expressed the following views about the Greek supplementary schools:

These schools serve a very important community need and the fact that they exist is an indication of that need. The schools' existence is also an indication of a deficiency within the mainstream system. He also expressed the view that many parents send their children to community schools at weekends and in the evenings in order to receive a service, which they would often like to feel was available in the mainstream system, during the day, as part of their normal timetable. He emphasized that as a matter of principle community schools are very important, they serve a community need and they do an important job. Nevertheless, he pointed out the need to be aware of the constraints that these schools operate under. There is no doubt that many of them have to work with very limited resources, sometimes in very poor conditions, with very little support from local authorities. Sometimes the schools in which they are accommodated give them very little guidance of any sort and one hears rather disturbing stories about caretakers making their lives very difficult. He repeated that these schools do a good job in difficult circumstances.

(a) Criticisms about the Greek Supplementary Schools

Proceeding, he said that it was necessary to refer to some of the criticisms which are made of the community schools. He didn't want to overstate this but he expressed the view that we ought to be aware of them. Many of the criticisms of teachers in the mainstream sector and by local authorities often come from people who are not very familiar with the work of the community schools. Very often they haven't gone to the trouble of visiting the schools and seeing the work that is done. So their criticism, sometimes is a result of ignorance rather than any educational evaluation of the work that is taking place.

The criticisms are as follows:

(i) Methodology. There is sometimes concern about the methodology employed in the community schools. It is sometimes argued that the

methodology is more didactic, is probably more traditional and formal in style than the children might be accustomed to, during the normal day in the mainstream school, especially in the primary school. The representative of the Schools' Council added that he was aware that these are certain discontinuities in teaching style but he had been reluctant to make generalisations about them. He continued saying that very often teaching style is dictated by teaching circumstances. And if one has to work under very tight time constraints, with limited resources, sometimes with large numbers of children, then there is limited scope for how flexible and imaginative one can be in one's teaching approach.

(ii) Content of teaching. A further criticism is related to the content of teaching. He said that there is some concern that the community schools in general, work on a notion of maintaining cultural identity in the children, but it is the cultural identity which does not reflect the fact that the children are growing up in a multi-cultural urban environment. It is sometimes, a rather romanticised view of cultural identity which relates more to life at home, overseas, rather than the reality of the children's present circumstances. He added that he could not say that this is necessarily valid in the case of the Greek Supplementary schools but it is certainly very valid in the case of the schools related to other minorities, particularly those from the Indian sub-continent.

(iii) Motivation. A further criticism is about the actual motivation in providing for community mother-tongue classes. The mainstream teachers sometimes argue that the motivation is often strongly influenced by a sense of nationalism, and a desire to perpetuate a sense of national identity in the children, which is quite distinct from cultural identity. There is some anxiety that this trend will lead the children to a conflict situation. They will feel torn

between the expectations of the community as voiced by the supplementary school and the mainstream system as voiced by the L.E.A. school.

(b) Prediction about the role of Greek Supplementary Schools

The Schools' Council spokesman continued by saying that in the future the role of the Greek supplementary schools is going to be even more important than it is now even if mother-tongue teaching will be available in the mainstream system. What is likely to happen in the future as the mainstream schools change, is that the community schools will take on a rather different role themselves. It is possible that they may concentrate more on culture than on language. Of course it is not possible to separate language and culture but it is very likely in the future that the mainstream system is going to make much more provision for mother-tongue teaching. Local authorities are going to formulate policies on the subject and at some point it is going to be important to have dialogue between the mainstream sector and the community sector, to see just what sort of cooperative links can be established and whether there are particular responsibilities that might be more effectively carried out in the community sector and whether the actual teaching and extension of the language might be more appropriately tackled within the mainstream system.

(c) Reasons for which the Greek Supplementary Schools are important

Proceeding further the spokesman suggested a few reasons why the community schools are important.

(i) The first one (as it was stressed earlier by him) is that such schools are an indication of community concern about cultural and language maintenance among children and really it is most impressive that communities have been able to organise themselves on such a scale to provide such an effective network of teaching.

It is known that in the case of Greek schools there is support from the Cypriot government and the Greek government but nevertheless there is still tremendous community support for these initiatives.

(ii) The second reason is more concerned with the children themselves. It is often said in this country that children experience conflict. They are torn between the values and expectations of the majority society and of the home. It is possible for parents to make community provision available in the way they have done in many parts of this country. It goes some way towards reassuring children that the home culture is still something which is vital, which is active, which is living and which can give them the support which they need as growing people. He emphasized that children who have very little community support are the children who experience most confusion and are possibly more likely to run into difficulties as they reach adolescence.

(iii) The third reason is related to the actual job that these schools do. Their main job is related to linguistic and cultural maintenance. He argued that despite the circumstances in which they are often operating they are doing their job remarkably effectively. A testimony to this is the number of children for instance, who are now taking 'O' and 'A' level courses in minority languages, much of the teaching for these having been done in the community schools often on a part-time basis. So that is an indication of their effectiveness and the contribution that they can make to the child's general educational progress. Concluding, he expressed his disappointment that on such occasions there is not the sympathetic awareness on the part of the state school system, towards the valuable work that is done in the Greek Supplementary schools and the other community schools in general.

(d) The teaching of Greek language and culture in the mainstream system

Arguing on this issue the person interviewed said that as a matter of principle now there is need to accept in this country that minority language children should have an opportunity for their home language to be recognised and extended within the mainstream system. And it is pleasing now, that some local authorities and schools are taking a decision of this nature in principle. But the difficulties arise on the practicalities which ensue.

The practicality is obviously related to material resources, human resources, timetable implications, all of which can prove to be big problems for certain schools and local authorities that are sometimes operating on very limited budgets. But if it is accepted that the principle is a sound one, and if accepted by the Authorities that the educational case for mother-tongue and cultural maintainance in the mainstream schools is well established then the system has really no alternative but to explore ways to make suitable provision available. It was stressed in advance that it is not quite as simple a thing as it appears to be. The recruitment of suitable teachers, the development of suitable materials and the organisation of schools, are all very important issues, which the Authorities cannot afford to belittle. In this sense some enthusiasts of mother-tongue teaching fail to understand just how complex it is going to be to make the provision available within the mainstream system. However, he maintained that as a matter of principle and almost as a matter of social right, the provision should be there for the children.

Continuing his arguments on this matter he said that there are certain difficulties with the terminology used at the moment, particularly when someone talks about teaching the Greek language and culture in the regular timetable. As far as young children are

concerned, particularly in the early years of the primary school it is unlikely that the mainstream system would favour direct teaching of the language or culture, because that really is not in line with the methodology that is used. They don't seek to teach English language and culture. Rather, what they do is to bring the child into an environment where the child has an opportunity to learn and develop using the language and to applying the language in process of cognitive development. So the formal notion of teaching is probably not an appropriate way to describe what might be available within the mainstream system. He added that it would be better if the term was bilingual education, particularly in relation to the primary school, which implies opportunity for children to use two languages, English and the mother-tongue, as part of their everyday learning. This is something the Schools' Council is looking at very closely, as part of the Schools' Council mother-tongue project.

With older children, particularly at the secondary level there is no doubt that the term 'teaching' is applicable because probably the language would be made available through the Modern Languages Department. The approach there is very much one of direct teaching and children learning from each other in a carefully structured teaching situation.

An important issue is examination courses for children. It is pleasing to see that there are more developments taking place on this side. It is an area in which the Schools' Council is itself involved through an examinations working party which is now set up, to prepare guidelines on the syllabuses for minority languages within the mainstream secondary schools.

The question of teaching the language in the secondary school raises a lot of questions, including the question of staffing and the question of resources. On the question of staffing, the easy option is to take the line which has been adopted in some countries

on the European mainland, and that is to rely on embassies or high commissions, from the children's parents' country of origin. That may be a convenient stop-gap measure, but in the long term in Britain a policy must be formulated for the training and recruitment of bilingual teachers through the mainstream educational system rather than being dependent on external bodies to make that support available. At the present time there are very few bilingual teachers, coming through teacher training. There is not a single nationally recognised bilingual teacher training course in Britain at the present time, and this is something that the D.E.S. is going to have to take account of.

So as a consequence of this, there is a shortage of teachers to actually do the specialist teaching in the modern language department of the secondary schools, and schools have to look very carefully at ways in which they can find the proper teachers, and ways in which they might be able to establish links with the embassies or high commissions over the short term.

e. The resources of Greek supplementary schools and the responsibility of the British education authorities towards this matter

Expressing his views on this issue, the Schools' Council spokesman said the following:

An immediate step for many authorities is to look at ways in which they can give better support to the community sector. The Schools' Council is very unhappy about the nature of the support that is currently available from Local Education Authorities (L.E.As).

Spelling out in rather idealistic terms, what local authorities ought to be doing by way of recognising the role of the community sector, the Schools' Council spokesman emphasised these:

First and foremost the rooms and the premises ought to be available free of charge. The scale of charges that is sometimes imposed on community classes, is really quite frightening and has a

very damaging effect on the ability of those classes to organise themselves and to meet regularly.

Money that could be spent on resources and payment of teachers is often being swallowed up in payment of sometimes rather excessive rents. So as a matter of principle they ought to be available free of charge.

Further, schools that accommodate the community classes on their premises during evenings and weekends would be given guidance by the local authority on how they should respond to these classes. Because one often hears rather disturbing stories of community classes being treated with at best, cynicism, and at worst outright hostility from some colleagues within the mainstream system, and caretakers seem to be a particular difficulty here. So there is a very real need for L.E.As. to give guidance to their host schools, to explain the importance of the community provision, to explain what the L.E.A. policy is in relation to them and to urge that they do all they can to be as welcoming and as cooperative as possible.

f. What should be the relations between the teachers in the mainstream schools and the teachers that the Greek communities appoint in the Greek Supplementary schools and classes

(i) Need for a dialogue

There is a lack of real dialogue between the mainstream system and the community sector.

First there is need for mutual trust between teachers in the two sectors. One of the problems of the present relationship is that there is very little trust on either side. There is a considerable amount of suspicion and a certain amount of hostility. There is very little trust and open dialogue. It is necessary that in the future there would be opportunity for teachers from the two sectors to come together, to establish ways in which their dialogue can be effective.

(ii) Inservice Training

The teachers in the two sectors should share inservice training. They should discuss common issues, because the issues relating to language development of children are common to all teachers, no matter which language one may be teaching. It is sad that teachers who work with the same children, some in the evening and some during the day, have no dialogue, whatsoever concerning the developments of those children. There is the need that the role of the community sector should be taken into consideration.

(iii) Curriculum continuity

There should be some degree of curriculum continuity in the future. This is particularly important for teachers in the mainstream sector, who are not bilingual, who don't have any real knowledge of the child's language and have only some limited knowledge of his culture. These teachers have a great deal to learn from their community colleagues. They need to be establishing contact with their community colleagues and looking at ways in which they can approach them as a resource. It should not be considered that colleagues in the community sector would become subjects for exploitation. It is well known how easy it is to exploit good will. The suggestion is that teachers in the mainstream can learn a great deal from the experiences of their colleagues in the community sector as bilingual teachers.

What is of particular importance is to see in the mainstream an attempt to actually bring the children's cultural and language experiences into the day to day curriculum of the classroom. This is important right across the age range, but is especially important with younger children to help the transition from home to school. Very often the child is taken to an environment at the age of five, which is totally alien to what she or he knows from the

home. So there is a need for much more sensitivity on the part of mainstream teachers to understand the demands that this alien environment can make on youngsters. Thus a dialogue is necessary not simply on matters to do with children's development, not simply on the specifics of curriculum content but actually on a real sharing of the experiences of teachers. There is hope that this will happen in the future, when the educational climate for youngsters growing up here might be far more positive than it is at the present time.

(iv) Resources

There should be more sharing of resources in the future. The importance of joint inservice training activities has already been mentioned. However, above all, what is needed is open - mindedness on the part of teachers in both sectors. Particular responsibility should be placed on the mainstream system and on the local authorities. That means that any initiative towards joint activities or dialogue, if it is to be taken, the initiative has to be taken by the mainstream system and the local authorities. It would be quite unfair to expect the teachers in the community sector to take on that sort of position.

g. Youngsters who see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context

This tendency among many youngsters now, to try to describe themselves in terms of dual identity, should be welcome. There is a growing tendency for instance for Greek Cypriot youngsters to describe themselves as Cypriot British, or Greek Cypriot British, similarly with youngsters whose family originated in the Indian sub-continent. Terms such as Cypriot British sum up what the British education system ought to be working toward, that is youngsters who are able to move between the two cultures, between two cultural circumstances, with equal facility. There is some evidence now, particularly from bilingual studies in Canada, that children do develop an ability to move

between cultures and to become bi-cultural beings, as a result of going through a school system which overtly welcomes bi-cultural experiences and seeks to build upon them.

The tendency among youngsters to describe themselves as Greek Cypriot British is reasonable. But there is need for everybody to understand the conflicts and confusion that this can generate. It can be particularly difficult if the school circumstances are not favourably disposed towards the child's cultural traditions and particularly the child's language. It will also be difficult if parents are particularly uncompromising and fail to understand that the children are growing up in an urban multi-cultural Britain. This is very different from the life that they would have led if they had been living in their country of origin. Thus the issue should be treated with great sensitivity from both sides. Parents do carry a considerable amount of responsibility here, in relation to the youngsters. It is fair to say that some minority parents have been a little inflexible in their approach with children. They fail to understand the demands that are made of children in a multicultural society and they expect them to maintain a very traditional sense of cultural identity.

Apart from the views of the Schools Council's representative it is interesting to cite here that the Schools Council contributes to multiculturalism in a variety of ways e.g. projects, publications etc.

An interesting project which has been undertaken by the Schools Council, is the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project: May 1981-August 1984. The Schools Council, with substantial financial support from the EEC, is initiating this development project which will aim to help teachers of children within the primary age range, in mainstream and community school by developing a variety of resources: guides for teachers who are not themselves bilingual but who are interested in strategies for supporting their pupils' bilingualism; hand-

books and some teaching materials in Bengali and Greek for teachers, themselves bilingual, who wish to support their pupils' mother tongues; guides for teachers who wish to develop teaching materials in minority languages other than Greek and Bengali.⁽⁵⁾

3. The Responses of the National Union of Teachers (N.U.T.) to Greek Supplementary Schools

This section of chapter VIII is based on the views of a senior representative of the National Union of Teachers⁽⁶⁾ and on policy statements of the Union.

a. Views about the supplementary schools

The senior representative of the N.U.T. expressed the following views on this issue.

On the question of supplementary schools set up to teach national culture and mother-tongue by various ethnic groups, the National Union of Teachers is pleased to see this development and has stated quite strongly in its own publications that it would wish local authorities to offer free premises for this activity, particularly bearing in mind that very little is done in mainstream schooling at the moment, for the various linguistic groups.

And until such time as this facility can be provided in normal schools, then obviously this development of having supplementary schools, probably at the weekend will continue.

Benefits of the supplementary schools. These schools will help the children to keep in touch with their own culture and ethnic group. They will enhance their self-esteem in school as well as building firm foundations for their acquisition of what may be a new language to them. If they know their own language well, that will help their allround language development.

b. Introduction of Greek to the mainstream system

Speaking on this issue the representative of the National Union of Teachers said that, in a recent policy statement from the

Union, called, 'Mother Tongue Teaching', the Union made a strong case for various minority languages to be part of the regular school timetable. This could be done particularly where there are large numbers of children with a particular language that they would like to study both at primary and secondary level.

The Union would also want to see the children being able to take public examinations in their own language, of the G.C.E., Advanced Level. Or even for other children who wanted to learn that language, to be able to take that as an examination subject in addition to the usual European languages like French and German.

This of course means that there will be several problems, one of which is that there may not be sufficient trained teachers to be able to put on classes for the children who want to take these languages. The other difficulty raised by schools is timetabling i.e. where is this extra subject going to fit in? The Union has asked in its policy statement, which is something that was sent to all local authorities and to the Department of Education and Science, that time should be found in the normal timetable, not by dropping other subjects necessarily or by having to take their mother-tongue in their lunch hours or after school classes. But, such languages as Greek should be given equal status, the same status as French or German or any other language that was taught by the school.

c. Arguments in favour of Mother-Tongue Teaching

In one of the N.U.T. Policy Statements ⁽⁷⁾ are mentioned some of the arguments in favour of mother-tongue teaching. It is written there that the language of the home is part of every child's cultural and social identity. The transition from home to school can be traumatic if there is no continuity between home and school, and if school is a place, where no one can understand what the child says. From studies on language and learning patterns of young children who

do not speak English as a first language, it has been found out that these children are seriously damaged educationally and will be slower to progress with school work, if their mother-tongue is not accepted in school.

Preliminary reports on various studies in mother-tongue teaching being undertaken in various parts of Britain indicate, that children taught basic skills in their mother tongue in a bilingual education programme, for example, Punjabi in Bradford, make better progress than children in control groups who are taught only in English. Also the time spent in the teaching of their mother-tongue assists the process for their acquisition of English language.⁽⁸⁾

d. Youngsters who see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context

Speaking on this issue, the N.U.T. representative said that, each child living in Britain, if he has another culture in which he feels firmly rooted, needs at the same time to feel that his culture is accepted by the country he is living in, in this case Britain, but also feels it as a necessity to keep strong links with his own cultural roots. Those two things are very important for the development of children educationally and in every other way in terms of their personalities. Therefore the view that children, whose parents are Greek Cypriots, see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context would be accepted. The British community is at the moment their host community and, as such, one would hope that it would welcome cultural diversity. The schools would have the concept of pluralism and the different ethnic groups living in Britain could be part of British society and at the same time keep strong links with their home cultures.

Concerning this issue, the N.U.T.'s recent policy statement expressed its firm belief that it is of the greatest importance, that a child's home culture should be valued by the school. To devalue

culture is to devalue the child.⁽⁹⁾

e. The links between teachers of the mainstream system and the teachers of the Greek supplementary schools

Expressing views on this issue the N.U.T. representative said that the National Union of Teachers would want to see as much cooperation and consultation between teachers of the mainstream schools and the teachers of Greek supplementary schools, as possible. This should be done, particularly to ensure that the methods used in the language teaching do not conflict so as to confuse the children. Another aspect also that should be considered is the homework requirements of the mainstream school and the work of the supplementary school. It should be ensured that the children are not over-burdened.

However, as it might become more common to teach Greek and other languages in mainstream schools, probably the teachers in the mainstream system have a lot to learn from the teachers in the supplementary schools.

Continuing, the N.U.T. representative made some suggestions on how the teachers in the primary school could, with the help of Greek teachers or Greek parents, encourage their pupils to keep a pride in their own language and culture. This could be achieved by using perhaps notices in Greek around the classroom or picture-books with Greek words underneath as an alternative. Perhaps the teachers of Greek supplementary schools or even the Greek parents might be able to help the teachers in the mainstream schools with this kind of thing. So that, for example, particularly very young children would feel at home if they came to school and saw notices and stories with some Greek words and maybe Greek rhymes.

The N.U.T. would also want to encourage the parents to visit the school. Perhaps if the children or parents could tell a story in Greek the children might want to do pictures. Either the parents or

the Greek teachers could write in their own language underneath the pictures, what story they are telling.

f. The need for the reform of teacher education

The National Union of Teachers strongly believes that for teachers to function most effectively in multiracial schools they need to be prepared for their role in such schools.

All recent major reports have called for improvements in the multicultural perspective of teacher education: the Little/Willey report, Rampton interim report, the Keele study of in-service teacher education, the Scarman report, the Education, Science and Arts Committee report and in particular the Home Affairs Committee report which made severe comments on the inadequacy of provision by colleges of Education.⁽¹⁰⁾

The Union undertook a survey of teacher education for a multiracial society when submitting evidence to the Home Affairs Committee which confirmed the Union's opinion that there is need for the introduction of a compulsory element in all teacher education courses of preparation for teaching in a multicultural society.⁽¹¹⁾

g. Practicalities and Strategies

Commenting on the introduction of mother-tongue teaching into schools, primary and secondary, the National Union of Teachers in one of its statements⁽¹²⁾ pointed out the relevant implication for staffing policies. It emphasised that it will be necessary for the DES to encourage and support LEAs in the recruitment of suitably qualified teachers who can teach minority languages. The Union suggested that LEAs must provide in-service courses for trained teachers who could use their bilingualism in mother-tongue teaching. It also suggested that certification for proficiency in the teaching of minority languages should be introduced in career structures and the teacher

training colleges could play an important role in devising suitable programmes.

Apart from the sufficient training which has to be provided for teachers at initial and in-service level, to enable them to teach minority languages, the Union emphasised that the resource materials for such teaching will need to be developed too.

h. The Curriculum

The National Union of Teachers has not left out of its policy statements the important aspect of curriculum.

It stated that at present teachers feel constrained in what they teach by the requirements of the examination system at secondary level. The Union suggested therefore, that developments in the curriculum which reflect the multiracial and multi-cultural society of Britain must be matched by a parallel development in the syllabuses of examination boards. (13)

But even within the present system, and whatever system may be devised to replace it, the Union emphasised that teachers have a powerful role to play to ensure that the curriculum meets the needs of the pupils and sets a high value on appreciation of cultural diversity within British society. (14)

The Union strongly supported the belief that the development of a multi-cultural curriculum is not a minority issue. It is the responsibility of all schools in Britain, including those schools which have few or no pupils from ethnic minority groups. It is by increasing the level of inter-cultural understanding and respect among the pupils, that the schools will prepare them for life in multi-cultural Britain. Thus the cultural diversity and achievement should be a naturally accepted feature of the curriculum of every school in Britain. Accurate information must be available to pupils on the economic reasons for immigration to Britain. Teaching about cultures

in different countries of the world should acknowledge the achievements of other civilisations. In this way, positive attitudes towards cultural differences may be fostered.⁽¹⁵⁾

In addition to the concern with curriculum content, schools must be aware of the role of the hidden curriculum too, which embodies attitudes towards different ethnic groups in the schools. Pupils of ethnic minority groups must feel fully accepted and esteemed in the schools. In this sense it is important that there is visual evidence around the school of its multiethnic composition in pictures on the walls and work displayed. In addition to these, reading materials, art and craft, music, drama, dance, stories and assemblies all can demonstrate the school's commitment to its multi-cultural context.⁽¹⁶⁾

i. Advantages and disadvantages

The Union representative, expressed the following views on the advantages and disadvantages of Greek supplementary schools:

Advantages. The N.U.T. considers that the main advantages are that children attending these Greek schools will retain a pride in their own language and their cultural heritage. This will give them great confidence in their mainstream school. Also a firm knowledge of their mother-tongue will give them the best possible start for learning English, if this is a second language for them. If they have a firm grasp of their own language it can only help the development of the right structures in their linguistic development for learning a second language. If children only know their own language very imperfectly they may become quite confused when learning English, and probably not know either language particularly well. Whereas if they have a clear knowledge of their own language then the English should follow much more easily.

Disadvantages. The Union cannot really see any disadvantages in these supplementary schools. Only perhaps from teachers' point of view.

Teachers in the mainstream schools sometimes maintain, that the children who attend these schools may become confused with methods conflicting or if the teachers in Greek schools have a very different approach to language learning. Obviously there must be consultation about methods and approaches if their teachers become worried about this aspect.

The only other fear would be if the children became overburdened, or felt a great pressure coming from the home, to fulfil the expectations of the teachers, who are giving the lessons in the supplementary schools. They might become then very tired and unable to cope with their normal school.

Another thing is perhaps if the parents seem to stress to the children that the Greek supplementary school is in some way more important and matters to them that their children did well there more than their mainstream school. The Union wants a common assumption that the two forms of teaching are complementary. In fact it would be preferable to use the word complementary to supplementary. Not something that was added because something else was deficient, but that something which was added to what already available in the mainstream system.

The Union would hope the time would come when it was not necessary to have a supplementary school, because the teaching of Greek or any other ethnic minority language would be taught in the mainstream schools and that there should be sufficient teachers and resources provided to enable this to take place.

From all evidence the responses of the National Union of Teachers to the Greek supplementary schools and multiculturalism in general are very positive.

In its Annual Conference Resolution 1982,⁽¹⁷⁾ the NUT declared its total opposition to all forms of racism and called for schools to adopt a clear anti-racist stance.

It also stated its support to strategies enabling the teaching of ethnic minority languages within the curriculum to examination level, the development of in-service training courses for all teachers for a multi-cultural curriculum, the training of more ethnic minority teachers and opposition to any discrimination against black teachers.

Finally in its Annual Conference Resolution the NUT expressed concern at the failure of the Government to implement the recommendations of the Home Affairs Committee Report on Racial Disadvantage and urged the Government to take urgent action to ensure equal opportunities and fair treatment for both black pupils and teachers.

The NUT has not shown its sincere concern about multi-cultural education in statements and conferences only, but in a number of publications as well. Its concern for this issue is supported by its following publications:

NUT publications on multicultural education

All Our Children (1978)

Race Education and Intelligence (1978)

Section 11: An NUT Report (1978) and Replacing Section 11 (1979)

In Black and White (1980): Guidelines for teachers on racial stereotyping in textbooks and learning materials.

The Achievement of West Indian Pupils (1980): Evidence to the Rampton Committee.

Combating Racialism In Schools (1981)

Mother-Tongue Teaching (1982)

Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools at the Local Level

It has been stated earlier in this chapter that responses to Greek supplementary schools at the local level will be restricted to those in the Inner London Education Authority and the Borough of Haringey, due to the fact that in these two areas are concentrated large numbers of pupils with Greek origin.

1. Responses to Greek Supplementary schools from I.L.E.A.

The responses of the Inner London Education Authority to the Greek Supplementary Schools in Britain were clarified by a senior officer⁽¹⁸⁾ in the County Hall.

a. Views about the Greek Schools. He maintained that the Greek Supplementary schools are doing a valuable job and that they could collaborate with the mainstream schools. He emphasised that it is very important for children who speak languages other than English not to lose their skill in the language of their parents, for many reasons. Some of the important reasons he mentioned were the following:

(i) For someone to operate effectively as an individual, is important to feel very secure in his cultural origins. Maintaining his mother-tongue facilitates a person's overall better development.

(ii) The mother-tongue is connected with somebody's feelings and identity. Closely related to it are the connections with the family. If for instance, a 14 year old child of Greek origin is not able to understand Greek, this creates a terrible gap between him and his family. Adolescence has many problems and children should be able to talk to their parents, the majority of whom can only communicate in their own mother-tongue. If children are not able to understand the language of their parents, this cuts them off from the culture of the community, cuts them off from their origins.

(iii) The third set of reasons is intellectual. It is intellectually valuable to be able to speak more than one language. Learning more than one language develops the mind. Someone who knows more than one language becomes more educated. That is why there is a second language in the curriculum of schools. Somebody who understands two languages can understand word meanings better. Bilingualism is very valuable in this sense.

(iv) Another reason for which the learning of the mother-tongue is valuable, is related to jobs. Children of Greek parents, for example,

who know the Greek language have better career possibilities compared with other children in the same community who do not know the Greek language. Such possibilities include opportunities of finding a job in Greece or Cyprus.

(v) There is another important set of reasons. The learning of mother-tongue gives access to aspects of historic culture of the community. If, for example, people in the community want to find something related to their historic culture and they do not know the Greek language they will be obliged to do this through English and not through the original language.

b. The teaching of Greek language and culture in the mainstream system

Speaking about the teaching of Greek language and culture in the mainstream schools, particularly in cases where there is a reasonable number of children of Greek origin, the senior officer expressed the following views on behalf of the I.L.E.A.:

In principle, the I.L.E.A. is in favour of both teaching the Greek language and culture, because as he said, this is related to the multi-cultural educational policies of the Authority. It would, however, be a good thing for all children to learn about Greek culture because, as he emphasised, Greek culture is a part of the roots of the British people. In these terms, all children in schools would have some access to the teaching of Greek culture, depending on the multi-culturalism of schools. In cases, where there is a majority of Greek children he did not favour the functioning of separate classes with special provision for the culture origin of children. With the mother-tongue teaching it is good to have separate classes. Practically schools must do the two things: Within a multi-cultural curriculum children must learn all the things related to their culture, but not separately. They can also be offered an opportunity

to improve their mother-tongue. This opportunity can be offered to children as an option in the curriculum of their school. There is such a process in the I.L.E.A. schools but it is happening very slowly.

The introduction of a culture in a multi-cultural context can be easily achieved. If we take for instance the traditions, - stories related to various cultures - , the children would have plenty of stories coming from Britain, Cyprus, China etc., from lots of cultural backgrounds. On the whole this approach is good for two reasons:

(i) When children are taught their culture separately they get embarrassed about their own country. They do not like such teaching to be just for them.

(ii) In order to have an effective multi-cultural society we should have respect for the society. In this sense we must unite the class not divide it.

c. Resources for the Greek Supplementary Schools

Speaking about the resources for these Greek schools the senior officer said, that ideally, everything which is regarded as important for education should be funded by the authority. However, at the moment if the Authority was going to take the view that children should be taught their mother-tongue, it would be impossible for it to sustain such a policy economically. Perhaps, the money could be found sometime in the future.

On the other hand, in some respects, community organisations, parents' associations and embassies would like certain things to be taught to their children on their own terms and thus they would like their supplementary schools to continue. For example, Religious Education has different objectives in the curriculum of the Greek schools which are under the control of the church, than those in a

mainstream school. Further, by having these supplementary schools, people in the community gain from their activities. In this sense, even if the funds were found, again the community schools would continue their function.

d. The identity of children born in Britain from Greek or Greek Cypriot parents

On the issue of the identity of these children, the senior officer of I.L.E.A. expressed the view that these children of Greek origin could be divided into three categories:

- (i) A minority of children who think they are Greek Cypriots.
- (ii) Another minority of children who have made their decision to turn their back on their origin.
- (iii) Those who have created their own identity. These constitute the majority. They don't feel Greek Cypriots as Greek Cypriots who are living in Cyprus and they don't feel British as British Anglo-Saxon. They have created an identity which is between the two cultures.

Identity is also closely related to language. If you ask for example these adolescents what language they prefer the majority of them will say that they prefer the English language. They feel as Greek or Greek Cypriots, however. But, as it was stressed earlier they don't feel the same as the Greeks in either Greece or Cyprus. As far as assimilation is concerned, Greek adolescents can more easily be assimilated into the British society than black or brown.

e. The relations between the teachers in the mainstream system and the teachers in the community schools

Proceeding to this issue the senior officer of the I.L.E.A. said that these two categories of teachers should see themselves as partners. They should collaborate to see what methods they could use in their teaching and in general what they could learn from each

other. Division between these two categories of teachers would be rather disadvantageous for children, whereas teachers can achieve all their objectives in the schools if they co-operate.

f. Advantages and disadvantages of the Greek Supplementary Schools

In his comments the representative said that there are both advantages and disadvantages in such schools. Among the advantages he mentioned the close relations of the community and the school and the fact that these schools depend on parents. He stressed the fact that parents take their children to these evening schools and sometimes stay there as a family.

Among the obvious disadvantages of these schools was mentioned the discipline which is very different from that in the mainstream schools. This situation creates conflicts in the children and conflicts between them and the teachers of the community schools. Another disadvantage is related to the teaching approaches which in many cases are regarded as traditional. When classes are operating well, you can see the enthusiasm of the children. In many cases, however, you cannot see this enthusiasm in Greek classes but on the contrary, the children are complaining that the Greek lessons are boring.

Apart from the positive views of the ILEA's representative about the Greek supplementary schools, this Authority has been involved in a variety of activities and responses advancing multicultural education. Multicultural educational policies have been formulated, relevant surveys have taken place, reports on multicultural education have been issued etc.

Mother-tongue teaching is also being supported by a variety of means, fundamental to which is the free provision of teaching accommodation in supplementary schools for the teaching of the mother-tongue. All these responses of the Inner London Education Authority have already been described in more detail in Chapter III.

After the examination of the responses to Greek supplementary schools from the I.L.E.A. there follow the responses of the Haringey Education Service, in brief.

2. Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools from the Borough of Haringey Education Service

An adviser for multi-cultural education, working in the Borough of Haringey⁽¹⁹⁾ expressed the following views about the Greek Supplementary schools:

The Borough of Haringey stated many times that society in Britain is a multi-cultural one and so the link between the educational service and the community is vital. The Borough of Haringey recognises the value and the efforts that the communities do in respect of mother-tongue teaching. He added that personally he was very positive about the Greek Supplementary Schools. Since the British society has become multi-cultural, mother-tongue teaching, in general, has become problematic in this country, particularly after the European Economic Community's policy about this matter.

Speaking about the Greek mother-tongue teaching he said that the Greek language should be taught to the children of Greek parents. Thus it is important that the teachers know about the British context, the children's life in society and at home. Teachers should use the experiences of children here, to teach the Greek language. Thus the Greek language should be the vehicle rooted in the experiences of children here, to help to foster an understanding of the language and its form. Children with a Greek ethnic background should understand the Greek language well, in order to communicate with their parents.

Speaking about the idea of having Greek classes in the regular programme of the mainstream schools he said that he felt very strongly about this idea. He added that this could be done both in the primary and secondary level. In the case of secondary schools

the subject of Greek language could be an optional one. He mentioned various cases in the Borough of Haringey where this policy is being applied e.g. in Drayton school, Alexandra Park school and Stationers School. He also mentioned Junior Schools in the Borough of Haringey where Greek mother-tongue teaching has been embodied in the regular timetable of the schools, e.g. the Rhodes Avenue school, the West Green and the South Haringay Junior School.

Referring to the term 'identity', he expressed the idea that it is complex. He said that it is not easy to try to categorise people. It always depends also on the context in which we are asking the question. There is today a diversity of identities and cultures in Britain. It is important how children identify themselves. We should take note of what children tell us about this because they know what they are. Youngsters of the Greek community see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context. They all have the right to be what they want to be.

Proceeding to the responsibilities of the dominant group in Britain he said that, this group should have a notion of a plural society, to support communities in their efforts. Anglo-Saxons have to understand it. It needs commitment and following up. It needs policies and practices and that means resources both human and financial. As far as the teachers in the mainstream schools are concerned he said that they should be aware of the culture of children with Greek ethnic background even if they are monolingual.

Concluding, the adviser emphasised that the Borough of Haringey would like the Greek supplementary schools to continue their function. He added that the Borough should give more support to them. He stressed that they had to recognise what the Cyprus High Commission is already doing in supporting such schools. This is something that the Borough should do, he said.

3. Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools at the Level of the School

At the level of the school the views of two headteachers will be presented. In their schools there is a considerable number of children with Greek ethnic background. It has been cited earlier in this chapter that one of these schools has introduced Greek language and culture to its regular curriculum. There is also a Greek supplementary school functioning in the premises of this school, twice a week.

It is interesting to see how these headteachers respond to the Greek schools since they have pupils with Greek origin in their schools and realise the problems that these children encounter due to the fact that they live between two cultures.

Woodlands Park Infants School, N.15

Expressing her views about the Greek supplementary schools the headteacher⁽²⁰⁾ of the above named school said the following:

a. Responses to Greek Supplementary Schools:

She said that her responses are positive. She believed that it was necessary for the different community groups to get together. After visiting a local supplementary school she was very impressed with the great amount of work done there and the dedication of the staff particularly. The standard of attendance of the children was also most impressive.

She said that one qualification she had after that visit was that the ethos in the two types of schools, in the Greek supplementary schools and the mainstream schools, seem rather different. It is a problem, because in the supplementary school the children are there only for few hours. In the mainstream school they give emphasis on activity methods, on discovery, learning and less emphasis on teacher instruction. The teacher points the children in the right

direction and supports them to discover things by themselves. But in the supplementary school a lot of it was very much chalk and talk with the teacher standing at the blackboard. Actually the teacher was doing much of the work.

b. Teaching of the mother-tongue and culture in the regular timetable of schools

Speaking on this aspect that headteacher said that she considered that as essential. There should definitely be time within the timetable for the mother-tongue and culture of children from other ethnic minorities and for children with a Greek ethnic background as well. It is, however, not an easy thing to settle these matters. One should look very carefully at the resources and the teachers that would be provided and which would cost a lot of money. She said that she could not see that there are lots of Councils putting a lot of money into that but she would like to see, if that was possible, a sort of agency to coordinate who comes to schools. She argued that the agency could call volunteers to see, not qualifications because she said they do not necessarily need formal qualifications, but if they are the right quality of persons, if that does not sound too elitist. If they are the sort of person from local community groups who like children and could teach. In other words headteachers could have volunteers coming into schools, teaching songs in the mother-tongue, teaching games in the mother-tongue all different sorts of ways that the mother-tongue could be brought into their normal everyday life. In her classrooms she often hears a Greek-speaking child teaching another child. For instance they teach each other how to say hello in their mother-tongues. She found that not only charming but also valuable. Because children gain an insight into each other's language and they form a bridge between cultures. She is trying to encourage that as much as possible. But if schools

had an adult in the school to keep that alive in the classrooms it would be superb.

c. What should be the relations between teachers of the Greek schools and teachers of the mainstream schools

That headteacher stated that obviously there should be more close relations between the teachers of these two types of schools. She said that having spoken to teachers who work in mainstream schools she found out that some of them did not even know that children within their school go to supplementary schools at all. Some other teachers, however, are aware that children go to supplementary schools at weekends and in the evenings but they do not know what the work of teachers in supplementary schools should be. Definitely there should be closer relations between the two types of teachers. That headteacher added that she did not know who would establish those closer relations.

Speaking about the time that Greek schools function that headteacher said these schools go on in out-of-school hours. Their teachers have no evenings or weekends, while the teachers in the mainstream are in their own homes by then. Perhaps there could be some social activities to bring the teachers together, perhaps an evening where they could just meet and perhaps have a glass of wine and get to know each other. Also the mainstream schools have their staff meetings and it would be a good idea if teachers of supplementary schools could be invited and speak to the staff meeting. They are professionals and they are doing the job of trying to help the children who are in the mainstream schools. Thus teachers of the two groups should know one another.

d. Are there any differences between pupils of Greek origin attending Greek supplementary schools and pupils of Greek origin who are not attending Greek schools?

That headteacher said that in her particular school, which

is an infants' school, there are four children attending local Greek classes. She stated that she did not think it was any coincidence that those four children are four of the most capable, able children in the school. She said she did not think it was particularly because these children were going to the local Greek supplementary school, although she thought that counted. In her opinion it was an indication of the attitudes of the parents of those children. The parents were obviously interested in their children's education. That is why they sent their children to the Greek supplementary school. They want to preserve their children's language and culture. Those particular parents are obviously interested in the mainstream school too. They want to see their children succeed in the mainstream system too. And they do, because if the parents are interested to find out what their children need, to support their children and to support the school, obviously the children are going to get on. That is why those four children are so bright, so capable.

She added that in her school out of 126 school population, 45 are children with Greek origin. She said that it was a shame that there was not such a supplementary provision in mainstream time, where it could be more activity-based.

e. Advantages and disadvantages of Greek supplementary schools

(i) Expressing her views on the disadvantages of the Greek schools and classes she said that one of the handicaps is certainly the fact that these schools and classes are functioning in accommodation that is not really suitable for their needs. She said that when she visited a local Greek school she noticed that it was a great big building and they were just a few classrooms and the place felt empty. That atmosphere is not really the one that is conducive to learning. The teachers had to try to make their classes alive and warm.

(ii) Referring to the advantages of Greek schools she said that these speak themselves. The children who attend these schools can speak two languages and they got a great advantage over people who can speak only one language.

These schools are keeping a language and a culture alive and they are helping the children to become bilingual, literate in their mother-tongue.

They are going to understand the culture of their parents and their grandparents and of themselves. Because, although they are living in Britain, they share a culture with their own family groups. It would be tragic to let that die. Because, she added in Britain they tried to kill multi-culture. Spontaneous researches proved that people need their culture, need their roots. Even if somebody does not try to keep his culture, it will not die altogether but he will find it expressed in other ways. To help people keep their culture is vital.

South Harringay Junior School, London N.4

The headteacher⁽²¹⁾ of South Harringay Junior School expressed her views on mother-tongue teaching and the Greek Supplementary schools as follows:

The question of mother-tongue teaching in schools is one which is very complex, and where the emphases change according to the age and linguistic competence of the child.

She said that it would seem from research that small children entering school with very little or no English gain greatly from bilingual classroom experiences. Where one set of events in an unfamiliar tongue can be explained in another tongue which is understood. In this way, a child can make sense of the outside world, including his school, in which the common communicative medium is English.

That headteacher continued by saying that once the child is competent in understanding English the question then arises as to whether, how much, and for what reasons a child should learn his/her own mother-tongue in school. She expressed the view that a society which is multicultural should provide an education system which caters for its population as it is now; not as it was, or as it might be. Therefore it follows that with a population which contains many cultural backgrounds as well as many languages it would be the ideal to provide for these in schools as a matter of course. Continuing she said that it is not immediately clear how this could be done on a large scale in a primary school. Referring to the secondary sector she said that there was no question in her mind as to the obligation that this sector should be under to provide language teaching in the language spoken by their children at home, in the same way that they provide French, German, Spanish, Russian and Latin lessons. The mother-tongues, which are a source of richness in our society, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Urdu, Bengali etc., should be available as subject options in the secondary school. She added that before very long, with financial and human resources made available, this will become the norm.

Looking at the primary sector, she said, gives a different aspect of the matter, when is taken for consideration that stage of development. Where a child has learned to communicate verbally in English and is reading and writing English fairly competently: for learning a "foreign" language has not really been part of the primary curriculum.

The primary school has a different outlook completely from the secondary school where the child's day is fragmented between different teachers and different subjects; the primary child's day is spent generally with the class teacher, and the work is often inte-

grated, so that subjects are not separated from each other as they are later on. It is therefore rather contrary to primary school philosophy to separate any particular subject from the rest of the class's activities, as learning another language by one particular group must be.

Other considerations, she added, are as follows:

- a) Primary schools are mainly very much smaller in population than secondary schools, with fewer members of staff and fewer resources, so the likelihood of being able to provide language learning in the 19 different languages which (to take the South Haringay Junior School as an example) would be needed would be unlikely if not impossible. If government provision is ever made to this extent, it will doubtless be in secondary schools. Even if several primary schools joined to share language teachers there would be transport difficulties, questions of which schools should provide rooms and resources, and timetabling between schools to consider.
- b) It is argued that it is morally unfair to offer to one group what cannot be offered to all groups. Therefore if language teachers can only be found for some languages, should one take advantage of that or should one refuse until such provision is available to all children of whatever language and in whatever numbers?
- c) The attitudes of staff are not always conducive to second language learning. Dedicated teachers generally want children to get on with work in the classroom and are reluctant to give up time for anything which takes the children away, even games! And this is so with staff who are very accepting of other cultures and languages. So it would be much more of a problem in schools where the multicultural approach has not yet taken off.
- d) Some parents take a view similar to that of the staff: they want their children to succeed in Britain and as they have to compete with

English-speaking children they do not want to relinquish any time spent in English education so they are willing for mother-tongue learning outside but not within school hours. This is, however, a minority.

Continuing that headteacher said that after those rather negative general views she should turn to the particular and mention her own experience in school which has not been negative at all.

She wanted the children in her school to have the opportunity to have mother-tongue lessons together with some learning about their own rich cultural backgrounds; and because these have so far been the only ones offered, they had regular lessons in Greek and Turkish once a week. She mentioned that the numbers of children speaking these two home languages far outweigh any other group, including English.

She emphasised that she particularly wanted the lessons to be in school time, so as to validate the backgrounds of her children in their own minds and in the minds of their fellows, and to give them a positive self-image. She said that she felt this more important than the actual language learning which would come out of the lessons.

The staff and parents now take these lessons completely for granted.

She said that it might be more productive to add an hour's lesson on a day straight after school, as it seems a good idea to have two bites at the apple during the week rather than one, for continuity's sake.*

She added that they make great efforts to give the pupils in her school positive feelings about their backgrounds by telling stories, hearing music, having words from home languages in their displays,

*The Greek and Turkish lessons which have been incorporated in the curriculum of the South Harringay Junior School take place once a week and last a teaching period of 40 minutes each.

having library books in mother-tongues and sending home letters translated when they can. She had been told by visiting teachers that the children in her school seemed very positive and open about their backgrounds and home languages compared with children in other schools, so that aspect seemed to have been successful.

She said that she was not competent to judge the academic side of the language learning but the two teachers, the Greek and the Turk, tell her that the children are making very good progress and that they, personally, are pleased with the arrangement as long as it is supplemented by another weekly session.

That headteacher finished her statement by saying that she would like to offer the same facilities to all her children and to know that they could go on with such studies in their secondary schools; she expressed the hope that one day this may be so.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the individuals interviewed were generally more sympathetic to Greek cultural aspirations and, with reservations, to Greek supplementary schools than analysis of official policy statements of Chapter II might have led one to expect. This sympathy may reflect a change of views among many state educationists since most policy statements were issued based partly on a greater knowledge and understanding of the Greek community in Britain and its aspirations. On the other hand, these educationists interviewed have a knowledge of the Greek community not shared by their colleagues who are not necessarily as sympathetic.

The possible antagonism of other educationists to Greek educational aspirations may be based on document views and practices in the English educational system which have not been explored fully in this thesis.

On the other hand, some of the reservations expressed by the individuals who were interviewed seem to be based on a lack of knowledge of present practice in Greek supplementary schools which this thesis may help to remedy. Also the moves for greater co-operation supported by some groups and individuals in the Greek community might also alleviate some of these fears if the co-operation were to be successful.

Notes and References

- (1) H.M.Is = Her Majesty's Inspectors.
- (2) D.E.S. = Department of Education and Science.
- (3) John Singh. The interview took place in the D.E.S. on the 27th July, 1982.
- (4) The views were expressed by David Houlton in an interview with the writer, on the 15th of June 1982. David Houlton is the Director of the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project.
- (5) Information sent to the writer by the Schools' Council.
- (6) The views were expressed to the writer by Shirley Darlington, Assistant Administrative Officer, Education Department, N.U.T., on the 2nd of August, 1982.
- (7) N.U.T., A National Union of Teachers Policy Statement Linguistic Diversity and Mother Tongue Teaching Printed by Victoria House Printing Company, London 1982, p. 3.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) N.U.T., Education for a Multicultural Society Evidence to the Swann Committee of Inquiry submitted by the National Union of Teachers, op.cit. p. 2.
- (11) Ibid. p. 3
- (12) N.U.T., A National Union of Teachers Policy Statement London 1982, op.cit. p. 4.
- (13) N.U.T., Education for a Multicultural Society Evidence of the Swann Committee of Inquiry, op.cit. p. 4.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Ibid. p. 5
- (16) Ibid.
- (17) Ibid. p. 16
- (18) The views were expressed to the writer by the inspector of Multi-ethnic education, Mr. J. Wight. The interview took place in the County Hall London SE1, on the 9th of June 1982.
- (19) The views were expressed to the writer by Chris Power, Adviser for Multi-Cultural Education in the Borough of Haringey. The interview took place on the 1st of February, 1982.

- (20) K. Knights, headteacher of Woodlands Park Infants School, London N.15. The interview took place on the 7th of July, 1982.
- (21) M. Godfrey, headteacher of South Haringay Junior School, London, N.4., The interview took place on the 12th of May, 1983.

Conclusion

Much attention has been focused on ethnicity and education in recent years in most developed countries. Studies generally focused on the following two issues:

- (i) State education as an agent of the absorption of ethnic minorities into the dominant group.
- (ii) The introduction of multi-ethnic programmes into state education.⁽¹⁾

Much less attention has been paid to another important dimension of ethnicity and education: educational programmes conducted by ethnic groups themselves. There is a substantial network of ethnic education programmes within the context of specific ethnic groups. The examination of ethnic group ethnic education is a valuable indicator of the dynamics and personality of the ethnic group itself. The analysis of ethnic education programmes is relevant for an understanding of the ethnic group's sense of self and the values cherished by the group.⁽²⁾

In this sense the Greek community in Britain and its Greek supplementary schools have been examined in this thesis.

It has been stated in the thesis that the Greek community in Britain is well established and well organised. It is also determined to maintain its cultural identity.

It has been described in Chapter I that there are a number of factors which have importance for the maintenance of a Greek identity in Britain: The geographical concentration of the Greek community, its economic success and the concentration of the work of the members of the Greek community on Greek businesses, are among the most important factors, contributing to the achievement of the above aim, i.e. the maintenance of a Greek identity.

Because of its economic success the Greek community can support financially its cultural institutions, while the concentration of the work of the members of the Greek community on Greek businesses makes the Greek community self-sufficient. The latter factor strengthens the separate cultural identity of the Greek community.

The Greek family-style is another factor, which contributes greatly to the maintenance of Greek culture in Britain.

The Greek community has also established its own cultural institutions, e.g. the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek supplementary schools.

Religion is an integral part of Greek identity and culture. The Church both in Greece and in Cyprus has always played an important national, social and cultural role. Thus as the Greek community increased and developed more churches were established both in London and in towns outside London. All these churches function not only as religious institutions but also as social and cultural agencies as was mentioned in Chapter I.

The Greek supplementary schools are proposed as a solution to the problem of the cultural needs of children of Greek origin. The establishment of such schools took place, because of the lack of change in English primary education to meet the educational needs of children from the Greek community as was described in Chapter II. It is also related to the multicultural education policies in Britain which again do not meet the wishes and cultural needs of the members of the Greek community as was exemplified in Chapter III.

The Greek supplementary schools are well organised as was described in Chapter IV. They are also controlled by organisations democratically established. Financially they are supported

by the Greek community and strong organisations like the Greek and Greek Cypriot governments (see Chapter IV).

The Greek supplementary schools, however, have various problems and weaknesses.

The support of Greece and Cyprus to the Greek supplementary schools, for instance, although it is a factor that strengthens these schools it could also be considered as a characteristic of their weakness. If, for any reason the support to the Greek supplementary schools from abroad stops, these schools will face financial problems and problems of qualified teachers in particular.

Another weakness of these schools is that the Greek community has not acquired its own school buildings except in the cases of church schools which operate in the church premises. Related to this is the fact that financial support to these schools from local educational authorities is not available except in a few cases.

The next serious problem is that there is not sufficient number of qualified teachers to staff these schools.

The fact also that many of these supplementary schools and classes are functioning in accommodation that is not suitable for their needs as was described in this thesis, constitutes another handicap for them.

Another problem is the conflict between the Church and independent schools. This conflict constitutes a negative factor for the development of Greek schools and the unification of the Greek community. This community seems to be divided along political and ideological lines. This division is a reflection of the ideological beliefs of the political parties in Cyprus and Greece, as was described in Chapter IV.

Thus the establishment and operation of Greek supplementary schools is not an easy task at all.

Ethnic education systems are more than educational structures and they require more than educational criteria for analysis. They also constitute normative and operative statements about patterns of ethnic adjustment in heterogeneous societies. In that sense, the study of ethnic education is an important resource for the study of adjustment patterns of ethnic groups.⁽³⁾

To predict what will happen with these schools in the future is not easy. In order to come to a more realistic conclusion about the future of the Greek supplementary schools, it would be helpful to refer to at least another case of supplementary schools in Britain. Reference for instance to the British Jewish Supplementary schools would offer some enlightenment for the possible future of the Greek Supplementary schools in Britain. It will be also an endeavour for cautious comparison between these two kinds of ethnic supplementary education. The comparison will be very cautious because the circumstances in the Jewish community in Britain are not identical to those in the Greek community in this country. There are only some similarities between them and differences as well.

A significant fact which makes the circumstances between the two communities different is the fact that the Jews were spread all over the world many centuries ago. Thus they are an ethnic group who have, for most of their existence functioned as an ethnic minority within the context of larger different and often alien minority societies. Their history has been characterised by the constant need to confront the issue of interaction with the larger society. At the same time, the Jews have stubbornly clung to a concern for group identity and survival, and they have developed many institutions for that purpose.⁽⁴⁾

The British Greek community and its supplementary schools are very new compared to the British Jewish community and its British ethnic education institutions. Thus the Jews are a group with richer experience than the Greeks in the struggle for group survival as a minority culture as well as in the establishment of extensive ethnic education programmes.

There are, however, some characteristics which are common in these two systems of supplementary education in Britain, as follows:

British Jewish education is voluntary. Thus a Jewish child is not forced by state or by the ethnic group to receive a Jewish education and there are no legal sanctions or punishment for lack of participation.⁽⁵⁾ The Greek supplementary schools are also voluntary and there are not any sanctions for lack of participation just as in the case of Jewish supplementary schools in Britain.

British Jewish education is on the whole a private system mostly funded by the Jewish community.⁽⁶⁾ This aspect applies also to the Greek Supplementary schools in Britain; it has been explained in this thesis that these schools are mostly funded by the Greek community in Britain.

Another point is that the major form of supplementary education in the British Jewish community is the part-time or afternoon and/or Sunday school. This is a characteristic shared by both the Jewish and the Greek supplementary schools in Britain.

The Jewish ethnic group reflects a central commitment to ethnic education as part of its infrastructure. It has established an educational network with great investment of personnel and financial resources.⁽⁷⁾ The Greek community in Britain also reflects a

central commitment to ethnic education. Its investment of personnel and financial resources are not perhaps so great but they are considerable.

Similarly as in the case of the Jewish community, in the Greek community too the confrontation with modernity has weakened some of the important classical agencies of ethnic education, e.g. the family.⁽⁸⁾

Another aspect is that the Jewish supplementary schools in Britain have been asked to transmit to Jewish children in Britain, the Jewish culture for which religion is an integral part. These schools get high amount of moral and financial support from the community.

It is obvious that these schools have been very successful if we judge on the basis of the number of Jewish children attending them. In practice, approximately 42,400 children in Britain receive some sort of Jewish education, which constitutes over 69% of all Jewish children in Britain aged 5-17.⁽⁹⁾ It is interesting to note that children of Jewish origin succeed in the British state schools as well.

The Greek supplementary schools in Britain have also been entrusted, to transmit the culture of Greek parents to their children. They have become one of the central agencies of the Greek community for transmission of Greek identity. These schools too like the Jewish ones have the moral and financial support of the community, the Greek community in Britain in this case. Additionally they have the support of the governments of Greece and Cyprus.

Concerning the number of children of Greek origin who attend Greek supplementary schools, approximately 8,250 children were enrolled during the school year 1980-81 (see p. 186). This

number as was stated in the same page, constitutes between 27%-35% of the whole number of children of Greek origin aged 6-15.

The difference between the percentages of the children of the two ethnic groups that attend supplementary schools, is perhaps owed to the fact stated earlier, that the British Greek community and its supplementary schools are very new compared to the British Jewish community and its British ethnic education. Thus the Jews have a richer experience in the establishment of ethnic supplementary schools.

Considering the circumstances in the two systems of ethnic education, the British Jewish and the British Greek, it could be said that the Greek supplementary schools will be better organised and more effective in the future, because the members of the Greek community will be more experienced in the establishment of such schools.

One might observe that because the members of an ethnic group, which has newly settled in a foreign country, have still close connections with their mother country and culture, they would be more willing to send their children to supplementary schools. In the case of the Greek community there are perhaps many more parents who would like to send their children to supplementary schools but there are not such schools accessible in all areas where people of Greek origin live.

The prediction about the future of these schools, however, should be related to several other aspects as follows:

The Greek supplementary schools in Britain are thought to be the Greek community's pride. They are considered so because on the one hand the Greek community's contribution towards their establishment and operation is significant and on the other hand

the members of this community see in these schools a part of their culture and mother country. They are pleased to believe that these schools will preserve and transmit the Greek identity and culture to the Greek children of generations to come. Thus, if these schools will continue to operate according to the hopes and wishes of the Greek community, this depends largely on the Greek community itself. If this community will stay united, its educational initiatives will be more strengthened.

Another aspect that should be considered when predicting about the future of these schools is the response of British educational policies to the cultural needs of ethnic minority children and of the children of Greek origin in this particular case. After the examination of these policies in Chapter III it became evident that there are not yet multicultural policies meeting the specific cultural needs of children of Greek origin. There are, however, promising steps towards this purpose in some educational documents e.g. the Bullock Report. It was stated in Chapter III, that this Report recommends the schools to help the children of the various ethnic backgrounds, to maintain and deepen the knowledge of their mother-tongue.

From the personal observation of the writer it comes out that in recent years there is an interesting change in Britain towards recognition of other cultures in British schools, in general. This recognition was expressed by many policy makers as stated in Chapter VIII. It seems from all the evidence that recognition of the mother-tongue and culture of the ethnic minorities in Britain and of the Greek minority in this particular case, will take place to a greater degree, sooner or later.

What is then likely to happen in the future if the Greek language will be taught in an integrated curriculum in the state education system? In such a case the community schools will take on a rather different role. It is possible that they may concentrate more on culture than on language (see p. 305). However, even when Greek language and culture is integrated in the timetables of the mainstream schools there will be one thing missing. And this is the Greek atmosphere which one finds in a Greek school established by either the Church or the parents' representatives. This Greek atmosphere is mostly related to the emphasis given to the teaching of Greek History, Greek Music and Dancing and Greek tradition in general. Thus even when Greek language is integrated in the programmes of the state schools in Britain, the Greek supplementary schools will continue to exist, performing a different role as explained above.

Under any future conditions, however, the function of these schools will be on a better basis if some of their problems mentioned earlier could be solved or the conditions under which they are operating could be improved.

Thus it would be very conducive for the work of these supplementary schools if the following could be achieved:

- (i) If the Greek community could acquire its own school buildings.
- (ii) If the Greek community could manage to have adequate number of qualified teachers to staff its supplementary schools.
- (iii) If the teachers in the two sectors, the state sector and the community one, could share in-service training and discuss common issues, e.g. methods of teaching, discipline etc.
- (iv) If it could be closer cooperation of these schools with the local education authorities; the rooms and the premises for instance

of state schools should be available to supplementary schools, free of charge.

(v) If the development of a multicultural curriculum could be the responsibility of all schools in Britain and not a minority issue.

As far as the support to these schools by the governments of Greece and Cyprus it seems that such support will continue in the future too. In the case of the Cyprus government especially, the support to supplementary schools in Britain will continue for two particular reasons:

- (a) Economic reason: The Greek community in Britain with its population consisting of 150,000 persons, constitutes a good consumer of Cypriot products, particularly the agricultural ones.
- (b) Political reason: Many of the members of the Greek community in Britain should be considered among the best ambassadors of the Cyprus political problem, abroad.

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- (1) Chazan, B.,
Models of Ethnic Education: The case of Jewish
education in Great Britain, p. 54, in British
Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XXVI No. 1,
February 1978.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Ibid. p. 69
- (4) Ibid. p. 55
- (5) Ibid. p. 56
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Ibid. p. 69
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Ibid. p. 56

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONS, USED IN INTERVIEWS IN CHAPTERS VII AND VIII

What should be the aims of the Greek Supplementary Schools?

Who should control them?

The different ethnic minorities have established supplementary schools to teach the mother-tongue and culture to their children. What are your responses to these schools?

What are your views about teaching Greek language and culture in the regular timetables of schools, particularly where there are considerable numbers of Greek-speaking children in a school?

Resources for the Greek supplementary schools come from abroad or from the parents. What should be the responsibility of the British education authorities towards the supplementary schools and classes?

Youngsters whose parents are Greek Cypriots see themselves as Greek Cypriots living in a British context. What are your responses to this?

What should be the relations of the teachers in the mainstream schools to the teachers that the Greek communities appoint to the Greek classes?

What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the Greek supplementary schools and classes?

Could you give any statistics about the number of children of Greek origin in ILEA schools? (question addressed to the Inner London Education Authorities)