Teaching in Multicultural Societies: the theories and practice of teachers in Greek Community Schools

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Abstract

The study focuses on teachers funded by the Greek state to come to the UK and work in Greek Community Schools. It explores their theories and practices as they develop through the experience of working with minority groups, and as they shift in position from Greece to the UK. The study is rooted in the assumption that teachers are professionals who reflect on their experiences (often critically) and, as they have to 'translate' policy into workable practice, are in a unique position to contribute to educational research and the policy process. The research 'gives voice' to the teachers, potentially contributing to the policy agenda both in Greece (in the context of its recent attempts to make education more multicultural through an 'Interculturalist' education policy), and in the Community Schools in the UK.

The research focuses on three sets of questions: those connected with language; questions relating to issues of culture and identity; and questions related to teachers' reflective practice. The processes and conditions which support reflection and critique are explored, for example the role of 'critical incidents' in destabilising preconceptions and assumptions. The study explores and attempts to connect discourses on multiculturalism with discourses on the role of the teacher, through positioning the teacher at the centre of the discourse. The findings indicate that as the teachers become more reflective, their theories become at once more grounded and more critical. Thus a shift takes place towards discourses supporting additive forms of bilingualism, supporting strong/critical forms of multiculturalism – and opposing powerful assimilationist discourses. At the same time the 'model' of the teacher revealed in their discourse shifts: from 'deliverer' to active contributor, capable of contributing to the policy process. In sum, the teachers' knowledge of different models of managing multicultural reality represents unique value as feedback to both the Community Schools and the mainstream in Greece.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

This study examines the ways that teachers in Greek Community Schools in the UK think about teaching minority-community children. It is an attempt to explore multicultural pedagogy from the perspective of the educator, and so is concerned with the nature and development of teachers' knowledge and beliefs. While one aim is to give feedback to the Community Schools here, I also want this research to be useful in Greece, where there is now an attempt to develop and implement an 'Intercultural' educational policy. This introductory section contextualises the research, looking at how socio-political factors, intellectual influences and personal experiences led to an interest in key concerns of the study.

1 - 1 - Reflections on Greece

The research has its origins in Greece, and in my own reflections on the education system there. As a teacher I was never satisfied with being a passive deliverer of policy, or with the idea that teachers themselves had little to contribute to research or the policy process. I saw teachers as 'active', as reflective and as potentially critical. In my studies I had encountered literature on action research and on the 'reflective' teacher, and was involved in a project on critical pedagogy. Similarly, I felt that the school should be an environment which facilitated students in developing their own critical faculties; they should be encouraged to interrogate their own views and those of others, including the 'received wisdom' of the curriculum. I saw such a development as a key building-block in the development of a more egalitarian and humane society.

My priorities began to change, however, when it became clear in the 1990s that Greece was experiencing mass-immigration as never before, and that the education system was faced with the challenge of adapting to this new situation. Minority-community students were not being adequately provided for. While in many cases minority students were academically successful, this was achieved *despite* a system which gave little support for them linguistically or culturally. In fact academic success was often achieved at the

expense of the maintenance of the community language or knowledge of the culture. While critical approaches prioritised developing critical awareness, and a more democratic set of relations within class and school, I could see that a more rudimentary form of equality was lacking for minorities. Despite the setting up of reception classes to help immigrant children to learn Greek, there was no effective support for home languages and teachers had little understanding of the importance of minority cultures or of potential differences in learning style. Although I did not give up on the longer-term aim of advocating critical schooling, I decided to focus on how the Greek system could adequately meet the needs of multicultured students.

Moves towards introducing multicultural pedagogy in Greece have taken place within a specific context. The existence of the Greek Diaspora meant that, before the immigration of the '90s, there was already an appreciation that cultural and 'national' membership did not necessarily accord with residence within the geographically-defined state (indeed, the Greek Community Schools that exist around the world are part-funded by the Greek state in order to support the Diaspora). I grew up knowing American and German 'Greeks', families who maintained key aspects of their home culture while living abroad. This meant that, despite not being a member of a minority group myself, I had a degree of appreciation for the problems they faced.

In 1996, Greece was the first country to adopt the EU policy of interculturalism in education. Although progress has been made since then, there was at that time, and remains now, work to be done to establish adequate policies. While there was a welcoming of 'returning' members of the Diaspora from ex-Soviet Bloc countries, there was also evidence of popular reticence concerning groups such as the Albanians. This ambiguous mix of reactions to the new immigration made me determined to look into how multicultural educational policies worked in practice elsewhere; how policies had been developed to support minority students and tackle negative attitudes among majority-population students. By coming to take an M.A. in Britain, I hoped to broaden my theoretical understanding of multicultural pedagogy as well as seeing how policies

could work in practice, thus deepening my understanding of the situation in Greece and the possibilities for progress there.

1 - 2 - Focusing on Community Schools in the UK

Through studying at Masters level I began to appreciate the range of approaches to multicultural education adopted in different contexts. I could see that the specific conditions in, for example Canada or the USA, would imply different approaches from those taken in the UK or in Greece. To take one example, while much theoretical work had been carried out on bilingualism in Canada, the 'Canadian model' was largely based on empirical work with native speakers of French or English. While a bilingual approach to education was seen to have been successful, the context was one in which two high-status languages were being learnt by often middle-class children many of whose parents were part of an economic elite with the influence to ensure adequate funding for the project (Paulston, 1975). In London, I could see that here models such as bilingual 'immersion' were irrelevant - completely different conditions pertained. The same kind of argument held for curricular reform: in order to make the curriculum more 'inclusive', to make history, for example, more relevant, or to make art lessons more culturally sensitive, it was necessary to understand the history and culture of the communities concerned. Where, in the UK, the phrase 'steel-bands, saris and samosas' (Watson, 2000: 52/3) had been employed to caricature the reifying approach sometimes taken to inclusion, it was also revealing of the kinds of post-colonial communities much of British multicultural policy-making had been addressed to. Where, I asked myself, would a British-born Greek-Cypriot fit into this system? Similarly, what was the value of the Canadian or British models for teaching first-generation Albanian immigrants in Greece?

As I began to familiarise myself with the UK mainstream system, I was also teaching in Greek Community Schools in London. These schools had been established in the 1960s as supplementary to the mainstream system, their evening and weekend classes catering for Greek and Greek-Cypriot students, and usually offering classes in Greek language and history. After some months, however, I started to realise that, for Greek-community students at least, their cultural, linguistic and identity needs were being ignored in the

mainstream schools. In Moore's terms, the situation of these kinds of students was one in which 'although [they] may be physically present, they may regularly find themselves at the wrong end of routine symbolic marginalisations' (Moore, 1999a: 34). The fact that neither their culture nor home language were recognised in the mainstream school rendered them 'invisible'. This kind of invisibility can have serious implications: failure to support home languages in the mainstream school can accelerate the process 'language shift' within a minority community - arguably a stepping-stone to the complete assimilation of the community into the majority group (Paulston, 1977). The failure to 'recognise' a student's culture has negative implications for their sense of identity (Taylor, 1992).

While the Greek-community students were 'invisible' in the mainstream schools, it was in the Community Schools that they were actually receiving support for their language and culture. The origin of this research, therefore, was the realisation of the importance of the Community Schools, for Greek and Greek-Cypriot minority students. I decided to focus on the ideas of the teachers in these schools - teachers who had come from Greece and (mostly) would return there. I wanted to understand how the experience of working intensively with a minority group affected how they theorised about teaching: what it taught them about multicultural pedagogy. The focus on teachers' *ideas* was motivated by a conviction that the 'grounded' knowledge of teachers could provide valuable input into the policy process; these teachers have direct and prolonged contact with minority students, they get to know their specific needs, and have to try to put policy into practice. Furthermore, these teachers were trained in Greece, have experience teaching there, and generally expect to return. The research setting, therefore, provided an opportunity to explore how adequate training in Greece had been in preparing teachers to work with multicultured students. In addition, as Greeks, the teachers were likely to share many of the same assumptions as their colleagues in the mainland. The study, then, draws on the concrete knowledge teachers have of *both* contexts: the UK Community Schools and the Greek mainstream. It will be able to provide feedback into the Greek debate on multicultural education, providing suggestions for changes to teacher training

and to educational policy in mainstream schools, as well as informing practice in the Community Schools and possibly in the UK mainstream.

1 - 3 - Focusing on Teachers' Theories

I want to stress the scope of teachers' own thinking: that it includes both their knowledge of how to teach as well as more abstract beliefs about what education should be. In the research I do not confine myself to looking at how teachers work with minority students, but also explore their attitudes towards the curriculum and more broadly their opinions on how multicultural education should be organised. The teachers in the study usually come to the UK for five years (financed by the Greek government). I therefore had the opportunity to track the development of teachers' thinking over this period. When they are in the UK these teachers not only teach minority students, but are actually put in the place of a minority themselves. The degree to which this experience increases their understanding of the position of minority students is explored. My hypothesis is that these dual experiences (of teaching a minority as well as actually shifting position into being a minority) should give teachers a critical distance from many of the assumptions they brought with them from Greece, about the nature of minority communities and approaches to teaching them. Part of the research, then, explores this theme of the development of teachers' thinking, looking at how reflective processes do, or do not, bring about a stronger appreciation of the needs of minority students in those who teach them.

1 - 4 - Focusing on Multiculturalism

Allied to this aspect of the research is an analysis of the *content* of teachers' theories towards the end of their stays here (as opposed to its development) with respect to multicultural pedagogy. The research I undertook for my M.A. dissertation focused on how Greece's policy of interculturalism could be situated within current debates on multiculturalism and education. Now I am looking at how these teachers think about key questions in these debates in terms of their own experiences here, as well as when

thinking of the UK mainstream system and about Greece. My aim has been to explore with the teachers issues such as the treatment *of culture, identity* and *language* in a direct and down-to-earth manner, without necessarily referring to particular theories or authors. Some of the key questions[1] in this context include:

Language:
- What are appropriate approaches to language teaching?
- Should mother tongues be used as a medium of instruction?
- What do teachers understand are students' motivations to learn languages?
- How committed are the teachers to the teaching of minority languages, and why?

Identity & culture:
- How successfully do the schools cater for the 'identity needs' of the students?
- How appropriate are the curricular aims and teaching methods in dealing with cultural and identity issues?
- Is the dominant or minority culture presented in an open and reflective manner?
- To what extent is the hybrid nature of students' identities examined and catered for?

McCarthy characterises a liberal pedagogy in which: 'Schools are not conceptualised as sites of power or contestation in which differential interests, resources and capacities determine the manoeuvrability of competing ... groups and the possibility and pace of change' (McCarthy, 1990: 56). In contrast, I would align myself with a *critical multiculturalism* which recognises divisive power relations within education, as within society as a whole, but aims to create spaces for democratic and critical expression within the school and beyond it. This research is grounded in the assumption that teachers are qualified to comment on more than their own teaching, but also to make value-judgements about what *should* be happening in schools. It gives them a voice, validating their knowledge and suggesting that their views and experiences are a rich source of input into policy formation.

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[1] See Appendix I for the full list of questions used in the interviews

1 - 5 –Structure of Thesis

The first substantive section of this work is an attempt to *contextualise* the research (Chapter 2). There is a description of the *setting* of the research: the Greek Community Schools in the UK, but, more broadly, the teachers are placed in the context of a range of *discourses* and *policies* concerning multicultural pedagogy, both in Greece and in the UK. There is also a discussion of the position of teachers within the nexus of *policy*, *theory/research* and *practice*: one aspect of the research will be to critically examine the positioning of teachers in this respect.

Next (Chapter 3), we turn to a more detailed discussion of *teachers' theories* and different *'models' of the teacher*. My concern in this research is to examine what teachers themselves think and believe about multicultural pedagogy, and how this relates to their practice. But this presupposes a set of conceptual tools for the analysis of such theories. At this point too, we review *models* of the teachers as *competent, reflective* or *critical*. How, for example, do teachers relate to official policy? Do they simply and unquestioningly 'deliver' the curriculum? To what extent can the teacher creatively respond to the complex reality of her own particular teaching situation – especially within the increasingly diverse cultural and linguistic settings of modern western classrooms?

In Chapter 4, I set out my *methodological framework*. Given the focus on teachers' theories, and the fact that I myself teach in the Community Schools, there is an emphasis on *interpretive* and *ethnographic* methods. I contend that to adequately understand the complexity of teachers' beliefs, knowledge and practice, close attention must be paid to their use of *language*, necessarily implying *interpretation*. The research is therefore placed within a *hermeneutic* paradigm. This section, then, discusses under what conditions such an approach can claim validity (for example, that through sharing a common *position* with the teachers – as a Greek teacher working in the British Community Schools - I am well placed to understand and critically appraise their comments).

In Chapters 5 and 6 we move to the *analysis* of the teachers' theories and practice, based mostly on interview data and my position as a 'participant-observer'. Drawing on the theories and orientations set out in the preceding chapters, we turn first (Chapter 5) to an examination of the *teachers' theories* – what do they know or believe about the Community Schools? What are their theories concerning practice? How do they respond to the new reality of working with minority-community students in these schools? In what ways do their theories change during their time at the schools? *Do they shift towards 'stronger' understandings of multicultural pedagogy in response to these conditions?* In Chapter 6 the focus shifts more to the *model of the teacher*. What evidence is there for a *reflective* development of the teachers' theories? To what extent do the teachers see themselves as 'deliverers' of policy? To what extent are they *critical* of the curriculum, of existing practices, of the organisation of the schools? A key concern in the *analysis* (in both Chapters 5 and 6) is with how the experience of working in the Community Schools will influence their teaching when they return to Greece. Will they have a new understanding of multicultural pedagogy? Will they have modified their understanding of their own *role* as a teacher?

The key findings of the research, therefore, are brought together in the Conclusion (Chapter 7), where we also explore the implications the findings have for the Community Schools, for the mainstream in Greece (in terms of multicultural policy), and for the training of teachers for both settings. Finally there is a discussion of possible avenues for further research.

Chapter 2 Contextualising Teachers' Theories:
Discourses of Multicultural Pedagogy & Policy

In order to understand how teachers' theories develop it is necessary to describe more fully the context within which they work. This comprises both the physical context, the Hellenic Community Schools, as well as the discursive formations within and through which they operate. Such discourses are co-ordinators of practice: they '[bring] into being an objectified organisation of social relations' (Smith, D., 2002: 41). Teachers are given a particular role by discourses of multicultural pedagogy, through the imposition of a set of expectations as to how they ought to act in the classroom. In a word, discourses act to 'position' teachers (without necessarily determining their actions).

As we consider the role of the teacher a number of questions arise: How much *importance* do teachers' own theories and understandings have – if the teacher in a multicultural setting has intimate knowledge of the backgrounds, needs and learning-styles of her pupils, how much *scope* does she have to *act* on that knowledge, to engage colleagues in constructive dialogue concerning such insights, to draw on her knowledge, experience, reflections *to argue* the case for reform in school policy or for change to the curriculum?

This thesis engages with such questions. Within the concrete setting of the Hellenic Community Schools in the UK, I explore the *potential and actual role* of the teacher. Rather than taking for granted that policy and practice are determined 'top down', such a belief is openly thrown into question. I explore *how policy is negotiated* by teachers in the light of their local knowledge of their own students, and in the light of their assumptions, intuitions and explicit theories concerning multicultural pedagogy.

The research, therefore, addresses several gaps in the existing literature. While there is a great deal of writing on *reflection*, and a growing literature on *teachers' theories*, little is specifically concerned with teachers' theories or reflective practice in the *multicultural* classroom. My argument is that teachers' local knowledge of the needs of their

particular students can be extremely valuable in such settings. For this reason teachers should be in the position to feed back such knowledge to colleagues and into the policy process. Furthermore, research on the *Hellenic Schools*, and indeed on *Community Schools* in general, is sparse. When we consider multicultural educational policy, such schools have to be seen as an important component. Another contribution of this research, then, is to examine practice in the Community Schools through the eyes of the teachers, with specific reference to those serving the Greek community in the UK.

In the following chapter, therefore, the approach will be as follows:

- 2-1: A review of theories and key policies which have been applied in multicultural societies, especially in the UK and Greece, with a particular focus on how the discourses associated with such theories and policies construe and delimit the role of the teacher.

- 2-2: A discussion of models conceptualising the relationship between theory, policy and practice in education.

- 2-3: An overview of the Community School model, extending to a discussion of Hellenic Community Schools - the concrete setting of this research.

There will be a concern throughout with the relationship between policy and practice. I will examine how different actors (including governments, academics, local authorities and teachers) have at different times contributed to the development of policies and, in doing so, have employed a variety of discourses in order to conceptualise education in diverse societies.

2 - 1 - Approaches to Education in Diverse Societies

As stated above, to adequately understand the context within which the teachers in my study operate it is necessary to outline the dominant *discourses* within the field.

Following Foucault, we can see *discourses* as intimately connected with policies and practices (Foucault, 1972, 1981; Smith, 2002). By defining reality in particular ways discourses limit and condition choices and indeed ways of seeing. From a Foucaultian perspective there is no easy dividing line between ways of seeing and ways of acting. For teachers, however, a range of discourses are available, and they may use considerable artfulness in 'deploying' them (Miller and Glassner, 1997:104). Below, drawing on a typology from Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), I delineate four broad approaches to education in multicultural societies:

- assimilationism
- integrationalism
- cultural pluralism ('multiculturalism')
- intercultural / critical / postmodern approaches

While these approaches can to an extent be seen as stages of a historical progression within multicultural societies, it is essential to stress that at present discourses associated with all these positions are still 'alive and well' - in the theories and practices of a range of actors: teachers, academics, policy-makers, and so on. Furthermore, they are offered mainly for heuristic purposes - where the reality is for these to 'blend and blur' into one another under close examination (op cit).

In this section I will show how, as more genuinely *multicultural* and *critical* discourses have arisen, more space and responsibility has been given to the teacher. I will also show how these latter discourses were heavily influenced from the 'bottom up': by teachers, unions, local authorities and community groups; as well as outlining the 'top down' influence of government and academics. I thus wish to give a sense of how these discourses are embedded in concrete political realities, rather than being purely abstract theorisations. Throughout this review there will also be a critique of discourses and practices which marginalise minority students, their cultures and languages, and which assign to teachers what could be described as the role of 'clerks and technicians' (Giroux and McLaren, 1992) rather than that of 'thinkers and creators' (Moore, 1999b).

2 - 1.1 - <u>Background: National Identity</u>

Greece, until recently, has viewed itself as a homogenous society. The situation in Britain was similar until around the 1960s. This sense of a collective national identity is sustained by *signifiers* such as skin colour, language, and a range of commonly held cultural practices – described by Armstrong (1982) as *symbolic 'border guards'*, identifying who is and is not thought to be a member of the collectivity. However, these forms of national identity have a distinctly *ideological* quality: while they contain partial truths, they are in many ways fictions. They obscure the real diversity of these societies.

In fact such identities can be seen as part of the project of *modernist nationalism* (Gellner, 1983), in which the construction of modern nation-states required that regional or ethnic variations should be reduced or eliminated. A standard imposed culture, central to which was a common language, was used as a tool to facilitate effective central control. Drawing on Enlightenment roots, nationalists saw ethnicity as irrational and characteristic of 'pre-political' societies (Hutchinson, 1987: 653). The ultimate product was to be a common national identity. But this common affiliation was to an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) - an ideological construction from which the inconvenient facts of actual diversity could be omitted.

As we have seen, one way in which a strong sense of a unified, homogenous nation can be produced is via symbolic 'border guards'. Gundara and Jones (1986) argue that those who fail to meet such criteria will be seen as 'alien' or 'the other', will be marginalised, and will be 'tolerated to a degree that is dependent on the economic and social needs of the dominant group or groups within that nation' (op cit: 25). Thus, in Britain there has been 'a sense of ... common fate, which both recognised and yet easily transcended marked class and regional divisions' (Watson, 2000: 43; See Appendix III).

Another central element of national culture is the *'mythomoteur'* of the dominant ethnic group (Smith, 1986): the constitutive myth describing how and why the collectivity was formed, and therefore what its 'purpose' is. In the case of Greece, the founding of the

new Greek nation in the nineteenth century was accompanied by the creation of a *myth* of the Greek nation. Greece was seen as culturally and linguistically homogenous, with common roots going back to ancient times. The notion of homogeneity was held on to in the face of external threats - unity was at a premium - although minorities, such as the Turkish-speaking Muslim community in Thrace or the Vlach ethnic group, existed. There has been a notion of a Greek Diaspora, members of which have been welcomed 'back'. This has meant that 'Greeks' born in Russia, for example, were given full citizenship rights when they 'returned' to the country after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus the Greek *mythomoteur* contains a strong notion of a unified people with a common racial, cultural and linguistic background. National membership has been recognised through the legal principle of *ius sanguine* - membership based on heredity.

2 - 1.2 - **Assimilationism**

Theory

Assimilationism can be seen as an extension of modernist nationalism. The policy is aimed at dealing with immigrant populations as well as existing diversity. In the US the assimilation process was famously described as the 'melting pot', in which diverse cultures would be formed into a 'bright new alloy' - the American identity (Watson, 2000: 4). However, the aim has generally been for immigrants to simply fit in. Such a notion can be justified through the assumption that the dominant culture is inherently superior. For countries such as the UK or Greece, there has been a widely held belief that their cultures, being Western, were intimately connected with 'Culture' itself, i.e. with 'Civilisation' (Balibar, 1995; Giroux, 1998: 62). Thus cultures of ethnic minorities could be dismissed and suppressed with few qualms (Govareis, 2001).

Within this discourse, minority-community children are seen as a 'problem'[2] (Watson & Maguire, 1997: 79), and their language and cultures are thought to be the cause of their

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[2] In the extreme form, 'deficit' theories posit lower IQ levels for some minorities (see below)

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own educational underachievement (the 'disadvantage' model)[3]. It is important to realise that this discourse, and the concrete policies with which it is associated, is not something confined to the past. Although it typified practice in the UK in the 50s and early 60s, and in Greece until the end of the 70s, aspects of assimilationism still exist both in discourse and practice today. The historian Schlesinger in the US, for example, is still an influential voice warning against the supposed dangers of national disintegration due to diversity (Schlesinger, 1998). Similarly, the Harvard-based political scientist Samuel Huntingdon has claimed (2004) that the supposed failure of Spanish-speaking migrants to assimilate into US culture amounts to a threat to American national identity. When he was British Home Secretary, David Blunkett also urged minority groups to speak English in their homes in order to more effectively integrate into mainstream society.

The *language policy* which is most commonly associated with assimilationism is *'submersion'*, often meaning no more than minority students attending normal classes in the dominant language and being expected to 'pick it up'. The aim of such an approach is monolingualism and monoculturalism (Baker, 1996: 175). Arguments against bilingualism have been made in support of such a policy, for example Fries (1945, 1961) claimed that students' first language could 'interfere' with the new language (in the form of errors or misunderstandings). The notion of 'subtractive bilingualism' (literature reviews in Baker, 1996 & Cummins, 1988) even supports the view that there may be *cognitive* disadvantages to being bilingual (although most research now disproves this - see, e.g.: Rossell & Baker, 1996; Fitzgerald, 1995).

As the home language is ignored, so too is the home *culture*. Assimilationism means that within the curriculum, minority students find that their history and culture is not included. As has been mentioned above, there is a tendency to conflate 'culture' with Western culture. Literature, music and plastic arts produced in the Western tradition are seen as self-evidently superior to other forms of art (Bernstein, 1990). This kind of 'cultural imperialism' (Govareis, 2001) melds with an unreflective nationalism,

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[3] 'Disadvantage' and 'deficit' models will be explored further in the following section on

concerned firstly with the nation's own history and literature, and secondly with that of the West. Thus students studying literature in the UK or US two or more decades ago would have focused largely on works from the 'canon' - those of authors famously described as 'dead white men'.

Policy in the UK

The aim of assimilationist policy was to counter the supposed threat posed by minority students to the stability of the school (Mullard, 1982). The model for students to acquire English was submersion, while minority languages were ignored or suppressed (in line with beliefs about subtractive bilingualism). Similarly the monocultural policy in many UK schools in the 1950s and 60s meant, for example, that there were cases in which Hindu or Muslim children were forced to eat pork or beef where schools adopted an English-food only school menu (Mullard, 1982: 122).

Such attitudes, however, are not restricted to a discreet historical period. In the National Curriculum for England and Wales, introduced through the 1988 Education Reform Act, 'despite the presence in the school system of over half a million students perceived as racially or ethnically different from the white 'norm', there was no mention ... of race, ethnicity or even multicultural education' (Chitty, 2002: 130-131). Reflecting on the National Curriculum and on similar curricula, Richard Johnson comments:

> ... culture is thought of as a homogenous way of life or tradition, not as a sphere of difference, relationships, or power. No recognition is given to the real diversity of social orientations and cultures within a given nation-state or people. Yet a selective version of a national culture is installed as an absolute condition for any social identity at all. The borrowing, mixing and fusion of elements from different cultural systems, a commonplace everyday practice in societies like [ours], is unthinkable within this framework, or is seen as a kind of cultural misrule that will produce nothing more than a void. So the 'choices' are between ... a national culture or no culture at all. (Johnson, 1991, quoted in Apple, 1996: 35)

Integrationalism

Policy in Greece

In twentieth-century Greece, up to the 1980s, there had been relatively little immigration apart from that on the part of those who were seen as members of the Diaspora (Nikolaou, 2000). Some distinct ethnic or culture groups existing in the nineteenth century gradually assimilated (Vlakhs, Kouso-Vlakhs, Urbanites, Slavs, Jews and Armenians). There is still a sizeable Muslim, Turkish-speaking minority in the northern Thrace region, as well as the Roma ('Tsigani'), who still live, largely unassimilated, across Greece today (Heracleides, 1997: 32-5). In the 1970s there was a period of repatriation, as some Greeks who had been working abroad in countries such as Germany began returning with their families. There was also a small amount of immigration from other Western European countries and from Africa. Greece, in this period however, was used to seeing itself as a *sending*, rather than a *receiving* country (with sizeable Greek populations in the US and Australia for example). There was (and still is) a policy to support Greek communities in the Diaspora, by sending and financing Greek teachers for the community schools, and in some cases with agreements struck between the governments to provide teachers for mainstream schools (e.g. in Germany). Meanwhile the policy at home was clearly one of assimilation. While there was some bilingual / bicultural provision for the Muslim minority in Thrace, this was very much the exception. In mainstream schools, well into the 1970s, minorities, their cultures and languages were effectively invisible, with Greek language and culture given absolute priority.

The Position of the Teacher

The fact that there is little to say about the teachers' role is an indication of how little input she or he has in the assimilationist model. Teachers are not expected to mediate between the demands of the curriculum and the specific needs of minority students, and their local knowledge is ignored. Minority students have to sink or swim, as they are 'submerged' in a monolinguistic, monocultural environment. The teacher is not required to have knowledge of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) methodology, and certainly should not recognise or promote use or knowledge of minority languages. In terms of culture, the model is one of 'cultural transmission' (Bottery, 1992; Johnson, 1991;

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Watson, 2000:163): teachers are viewed as *transmitters* of knowledge and accompanying values. Children are supposed to be the passive recipients. In respect to their response to minority students, therefore, teachers are *de-skilled* (Apple, 1996:37).

Critique

The assimilationist approach is highly questionable in terms of both its attitude towards minority culture and language. To oppose assimilation, in fact, means to recognise an essential connection between *identity, language* and *culture. Culture* is a form of enabling knowledge, orienting individuals to the world: giving them tools to interpret it, to navigate their way successfully within it, to effectively participate in society (Kymlicka, 1995). Modernism's desire to strip ethnic minorities of their 'pre-modern' cultures, therefore, instead of being a 'progressive' move to inculcate 'civilised' and 'rational' values, is in fact an attack on the valued knowledge and practices of the groups in question - in Bourdieu's terms (1991), an attack on their 'habitus'[4].

As culture is intrinsic to identity, so too is *language*. Ethnographers concerned with communication note the close relationship between the *vocabulary* of a language and the beliefs, values and needs present in the culture of its native speakers. Similarly the *grammar* of a language may reveal 'the way time and space are segmented and organised, convey beliefs about ... the relative power of beings, and imply a great deal of other information by conventional presupposition' (Saville-Troike, 1976: 360). In a word, then, *how* the world is seen, indeed *how we see ourselves*, is intimately bound up with the language we use.

But even in terms of teaching the dominant language, assimilation rates poorly. Submersion is a questionable approach towards the effective teaching of the dominant language as, according to Krashen (1982), 'input' generally needs to be 'finely tuned' - i.e. if too many lexical items are above the student's linguistic range, little or no language will actually be acquired. Furthermore, Cummins (2000b), while arguing that many

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[4] Bourdieu defines Habitus as: 'the system of modes of perception, of thinking, of appreciation and of action' that individuals carry with them into the full range of social milieus (e.g. schools, workplaces, etc) (Bourdieu, 1971 – quoted in Moore, 2000: 94).

students can 'pick up' conversational language in around two years, claims they will need around seven years to adequately master the *academic* language required of their age-group. Thus for students who are recent immigrants, and who speak the community language at home, submersion may *hold them back* linguistically and academically (i.e. they may need some role for the home language in their acquisition of course content). Unfortunately, submersion can still be seen as an influential approach in both British and Greek mainstream classrooms, and in the US the passing of state laws, such as Proposition 227 in California (1998), have succeeded in restricting bilingual education and in reinstating submersion.

By excluding minority languages and cultures from the school, assimilationist educational policy undermines and threatens the cultural identity of the students. This identity is rendered 'invisible' in the school (Moore, 1999a): the expectations and norms associated with non-dominant cultures are not recognised officially in the classroom. Worse still the culture may be denigrated, explicitly or implicitly, as uncivilised or backward, and students may be subject to various forms of racism. Traditional standards for assessment of ability and intelligence are likely to rate minority students poorly since such students will not conform to many of the norms of the dominant group (Gay, 1992). The *results* of such assimilationist policies for minority students in the UK have included feelings of alienation, low self-esteem and lack of confidence, but also anger, manifesting in acts of opposition (Mullard, 1982: 131; Bhavnani, 2001: 15).

2 - 1.3 - Integrationalism

Theory
In discussions of policies relating to multicultural settings, at least in the UK, there has typically been a description of a movement from *assimilationism*, to *integrationalism*, to *multiculturalism*. However, there is a risk of reification in adopting such a division. If we distinguish between the discourses and practices of a range of actors (including politicians, civil servants, academics, teachers, journalists and community activists), then

it is much harder to maintain such rigid distinctions. To discuss integrationalism, on one level, means to signal a shift towards an acceptance of diversity. However, as the name suggests, the key underlying concern is with *integrating* diverse members of the population into a unified citizenry.

In integrationalism there is an emphasis on tolerance and on the rights of the individual: the state should not interfere in the private sphere unless strictly necessary, so one has the right to adhere to any culture or religion, to speak any language *in one's private life* (Walzer, 1994). Within this discourse there is an emphasis on *individualism* at the expense of *collectivism*. On the one hand, for example, imposing Christianity as the state religion would be seen as an imposition on non-Christians; on the other, having a number of state-funded Muslim schools, for example, would be seen as public recognition of a *group* right. But:

> The state is group-blind, it cannot 'see' colour, gender, ethnicity, religion or even nationality.
> ... the just state is neutral between rival conceptions of the good life. (Modood, 1997: 22)

These are the kinds of assumptions which underlie some modern French policies towards minorities. In 2004 there have been moves to prevent Muslim girls from wearing head-scarves in school, in an attempt to preserve the secular, 'neutral' nature of the school as a part of the public sphere. As with assimilationism there is an emphasis on national unity - on creating loyal citizens. Again this expresses a structural/functional understanding of society, within which the school is seen as an instrument of social cohesion. This perspective downplays the role of conflict within society, as the state is supposed to deal neutrally with all individuals (it is therefore a 'consensual' (May, 1994) or 'equilibrium' (Paulston, 1977) perspective).

Central to the discourse of integrationalism (and also assimilationism) is a *pathologising* of minority pupils, in which their failures are seen as the results of their own '*deficit*' or '*disadvantage*'. The 'environmental deficit model' generalises about how the upbringing of under-performing children may have 'disadvantaged' them (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 53). This can be given a racist twist when the supposed norms of family life of

particular ethnic groups are brought into the equation. The deficit and disadvantage models form the basis of programmes of *'compensatory'* education, which attempt to build up literacy and 'social skills' not provided-for at home. However, within this discourse the aim is superficial behavioural change, while leaving deep structural inequalities untouched (Gundara, 2000: 53).

Policy in the UK

In the UK, in the late 60s, courses started to inform teachers about the homelands of immigrant children, and advisors were appointed to help with the 'problems' of first and second generation 'immigrant' children (Mullard, 1982: 126): education for a multicultural society was regarded as something for 'immigrants' or minorities, rather than for the school population as a whole (in line with the compensatory model). Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act set aside funds for extra teachers in areas with high concentrations of immigrants (op cit: 29), and from 1966 to 1993 applied only to immigrants from the 'New Commonwealth' and from Pakistan, and were earmarked only for schools in England and Wales. The main aim was to support the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) (Eversley & Baker, 2000: 61). The main method used (at least until 1985) was 'pull-out classes', in which language-minority students received intensive practice of English, as well as in some cases having the curriculum partially delivered in the target language.

Policy in Greece

In Greece, meanwhile, large-scale immigration was unknown until the 1980s. The main trigger for this was the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 80s. At this time huge numbers of immigrants moved across the border from Albania: by 1994 an initial Greek population of around 10 million had been supplemented by around 300,000 Albanians (Nikolau, 2000). There were also a large number of members of the Diaspora 'returning', from the Soviet Union, but also from a number of other Eastern European countries (primarily Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland). One reaction to this was Law 150483, legislating for the formation of 'support classes' - offered for students experiencing difficulties - and 'reception classes' - providing adjustment to the new

environment. Previous to this, in 1982, there had been the establishment of a 'Tutorial Department' to provide extra training for all expatriate children, the production of teaching aids and special teaching materials. However, in some ways the situation in Greece in the 1980s, and up to the adoption of interculturalism in the mid-90s, was comparable to that in Spain: Gonzalo and Villanueva (1996) report that despite some individual efforts, provision is 'fragmented, isolated and dispersed'.

Position of the Teacher

So how are teachers situated by the discourse and policies of integrationalism? On the one hand there is a shift from the assimilationist position. Teachers who are in contact with minority community students are not supposed to be ignorant of their cultures or specific needs, but sensitive to their cultural background. Increasingly, specialist language teachers are brought in to teach the dominant language - students are not left to sink or swim. However, teachers must encourage the acquisition of the dominant language. There is a 'subtractive' model of bilingualism at play (Baker, 1996: 118) - the use of the home language (L1) is assumed to 'interfere' with successful acquisition of the dominant language (L2). Furthermore, there is no sense in which knowledge of minority communities is required of *all* teachers. Minorities are seen as having a problem which teachers can help them with locally, rather than society having problems (ignorance, racism, etc) requiring a national strategy (Tomlinson, op cit: 29).

In the UK, teachers' own reaction to the integrationalist policy agenda included a grass-roots teachers' movement in the 1970s 'aimed at the elimination of Eurocentric stereotypes and a negative presentation of other races and cultures in the curriculum' (Tomlinson, op cit: 30). While discourses of multiculturalism and anti-racism started to emanate from some quarters in academia in this period, and the National Union of Teachers issued a number of reports highlighting the needs of minority students, the advent of the National Curriculum in the late 1980s 'turned the clock back' for many teachers. With an overriding emphasis on teaching to exams (which in themselves can be seen as culturally biased), teachers have less scope to respond to students by drawing on

their culture (Watson & Maguire, op cit: 81), resulting in the 'blocking [of] ... certain forms of pedagogy' (Moore, 2000: 45).

Critique

There are a number of problems associated with integrationalism:

- the rhetoric of cultural 'neutrality' it employs can mask the actual assertion of the dominant group's own cultural values
- it can result in the exclusion of minority students from the mainstream
- it can 'pathologise' minority students
- by ignoring minority languages it can lead to 'language shift'[5] within communities
- it fails to recognise the systematic discrimination suffered by minority communities.

The results of discrimination, such as alienation from the school system, low educational attainment, or school drop-out, are seen as the result of deficits or disadvantages located in the individual or her/his family or community. In fact, much of the research on deficit models has been shown to be flawed: Jensen's assertion of higher IQs among whites was based on fabricated data (Gundara, 2000: 52). Herrnstein and Murray's 'Bell Curve'[6] contains 'logical misconduct' and 'statistical misconduct' which together add up to 'misinformation [and] right-wing propaganda' (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 184).

Programmes of compensatory education, based on disadvantage models are stereotyping ethnic minority children *as educational and behavioural 'problems'* (Gundara, 2000: 114). Using the values of the dominant group to classify difference as 'disadvantage' thereby stigmatises these children. The discursive construction of the dominant culture as 'neutral' in fact renders it invisible: not available for discussion or critique. Difference, therefore, can be construed as a simple failure to meet 'objective' standards, and thus to the labelling of minority students as deficient. Such labelling had the result that many Afro-Caribbean children in the 60s and 70s were wrongly seen as 'less able'

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[5] The eradication of the minority language amongst the community, in favour of the dominant language.

[6] Herrnstein and Murray in *The Bell Curve* (1994) have asserted that lower IQs can explain poor results for many black children, drawing on Jensen's data

and assigned to special units (Coard, 1971; Coate Bignell & Maguire, 1997: 79). In addition, the policy of having 'pull-out' classes can have the effect of excluding minority-language speaking students from the mainstream. This can act as a form of institutionalised racism (Hass, 1992), where students are labelled (in the US for example) Limited English Proficient (LEP) and then separated from their classmates on this basis. This may lead to further exclusion, with students 'subsequently reclassified as 'learning disabled' several years later' (Wiley, 1996: 137).

With the school supporting the 'habitus' of the dominant group (Bourdieu, 1991- see note 4, above) the children of that group, meeting their own values, are predisposed towards success. Conversely, minority children will often feel alienated[7]. The conflict between minority values and the school can then lead to disaffection and dropout. Alternatively, the strength of dominant cultural values can have the effect of turning children against their home cultures: they may feel ashamed, or resent having to use the heritage language at home, and thus reject this culture in an attempt to 'fit in'. Such conditions can ultimately lead to 'language shift' (Wiley, 1996: 122).

Integrationalist policies left many parents with the concern that:
> their children are not taught the basic skills in an adequate manner and that importantly their children remain ignorant of their own histories and cultures (Watson & Maguire, 1997: 81).

One reaction has been the formation of Community Schools. For the Greek community in Britain, from the 1960s onwards, the supplementary / community schools have provided a space for teaching the language and reinforcing the culture.

Of course such schools have been established by minority communities themselves. While integrationalism talked the rhetoric of 'tolerance', in fact, the idea of neutrality and tolerance is an extremely limited one:

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[7] 'the habitus is likely to affect the individual's notions of what, for them, is *achievable* within any given field [e.g. school, workplace, etc], thus setting very clear parameters for the individual in terms of personal ambitions and expectations' (Moore, 2000: 94).

cultural diversity is tolerable so long as it neither impedes progress to political integration nor explicitly challenges the cultural assumptions of our Anglo-centric society (Mullard, op cit: 126/7)

The confinement of diversity to the private sphere has meant that communities have had to *fight* for the survival of their languages and cultures partly through the medium of community schools. Arguably, in fact, the existence of such schools across a range of communities serves as an index of the inadequacy of official education policies in catering for the needs of minorities, not only in the historical period associated officially with integrationalism, but up to the present, since many of the essential traits of integrationalism still linger on in both the UK and Greek educational systems.

Furthermore, community schools have tended to fall outside the gaze of official policy and mainstream theoretical work connected with multicultural pedagogy in the UK. This is in contrast to countries such as Germany, where the functions of these schools are integrated into the mainstream system, and classes in Greek language are taught by teachers sent and paid for by the Greek state. One aim of this research, therefore, is to address this gap in the literature in the UK.

2 - 1.4 - Background: 'Multiculturalism' - Linking Language, Culture & Identity

The advent of the term *multiculturalism* (in the 1965 Canadian Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) signified an official recognition of the existence of different ethnic groups, marked the state's concern with disadvantage and inequality, and showed its recognition of a responsibility to act in relation to these problems. Key features of this discourse include:

- the celebration of difference
- a questioning of the supposed superiority of Western culture
- recognition of the identity needs of minority students, and of the education system's role in meeting these needs

It is possible to identify 'weaker' and 'stronger' forms of multiculturalism (Watson, 2000: 51). In the next section we will consider cultural pluralism, widely regarded as a weak form of multiculturalism. In later sections we will examine stronger forms, including anti-racism, interculturalism, and critical multiculturalism (among the advocates of some of these forms, in fact, there has been a rejection of the term multiculturalism due to its perceived inadequacies in practice). Initially, however, it is necessary to explore how cultural pluralism and stronger forms of multiculturalism recognise the intimate relationship between language, culture and identity.

Language

Central to debates on multicultural pedagogy is the notion of bilingualism as maintenance of a community language in addition to learning the dominant language. Key questions which arise include: what are the advantages of bilingualism (cognitively, linguistically, in terms of identity formation, and in terms of academic success); how are languages taught and learnt (theories of Second-Language Acquisition - SLA); and how should bilingual education be organised (models of bilingual education).

According to Moore, 'there is an impressive ... body of research evidence' to show that bilingualism has the 'capacity' to be linguistically and cognitively advantageous (Moore, 1999a: 43)[8]. If the possession of two languages allows the child to treat language as an object (Vygotsky, 1962), then this awareness can give insights into the functioning of language (metalinguistic awareness), but arguably also can give the child cognitive advantages. Cummins' model of Common Underlying Proficiency has posited an essential unity between the knowledge of the two (or more) languages of a bilingual (Cummins, 1981): what is 'learned' in L2 (the second language) will be 'shared' knowledge of linguistic patterns, what has been termed a 'universal grammar' (Chomsky, 1965). Furthermore, the development of L2 will be adding to this common knowledge base. Taken together, such assertions constitute an 'additive' view of bilingualism.

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[8] Examples are research reviews by Rossell and Baker (1996) and Fitzgerald (1995)

Furthermore, a mastery of the 'home' language gives access to one's cultural heritage (literature, songs, etc). Thus the undermining of the language threatens the very existence of the community (Paulston, 1977). Arguably, language is not a mere medium of a reality, but is constitutive of that reality. It can be seen as the means through which we attach meaning and give structure to our cultural activities. Thus, the loss of a language can also undermine or destroy the culture.

Another important consideration *is the successful acquisition of the dominant language*, as it will affect the academic achievement of students, and ultimately their chances in the labour market (i.e. their 'life chances'). Cummins (1984) has differentiated between two types of language competence for bilingual students: 'basic communicative interpersonal skills' (BICS), and 'cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). The BICS/CALP distinction alerts us to the fact that 'competence' in L2 has different faces. While a relatively small vocabulary base can serve for 'everyday' spoken communication, which will usually be accompanied by clues to meaning from the environment (by body language for example), a much broader linguistic base will be required to deal with the 'decontextualised' language of the curriculum (Cummins, 2000 - b). But how can non-native speakers of the dominant language best be helped to acquire this kind of 'academic' language, in order to keep up with their peers in class, in exams, and in the labour market?

The notion of *Common Underlying Proficiency* (Cummins, 1981) points towards an answer. If students' first language (L1) is maintained, there should be positive transfer in terms of ability to handle complex linguistic structures between L1 and L2. For example, if you learn to write an essay well in your first language, many of the structures and skills employed may be similar for an essay in L2. Between many languages (Greek and English is an excellent example), there will also be a large amount of shared or related vocabulary which can be transferred ('cognates'). Thus a strong argument for the maintenance of minority-community languages is that they can *support* students in their acquisition of the dominant language.

Bilingual education is based on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories. Today these theories increasingly emphasise comprehensible 'input' needing to be supplemented by conscious 'language work', with students focusing on certain areas of the language system (Cummins, 2000b: 46). In addition, they recognise the role of interaction, with students being able, under favourable conditions, to learn from other students and from native speakers who modify their output

'Socio-linguistic' theories critique SLA theories for taking for granted the conditions for the establishment of communication. Arguably, *students are never free from relationships of power*, which determine where, when and how they will use language. Paulston (1992) argues that the success of particular policies for bilingual education will always be conditioned by the socio-economic status of the groups involved and the status of the languages used and taught.

There are a number of different *models of 'bilingual' education* (see e.g. Hornberger, 1996). Baker (1996: 175) divides them into *'weak' and 'strong' forms*, with 'stronger' forms of bilingual education (such as the Canadian 'immersion' model, described below) aiming for the mastery of both the community language and the dominant language.

Culture & Identity

Multiculturalism recognises the intimate relationship between culture and identity. *'Identity'* can be understood as how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across space and time, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. In turn *'culture'* can be understood as a combination of two perspectives, one drawn from anthropology (as the way of life of a people, community, nation or social group), and the other from sociology (as the 'shared values' of a group or society) (Hall, 1997: 2).

There are a number of reasons why the issues of culture and identity are relevant in the school. Schools are sites of identity construction and negotiation: there is the question of the importance of the home culture and/or the dominant culture for students'

identities, and how this relates to teaching approach, curricular content, and so forth. Moreover, the home culture of students – i.e. what their learning styles are, what cultural assumptions they have – can affect their performance in the class. Thus, culture and identity bear on *how* and *what* we teach.

The failure to 'recognise' the cultural heritage of minorities can be seen as a form of violence (in Bourdieu's terms 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977)) (c.f. Taylor, 1994). Here the role of language is an important issue - how our identity is constructed on the use of language. According to Althusser (1971), 'subjects' come to identify themselves through repeatedly being called ('hailed') by certain names[9] (Woodward, 1997: 43). This is the process of *interpellation*; one that is open to interpretation depending on context:

> Consider the force of this dynamic of interpellation and misrecognition when the name is not a proper name, but a social category and, hence a signifier that is capable of being interpreted in a number of divergent and conflictual ways ... to be hailed as a 'woman' or 'Jew' or 'queer' or 'Black' or 'Chicana' (Butler, 1995: 239)

Similarly, Foucault (1980) stresses the power of language to construct identity: how 'disciplinary power' works through language. Drawing on such analyses, we can note the importance - if we are to avoid symbolic violence towards minority students - of sensitivity in the use of language. Who they are seen to be, or see themselves as being, will depend to an extent on the degree to which materials, teachers, schools and the wider society address them as members or a cultural minority and/or as full-members of society.

It is clear that the recognition and inclusion of minority cultures on a basis of equality implies *action to reduce prejudice*. Within this paradigm, schools make interventions to reduce racism, sexism and other forms of intolerance. Partly this involves a focus on *policing* racist or sexist *language use* within the school or in materials. Other

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[9] This can be seen in the names applied to or used by minority and dominant groups. The formulation 'Italian-American', for example, both asserts a distinct culture and cultural heritage, as well as clearly marking full citizenship status.

approaches can include curricular interventions, or methods such as positive reinforcement or co-operative learning activities (Banks, 2001: 12).

The existence of particular home cultures implies a specific set of *expectations* which are *carried over into the class* (Gay, 1992), while the *learning styles and cultural assumptions* of ethnic minority students *affect their learning and behaviour in the class*. As stated above, this calls into question the complacent application of traditional criteria for judging ability and implies the need to adjust teaching styles and assessment criteria accordingly (Bruner, 1996). The assumptions of educators in terms of behaviour may also be challenged: in a pluralistic school environment there is an acceptance of certain practices within the school, for example the wearing of traditional head-scarves for certain ethnic minority pupils.

The recognition of the home culture at school is important, as students suffer from 'home/school disarticulation' (Baker, 1997). In order to include diverse cultures *teaching moves away from an authoritarian approach to the passing on of knowledge*, and practitioners are encouraged to question their own assumptions about the veracity of many core Western beliefs (Moodley, 1992).

Critically, from a multicultural perspective, minority cultures should be 'represented' in the *curriculum* (Suzuki, 1984). A key area is history. Omission is seen as designed to downplay or ignore historic injustices suffered by minority groups. For example, the traumatic historical experience of slavery should be made part of the orthodox story of modernity's 'unfolding' rather than being treated as a 'peripheral ... sub-plot' (Gilroy, 1993: 320). Debates on identity politics in education, especially in the USA, have often focused on the notion of 'the canon'. In Literature there has been an effort to pluralise the set of authors studied, rather than focusing narrowly on authors from a few Western countries who are usually white men. The same concerns extend to subjects like political theory, in which Chinese thinking, for example, could usefully be included. Science too can be approached from a more inclusive viewpoint that critiques an 'ideology of science' (Haig-Brown, 1990) which categorises the advances of indigenous cultures as

'technology', but tells us that 'they cannot possible have a systematised construction which the 'developed' world calls *'science'* (op cit: 95). In terms of identity, the main point is that by taking a critical, pluralistic approach to the canon, there is more scope for positive reinforcement of minority cultures.

As has been noted, the kinds of discourses and policies which seriously engage with these issues can be seen as 'weaker' and 'stronger'. Next we look at a weaker form of multiculturalism: cultural pluralism. In later sections on stronger forms the issues of language, culture and identity will be returned to in greater depth.

2 - 1.5 - Cultural Pluralism

By the 1960s and 1970s, the period of the Civil Rights movement in the US, many black American groups were highlighting the gap between liberal rhetoric on equality of opportunity, and the reality of persistent effective inequality for blacks. A range of minority groups called for greater inclusion of their histories in the school curriculum, for recognition of their cultures and for the installation of bilingual education programmes. At this time there was also a shift in emphasis, influence by the Chicago school, from the use of the term 'race' to that of 'ethnicity': from a focus on heredity and biology, towards an emphasis on cultural difference.

Cultural pluralism embraces diversity and attempts to bring minority cultures into the public sphere: to provide public recognition. In education this means that the school is a public forum for the acknowledgement of diversity: minority cultural practices are accepted within the school and more space is devoted in the curriculum to the histories and cultures of different communities (Kalantiz & Cope, 1999: 250); and more provision is made for community languages.

Whereas integrationalism could be associated with individual rights, cultural pluralism can be seen as rooted in another form of liberal philosophy - one that accepts the notion

of group rights in the communitarian tradition (e.g. Taylor, 1992; Walzer, 1983; Sandel, 1982; MacIntyre, 1981). But, although the common public culture should be able to accommodate to minority influences, there still needs to be adherence and loyalty to some form of common *national* culture in the interests of social stability (Taylor, op cit). This sentiment is found in the Swann Report (1985), the key British document on cultural pluralism:

> We would regard a democratic pluralist society as seeking to achieve balance between, on the one hand the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all the ethnic groups within it, and on the other the acceptance by all groups of the set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole. (DES, 1985: 6)

Thus there is still significant common ground between this approach and earlier responses to the reality of multicultural societies.

Approaches to Policy

Cultural pluralism places increased emphasis on the relationship between *culture, language* and *identity*. How this understanding has been expressed in policy has differed from country to country. In Canada, the official recognition of two main languages has led to a groundbreaking set of initiatives in bilingual education. Similarly, in the US, the existence of a substantial Hispanic minority allowed momentum to grow for a range of bilingual programmes supported by federal funding. In the UK, on the other hand, there has been little in the way of support for genuine bilingual education in the state sector.

Policy in North America

Two of the most important *models of bilingual education* are the Canadian 'immersion'[10] model (introduced in the 1970s), and the 'transitional' bilingual model frequently used in the US.

In Canada the bilingual immersion programmes have generally been with children from English speaking backgrounds, with the aim promoting genuine bilingualism in English

and French. Largely homogenous groups of students (in terms of first language (L1)) are educated through the medium of the target language (L2) for a high percentage of the curriculum. The approach is based on a communicative methodology, influenced by Krashen's 'natural method'. The rationale is that it provides a meaningful context for language use, giving students plenty of opportunity for input at an appropriate level, and meaningful communication away from an explicit focus on accuracy.

In terms of outcome: 'The overall trend ... is for immersion students to perform as well as or, in the case of early total immersion students, better than their English-educated counterparts' (Swain and Lapkin, 1982: 82). As for competence in French, the early immersion programmes are particularly successful, gaining near-native proficiency. Reasons for this success can be found in its support for L1, and in its use of L2 for meaningful communication. The curriculum is not 'watered down' (it provides cognitive challenge). In addition, parents were able to support the programmes which they perceived as valuable, giving their children access to two high-status languages (op cit: 1-2).

In the USA, particularly with Hispanic students, Transitional Bilingual Programmes have been supported by both state and federal funds, and have been the most popular form of specialised provision for bilingual students in the US. The focus is on drawing on students' existent abilities in their mother tongue. Partially the aim is to keep them up to speed with the curriculum, while building their knowledge of L1 (e.g. Spanish). This approach draws on Cummins notion of Common Underlying Proficiency (Cummins, 1981). Another aim of such programmes has been to build skills and confidence in the mother tongue to facilitate better integration of students within their own language community, and to bolster the students' confidence and positive sense of their own identity. They have provided delivery of a certain amount of the curriculum in L1 (with initially half a day's ESL content teaching and half a day's work on the curriculum in L1 with a bilingual teacher). Results for these programmes in English reading are

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[10] There is significant confusion in popular discourse between 'submersion' and 'immersion' approaches, but they are fundamentally different, since immersion aims for genuine bilingualism, while submersion generally suppresses the mother tongue.

significantly better than those for students in submersion environments, but fall short of the average attainment of native English speakers (Thomas & Collier, p.22). One widely acknowledged problem is that, while making progress in L2, the students' native-speaker counterparts will usually be advancing more quickly. Thus bilinguals find themselves chasing a receding target as they try to close the gap with their peers.

In sum, therefore, strong models exist for bilingual education within a cultural pluralist framework. However, the aims of the programmes differ, as do their suitability for students from different backgrounds. The immersion model has frequently been sited as evidence of the potential for bilingual education, but the socio-linguistic factors which helped make it so successful cannot be ignored: it is therefore difficult to reproduce such results when it is minority rather than majority community students who are the target group. This indicates the importance of including the dimension of power within analyses of different models of bilingual education (c.f. Paulston, 1992; Hornberger, 1996).

On the other hand the use of transitional programmes, while not achieving the same levels of success as immersion, have effectively helped Latino/Latina minority students to preserve the home language, acquire high-level English skills, and to succeed academically. Unfortunately it is just these programmes which have been targeted in recent anti-bilingual education referendums in the US, such as the passing of Proposition 227 in California in 1998.

Policy in Britain

In terms of policy in the UK, the Swann Report of 1985 was a landmark, but one which had been preceded by a history of growing pressure for change from a range of actors, including teaching unions and academics, and significant reforms by Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and teacher-training institutions (Tomlinson, 1996). Kearney, for example, reports that growing anti-racist, anti-sexist initiatives in this period coincided with teachers broadening their knowledge and building up specialist materials (Kearney, 2004: xiii).

Reports by the National Union of Teachers in the 70s drew attention to the need for more substantial policies to deal not only with the needs of minority students, but also to spread awareness of key issues in multiculturalism to all schools. In the early 1980s initiatives by academics, such as a seminal conference organised by Maurice Craft at Nottingham University in 1981, and initiatives by LEAs, especially in London and other metropolitan areas, helped to bring the cultural pluralist agenda to the fore (Tomlinson, 1996: 31-33). By the mid 1980s multiculturalism came to be widely accepted, and it was a more common component of teacher-training courses. However, as stated above the advent of the National Curriculum in the late 80s put severe restrictions on multicultural initiatives.

Concerning *language* policy, before 1985 there had been a policy of 'pull-out' classes in ESL (English as a Second Language) for many minority students. However, this was criticised for being exclusionary (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986). Section 11 funding has allowed for language assistants to work inside the mainstream classroom, to help students acquire English and sometimes to offer support in L1. There have also been some appointments of bilingual teachers in areas with large numbers of minority students (Tomlinson, 1996: 40-41). In general, however, there is little or no support of L1 in the school, and by default many communities have had to establish community schools in order to teach their own language.

Policy in Greece

In Greece, meanwhile, yet another situation has pertained. In the 1970s a number of schools were established for returning expatriates, for example for Anglophone returnees in Athens and for German returnees in Thessaloniki. In the 80s, when new waves of immigrants began arriving, they were initially sent to these schools. There were a number of problems with this system: students were marginalised, and were poorly prepared to go to the mainstream school. A number of other communities also established their own bilingual schools, using the native language as the medium of

instruction in a number of subjects, while following the Greek curriculum. These include an Armenian school in Athens and a number of Polish schools.

As has been noted, in the 1980s Support and Reception classes were established, which aimed to integrate minority students more effectively into mainstream schools. There has also been an attempt in recent years to introduce elements of transitional bilingual education into mainstream schools. In the 1990s a new law provided for classes in the students' first language in reception classes for immigrant children. The teachers were employed by the local government, with schools requesting extra teachers according to their particular needs. Since 1996 there has been an attempt to bring the concept of 'intercultural' education into the school system (interculturalism will be dealt with in depth in the following section). This also led to the setting-up of a number of bilingual, 'intercultural' schools in Athens (Paleologou, 2004).

A range of initiatives in the 80s and early 90s attempted to prepare teachers working with minority students, including courses and conferences on the cultural background of particular minorities. There was also the creation of a department of Muslim Pedagogy in the University of Thessaloniki. In contrast to the UK the debate on multiculturalism in Greece is strongly intertwined with questions of religious identity (Zambeta, 2000). In Greece, the Orthodox Christian church is dominant and highly influential. There are also a multiplicity of religious communities among immigrant groups as well as the sizeable Muslim minority in Thrace.

Position of the Teacher

From the above accounts it can be seen that cultural pluralism expects much more from the teacher. She is required to be sensitive to the needs of minority students in terms of learning style, knowledge of home culture, linguistic needs (both in terms of students acquiring the dominant language and in their relationship to the mother tongue). Teachers are expected to ensure the 'representation' of minority students in the classroom and the school (and to take a critical approach to materials which may be culturally biased). These requirements do not only apply to teachers who work with

minority students, but also to those in schools with a majority, or wholly, native student population. In this case teachers are expected to inform students about minority cultures, and to act to reduce stereotyping and racism (for example by monitoring language use). Teacher-education programmes increasingly support *all* teachers being given an introduction to how multiculturalism relates to pedagogy. Within this frame teachers are also viewed in terms of their background: recruitment is supposed to be equitable so that there are representatives of different minority communities within the teaching staff (offering themselves as role models, and having local knowledge of the culture and language of students from their communities). The employment of a diverse and representative body of teachers and school workers ensures that the diverse nature of the student body and/or the wider society is reflected in a concrete form in the school.

Critique

In many ways *practice* in both the UK and Greece has been 'fragmented, isolated and dispersed', contrary to the aspirations of the cultural pluralist model. In fact, in the UK, the advent of the National Curriculum has thrown many of those aspirations into reverse (Tomlinson, 1996:27). Cultural pluralism has been criticised for the gap which can exist between its explicit aims and the reality of practice on the ground. It can result in stereotypical images of minority communities being passed on (what has been termed the 'steel-band, sari and samosas' approach to multiculturalism (Watson, op cit)). Furthermore, by failing to engage profoundly with multiculturalism, schools miss the opportunity to prepare students for a rapidly changing world, in which the ability to move comfortably and confidently between cultures is increasingly in demand (Campbell, 2000: 37).

Some of the strongest criticisms of cultural pluralism have come from the antiracist movement (see below). Theorists such as Mullard (1982), Brandt (1986) and Troyna (1987) have criticised 'multicultural education' (i.e. cultural pluralism) for overemphasising cultural 'rights', rather than challenging the *structural* inequalities - most prominently those produced by racism - which concretely diminish the life-chances of minority students (May, 1999: 11).

In terms of language policy in the UK, while the ending of pull-out classes in English avoids the *physical* exclusion of bilingual students a *symbolic* exclusion persists: 'although multicultured students may be physically present, they may regularly find themselves at the wrong end of routine symbolic marginalisations' (Moore, op cit: 34). The attempt to provide support for L1 is inefficient since ESL teachers are only able to work with one or two pupils at a time and cannot give coherent input as to how the language system works (Jaine, 2000: 135). In addition, most attention is given to beginners in English, so that the needs of other bilingual students are not fully met (ibid). With over 200 languages being spoken in London, the *particular conditions* raise serious questions as to the practicality of the North American *immersion* and *transitional* models within the mainstream system.

Furthermore, it is significant that loyalty to the state is still prioritised within this discourse, ultimately being valued higher than loyalty to the community group. Arguably this places cultural pluralism within an 'equilibrium' or 'consensus' frame: limits are placed upon pluralism, and conflict may be suppressed. What is lacking is an analysis of *power* (Apple, 1996) which, going beyond the celebration of diversity, can begin to address questions of historical injustice and continuing inequality.

2 - 1.6 - Intercultural / Critical / Postmodern Approaches

The following section will consider a wide range of 'critical' and 'postmodern' approaches to multicultural education. The policy of 'interculturalism' is included here, which, while it has much in common with cultural pluralism, also shares aspects of other more critical approaches. One thing all of them have in common is a conscious, critical inclusion of the dimension of power: they stress the necessity to 'see schools - and the curricula, teaching and evaluation that go on in them - in ways that do not make invisible [the] connections between what we do as educators and the larger relations of power' (Apple, 1996: 96). Within these kinds of discourses, for example, it would be impossible

to account for the success of the Canadian immersion programmes without acknowledging the socio-economic power of the parents who support them, or the high status (cultural/symbolic capital) of the languages involved. There are thus commonalities with socio-linguistic discourses such as those of Paulston (op cit) and Skuntnabb-Kangas (1988). The various approaches outlined below differ in the impact they have had on policy. On the one hand interculturalism is official EU policy, and has been taken up by the Greek state, while 'affirmative action' / positive discrimination has had a significant impact in terms of policy, especially in the US. On the other hand some approaches (such as 'transformative' or 'critical' multiculturalism) have had only a marginal influence on official policy. Instead, in a bottom-up manner, academics working within these discourses often focus on the achievements of particular model schools, particular teachers or local education authorities, in order to demonstrate that better approaches exist and can successfully be put into practice.

Anti-Racism

An important discourse in the UK has been *anti-racism*. This was particularly strong in the 1980s, was especially rooted in teaching unions such as the NUT, in LEAs and was promoted by some prominent academics such as Troyna (1987) and Brandt (1986). It originated as a neo-Marxist *critique* of multiculturalism, and saw weak forms of multiculturalism as overemphasising the importance of *difference* at the expense of equality. It was argued that there was an overemphasis on (or a reification of) culture, and that mainstream multiculturalism did little to change patterns of racism or of inequality (May, 1999: 2).

However, their position has in turn been criticised for overemphasising the black/white dichotomy in racist discourse, when much racism is also directed at white ethnic minorities (May, 1999). This criticism applies especially in the case of the Greek minority in the UK, or for example Albanians in Greece. It is also criticised for being reductivist (prioritising racism as a form of antagonism, over class or gender, for example) (Tomlinson, 1996). In many senses it is now being superseded by other approaches, which take on board more of the postmodern debate, and define themselves

as advocates of multiculturalism rather than as its opponents. Having said this, recent years have seen an increase in racism in the UK, with corresponding calls for anti-racist policies in schools (for example after the inquiry in to the Stephen Lawrence murder (Bhavnani, 2001; Chitty, op cit)).

In the US in particular the policy of *'affirmative action'* or 'positive discrimination' has had a high profile. This can be seen to draw on *anti-racist* assumptions – particularly in its pursuit of effective equality – but is also closely connected with other *strong* forms of multiculturalism. The policies can include separate provision for members of certain minorities, or the allocation of entitlements on the strength of group membership. In the US a number of colleges operate a quota system for entrance. In many (especially public) organisations employment policies are now influenced by considerations of ethnic or gender profile and the combating of *institutional racism*. Such policies are based on the insight that minorities have been held back by cultural and poverty traps, creating 'perpetual structural subordination' within society (Watson, 1993:101). In the US, where such interventions are the most common, the aim has been to 'enable [minorities] to overcome the obstacles they face' (ibid).

Critical Multiculturalism

Critical multiculturalism develops out of the broader movement of critical pedagogy (e.g. Apple (1996), Freire (1970)). Broadly speaking, what critical theorists have in common is an advocacy of democracy based on *radically critical dialogue*. There is a suspicion of any 'handed-down' solutions. Rather knowledge and insight have to be fought for in the face of oppressive official ideologies.

A useful typology of aims and goals in *critical multiculturalism* is supplied by Banks (2001: 8-15):

1) *Content integration* - from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, generalisation and theories in a variety of subject areas;

2) *The knowledge construction process* – helping students understand how implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference and biases influence how knowledge is

constructed in different disciplines, including equipping students with the skills to participate in knowledge construction;

3) *Prejudice reduction* - raising awareness of prejudice and giving students strategies to help develop more democratic attitudes and values;

4) *Equity pedagogy* - to facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, ethnic and gender backgrounds; and

5) *An empowering school culture and social structure* - a reorganising of the culture and structure of the school so that students from diverse backgrounds will experience equality.

Knowledge construction is facilitated by viewing the classroom as a public space (D'Oyley and Shapson, 1990: 33). Knowledge is not a given, to be unreflectively handed down, but something which is open to critical questioning. In studying history, for example, the explicit recognition of the negotiated-nature of meaning can open up challenges to dominant narratives, and give space for minority groups' versions of history. Furthermore, the classroom is treated as a space where identity can be *constructed*. By encouraging critical reflection on the part of students and teachers, it is hoped that national identity can be seen as 'a living set of relations that must be constantly negotiated and struggled over' (Giroux, 1998: 188)). The power of the media leads to the suggestion for the inclusion of analysis of cultural and media products (i.e. 'media studies'), and for the use of *affective* approaches to open students' minds to questions of multiculturalism and identity (McLaren & Torres, 1999).

Critical multiculturalism aims for schools to be *empowering* for members of all cultures. Schools should ensure that pedagogy, curriculum and modes of assessment are congruent with valued cultural differences (Olneck, 1990), and are approached using *culturally appropriate* pedagogical methods and with a variety of options to evaluate them. Pedagogical and organisational strategies include collaborative teaching and learning arrangements, peer tutoring, child-centred and process approaches to learning, promoting minority parental involvement, fostering bilingualism and multilingualism (Carrington & Short, 1989)

This aim of *enhancing pluralism* can be facilitated, according to critical multiculturalists, not only by finding out about different minority groups, but also by analysing the majority-group as another *ethnic* group. Thus 'whiteness' must be 'made visible' as a racial category (Giroux, op cit: 191). Not only does critical pedagogy aim to reveal that the dominant group has an ethnic identity, it also wishes to *analyse* ethnic identity, rather than treating it as a given to reveal heterogeneity within such groups (i.e. there is an attempt to avoid reification). Thus the hybrid nature of groups can be revealed and explored.

Transformative Pedagogy

Transformative pedagogy, according to Cummins, 'is not exactly a household word in the mainstream of educational policy discussions' (Cummins, 2000a: 263). It attempts to bring together 'mainstream' research which focuses on 'effective schools', with insights from critical pedagogy as to how the needs of minority students can best be met (op cit: 247). He notes that critical theorists tend to reject the 'discourse of efficiency' because of 'the educational status quo upon which it is based' (ibid). While Cummins has sympathy with these views, he also argues that to succeed in such an educational environment, minority students need to acquire the skills required in the system *as it is now*. Thus 'critical perspectives must move from ... theoretical analysis to a more detailed focus on the specific forms of pedagogy that will develop the .... skills assessed by most tests while *at the same time* expanding students' personal, intellectual, and academic horizons in transformative ways' (op cit: 248 - emphasis added).[11]

Parental involvement is important to a transformative approach. Parents are included in curriculum development and in supporting the home language and are encouraged to 'recognise themselves as protagonists' (Ada, 1995: 177). For example, by familiarising the teacher with aspects of her/his daily life, the parent can help the teacher to draw on culturally-relevant material across the curriculum. Their 'funds of knowledge' (Moll,

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[11] For examples of methods appropriate to a *transformative* approach, see Appendix VI

2000: 258) are included in classroom practice. Thus pedagogy is linked with the life of the community.

Critical / transformative approaches support 'strong' forms of bilingual education (Baker, op cit; Hornberger, op cit). This model improves on the Canadian immersion system by having significant, ongoing curricular delivery in two or more languages as well as full cultural representation. An example is the Richmond Road School in Auckland, New Zealand, teaching in English, Maori, Cook Island, and Samoan languages (May, 1994). The full-time Greek community school of St Cyprian, in Croydon, UK is run on a similar model.

However, in practice conditions are rarely 'ideal'. By recognising the existence of asymmetrical power relations, these approaches make clear that such models need political will and influence to come into being and to be sustained. From such a perspective advocates of critical / transformative pedagogy will frequently support the best 'realistic' alternative in the here-and-now, such as Cummins' backing of transitional programmes in California in opposition to Proposition 227, or Moore's advocacy of submersion with in-class support and increased 'visibility' of minority languages and cultures in British schools.

Interculturalism

As has been noted above, Greece adopted interculturalism as official policy in 1996. In terms of the relationship between discourse, policy and practice, interculturalism can be seen as a 'top-down' discursive formation: it is official EU educational policy (partly as part of the agenda to promote greater integration between member states), and is also promoted by certain academics (J.S. Gundara has led an Interculturalism Unit at the Institute of Education in London, for example).

Since it is an approach based on the development of mutual understanding between members of minority groups and members of the dominant group, learning from each other through dialogue, there is much in the approach which resembles critical or

transformative pedagogies. Furthermore, the importance given to the inclusion of the mother-tongue, the use of interdisciplinary methods and the thorough nature of educational reform advocated seem to place this approach in the category of 'strong' forms of multiculturalism. For example the programmes aim to encourage the cooperation of different groups within the educational system, and to put in place the necessary preconditions for students to continue and complete their education (providing the conditions to avoid functional illiteracy for example). To support the programmes there has been an attempt to create materials in different media, including audio, video, and computer-based, some of which have been produced using children's first languages. In addition there has been a project involving different countries in order to share experience and expertise.

Interculturalism in Greece *positions the teacher* in such a way that she is encouraged to take much more responsibility for not only the cultural, linguistic and identity needs of minority students, but also for the education of native students in key issues in multiculturalism. For this reason interculturalism marks a progressive step in marking out the role of the teacher as a professional capable of responding to the needs of all her students while taking into account issues such as racism and the changing composition and character of the wider society.

Postmodernism / Poststructuralism

A number of theorists from a postmodern or poststructuralist position have attacked 'weak' multiculturalism for its misrepresentation of minorities. Homi Bhabha (1998), who has been influential in this debate, advocates a more assertive and autonomous stance for minority groups. He argues that the concept of a 'level playing field' on which competing claims can be negotiated denies the reality of nation-states' assimilationist intentions. Instead he says that it is for ethnic groups to enunciate and elaborate their own histories, which will include stories of injustices perpetrated against them, their struggles and tragedies. For Bhabha 'the unsettling thing about current 'minority' claims to historical being is that history is underwritten by the need to come to terms with

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memory and trauma: there can be no mirage about a 'level playing field' until the soil is dug up and the whole terrain rebuilt' (op cit: 45).

Allied to this notion of an elaboration of ethnic groups' histories, is the concept of 'hybridisation' (Bhabha, 1998). It is inaccurate to argue that immigrant groups are something like a broken off piece of a larger home culture, and that therefore they bring with them that culture intact. Rather immigrants, bringing with them elements of their home culture, form a *hybrid* culture in their new home, influenced by the new country around them. They should assert their own being, elaborate and construct their own histories, and work with other minority groups to press for effective rights.

Discussions of 'diaspora' also problematise notions of overarching national identity. The term diaspora can be used for the groups which have left a country or region and have relocated in a number of other countries, including the Greek and Jewish diasporas (both with long histories), those descended from African slaves - the African diaspora, and a variety of more modern migrant groups. Soysal (2000) stresses the pull of homelands for many migrant groups. Technologies such as affordable air-flights, the internet and satellite T.V facilitate the formation of modern diasporas by allowing minorities to keep in touch with their home country. The existence of *supranational* legal institutions, such as the European Court of Human Rights, enable diasporic peoples to make claims not on the basis of citizenship, but in terms simply of human rights (Soysal, 2000, p.6). Diaspora, then, describes a situation in which ethnic groups need not be understood primarily in terms of geographical situatedness. It is an understanding which includes an affiliation with the country of origin, and the possibility of looking beyond the nation-state when making rights claims.

Notions such as hybridity or diaspora are employed partially as a response to discourses which are seen as reifying or essentialist. Hall has stressed that identity is 'something constructed, told, spoken, not simply found', and that the idea of the 'self' as 'fully unified, completed, secure and coherent' is 'a fantasy' (Hall, 1992). Simply put, then, postmodern perspectives are deeply suspicious of notions of group identity which

attempt to characterise large numbers of people over significant periods of time. Instead they tend to stress difference, fluidity, uncertainty and change, and put the onus on minority groups themselves to elaborate their own histories.

What Giroux calls the *'cultural politics of the left'* (Giroux, 1993: 90) has tended to place emphasis on how the 'politics of identity' is played out through the use of *language*. This discourse draws on theories such as those of Althusser and Foucault (see the discussion on 'Culture & Identity' in 2.1.4, above), as well as the work of the French psychoanalyst Lacan, who stressed the structuring of identity through association (Lacan, 1977). For an individual, or for a group, the word 'refugee' for example may be associated more positively, with phrases such as 'prisoner of conscience', or more negatively, with perhaps 'free rider'. Negative associations can cause low self-esteem in the individual, and racism, sexism and so on in society at large. Importantly there is also the possibility of articulation - new associations may be forged, for groups as well as for the individual. Thus there is the potential in language of strengthening the image of minority groups and of combating racism.

This 'cultural politics' has attacked the use of racist, sexist, homophobic or otherwise prejudiced language. It has also attacked the Western canon and aspects of high culture which are seen as discriminatory, as well as interrogating the institutional conditions which regulate cultural production and determine how minorities and marginalised groups are represented (Bennett, 1998). In the media this kind of 'cultural politics' has been, and still is, the target of a great deal of criticism.

Position of the Teacher in Intercultural / Critical / Postmodern Approaches
The foregoing discussion has outlined a largely academic debate with occasional reference to sporadic 'best practice' in schools. It is these approaches which call for the greatest input from the teacher, and which construct the teacher most clearly as a responsible, capable and engaged practitioner. Within a critical / transformative approach the teacher is expected to facilitate the students' interrogation of the meaning of cultures and identities, as well as to organise group work enabling students to better

understand each others' cultures. They should ensure that minority languages and cultures are represented in the class and school as a whole. There is an emphasis on 'bottom up' teacher advocacy of critical practice (teaching 'against the grain' (Ng, 2003: 215) in recognition of asymmetrical power relations. The teacher recognises the wider, 'macro' relations of power operating in society, and how these discriminate against minority communities (including media power), and help their students to deconstruct them (Giroux, 2003).

It may be highly significant within these discourses if the teacher is a member of a minority community, having local knowledge of the culture and language of his students. Bilingual teachers and language-support teachers are highly valued, while all teachers are expected to respect and promote minority languages and cultures regardless of their personal background. The teacher is expected to be a reflective practitioner - working on her own prejudices, learning more about minority students, their cultures and learning styles. This extends to forging close links with parents and other members of minority communities. They should also reflect on their use of language (sexist, racist, etc) and on curricular content. In fact the teacher is seen as competent to work collaboratively to critique and promote reforms to the curriculum and to standard forms of class practice.

Critique: Intercultural / Critical / Postmodern Approaches

Interculturalism, although sharing some aspects of critical multiculturalism's focus on the classroom as a forum for debate and the notion that students of all backgrounds (including those of the dominant group) should find out about one-anothers' cultures, fails to be as inclusive in practice as it may seem in theory. It cannot be ignored that as EU policy it has the aim of strengthening ties between member states. Thus knowledge of cultures of other member states are prioritised, and other minorities may be marginalised.

At the other extreme, certain postmodern discourses can be accused of having little connection with 'real-world' issues, and be highly rhetorical in style. With this kind of writing 'words take on wings' and 'theoretical layer upon theoretical layer is added

without coming to grips with the real and existing complexities of schooling' (Apple, 1996: 44). Furthermore, an advocacy of extreme pluralism, if put into practice, runs the risk of 'Balkanising' society: of breaking down common bonds which may actually diminish prejudice and inequality, not to mention facilitate democratic political action (Mouffe, 1995).

Although we can criticise postmodernism/poststructuralism for what seems like wordy abstraction, in fact many writers do deal with issues that are central to multiculturalism: identity formation, reality construction and the nature of language. And, there is often an overarching concern with how power operates within these realms (e.g. Foucault, Derrida). 'Postmodern and post-structural theories ... [offer promising political and analytical tools] ... if *reconnected* with a structural sense of the patterned nature of realities that are not 'merely' social constructions but truly deadly' (Apple, 1996: 117).

2 - 2 - Theory, Policy & Practice: the Role of the Teacher

The focus of this study is on teachers' theories - it takes a 'bottom up' approach to the study of educational practice. However, as the preceding section has demonstrated, teachers are 'positioned' by various discoursal formations within multicultural settings. There is a complex interrelationship between theory, policy and practice, which cannot be reduced to a 'top-down' determinism. A key aspect of my research is to interrogate this interrelationship between theory, policy and practice, focusing on teachers' theories and practices as they attempt to negotiate the gap between the official policy and their own theories, including local knowledge of the needs of their own students, as well as their own convictions about multicultural pedagogy: the result being actual practice.

Furthermore, within the field of multicultural pedagogy there is an emphasis on *local knowledge*, since diverse students necessarily have diverse needs. Kincheloe (2003), for example stresses the importance of teachers' *local knowledge* - that teachers are in a unique position *epistemologically* to understand the particular needs of their students. According to Hornberger (1996), the 'variety and complexity of possible contexts for

language teaching and minority education... [means] there cannot be any one best answer [to how particular minority group children should be taught] ... for all possible cases.' Such a perspective fits well with postmodern concerns with the role of local social contexts (Ball, 1987). Furthermore, if policy is seen as a cyclical process (Troman, 1999), then the specialised knowledge teachers gain from attempting to implement policy can be fed back into the process in order to improve results - into materials development, into bureaucratic processes, into formal and informal modes of teacher-training

Part of the work of this study, therefore, is to assert the *epistemological validity* of teachers' theories concerning multicultural pedagogy. In fact, policy can be seen as 'a set of technologies and practices which are realised and struggled over in local settings. Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended ... [it is] always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map on to the 'wild profusion' of local practice. Policies are inevitably crude and simple. Practice is sophisticated, contingent, complex and unstable.' (Ball, 1996: 3, quoted in Troman, 1999).

Research needs to be informed by *postmodern* concerns with complexity and local variation (see empirical research on the complexity of teachers experience of implementing policy: Bowe, et al. 1992; Grace, 1995; Pollard, Broadfoot, Croll, Osborn and Abbot, 1994). We can re-conceptualise the teacher as a potential contributor to theory and policy (as, for example, the *action research* movement has done - e.g. Stenhouse, 1975).

Policy-formation can be envisaged as taking place on a range of levels: the macro (societal); meso (organisational); and micro (personal) levels (Ozga, 1990, Hargreaves, 1985). Furthermore teachers' thinking as it relates to policy is mediated through 'teachers' professional ideologies' (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1988), and in the context of their 'existing work cultures' (Mac an Ghaill, 1992). From the foregoing discussion, we can see that it is erroneous to envisage the policy process as uncomplicated, top-down and linear: teachers will interpret policy according to their own theories.

Teachers are actually in possession of the kind of knowledge which can make a powerful contribution to debates about what should be taught and how. For Little & Cochran-Smith (1994): 'the increasing diversity of schools and school children, and complexity of the tasks faced render global solutions to problems and monolithic strategies for effective teaching impossible ... processes that prompt teachers to construct their own questions - begin to develop courses of action that are valid in their local contexts and communities'.

2 - 3 - Hellenic Community Schools

The immediate context of the research subject (the teachers and their theories and practice) – the *site* of the study – are the Hellenic Community Schools in the UK (although there is also a focus on mainstream schooling in Greece). The following section, therefore, will explore the nature of this form of education, and explain some of the specificities of the schools in the UK.

The community school model is one employed by hundreds of minority groups around the world. There are both full-time and part-time community schools. Some communities have established full-time schools, such as Jewish schools in New York, or Muslim and Catholic religious schools in the UK. There are a small number of full-time Hellenic schools in the UK, including a state-sector 'faith school' in Croydon, and two private institutions in London.

The part-time community schools can be described as 'supplementary' schools[12] – implying that they provide schooling in areas that are not covered by the mainstream; as noted above (2 – 1.3, Critique), they are often established when parents feel the mainstream school fails to recognise the home culture. Among many communities, this cultural maintenance is intrinsically linked to language maintenance. Thus the supplementary schools tend to focus on teaching the community language, but also often focus on religious instruction, and/or on other aspects of the heritage culture (history,

music, dance, cookery, etc). Instruction takes place 'around' the hours of the mainstream school, with classes held in the evenings or at weekends.

There are a very wide range of such schools in the UK, reflecting the complex linguistic and cultural makeup of the country. There are schools teaching Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese, Portuguese (for both Portuguese and Brazilian-heritage children); Bangladeshi Qur'anic classes; those teaching Hebrew, Arabic, Punjabi or Urdu; schools run by the Turkish, Albanian, Somali or Pakistani communities; and so on. Indeed, a recently compiled directory of 'supplementary and mother-tongue classes' (Kempadoo & Abdelrazzak, 2001), lists over 2000 organisations and states that 'we know there are more that could have been included and more yet waiting to be discovered' (op cit: Introduction). In Bradford, for example, there are over 80 Supplementary Schools registered with the Local Education Authority (LEA) catering for approximately 8,000 minority ethnic pupils (Education Bradford, 2006). While there were more than 50 Hellenic community schools in the UK in 1977 (Constantinides, 1977: 284), the number has now grown to around a hundred (Directory of Greek Schools, 2006; Greek Embassy, 2006), most of which are in or around London.

Academic research on community schools is sparse[13] (Readhead, 2005), while awareness of the sector has long been negligible among mainstream teachers and policy-makers: for Sneddon 'the mainstream educational establishment generally knows little about this voluntary, alternative educational provision' (Sneddon, R., quoted in Kempadoo & Abdelrazzak, 2001: introduction). As a form of bilingual education, the schools – especially the supplementary schools – are not easily categorised according to standard typologies. Baker (1996), for example, recognises 'Community Schools' as those delivering curriculum in the L1 of the minority group. However, in the case of the Hellenic community schools, while Greek is the heritage language, it may not be L1 for many of the students, especially second or third generation. These kinds of schools,

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[12] there is as yet no official definition of 'supplementary' school in the UK (Lambeth Education, 2005: 2)

[13] Similarly, until recently, little work has been done on *community languages*: before the late 1990s, the last major attempt to research community languages was the Community Languages in Education Project/Linguistic Minorities Project in the mid 1980s (CLE/LMP, 1985).

therefore, can be seen to exemplify the 'variety and complexity of possible contexts for language teaching and minority education' highlighted by Hornberger (2002)[14].

It would appear, however, that some academics are starting to address its complexities. Work on community schools in general (Reay & Mirza, 1997; Zulfiqar, 1998; McCarty & Watahomigie, 1999; Hall et al, 2002), is being supplemented by work with particular groups, such as the Chinese (Li Wen, 1993) and Turkish (Ali, 2001). Of particular note has been the recent study by Martin et al (2004) on complementary schools and their communities in Leicester. This involved a broad survey of provision in the city (revealing thirteen different languages being taught in community schools), as well as a more in-depth ethnographic study of two schools teaching Gujarati. Martin summarises the results as follows:

> Bilingual skills are highly regarded by teachers, parents and students, as are general literacy and academic achievements ... Complementary schools widened participants' choices and uptake of identities [so that] ... students may see themselves as 'successful learners' as well as 'multicultural' and 'bilingual'. The findings also suggest that children seem to value the flexibility required to move between languages and cultures and recognise it as a sign of sophistication. (Martin, P.W. quoted in Readhead, 2005)

In terms of policy, in London in the 1970s and 1980s the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) supported the development of anti-racist and multicultural education, with some recognition given to the role of community schools (Craft and Tomlinson, 1995). Meanwhile, since 1983, the LEA in Bradford has supported supplementary schools, offering grants to help with textbooks, teacher-training, examination fees and so on (Education Bradford, 2006).

Arguably, the advent of the National Curriculum in 1988 (see Sections 2 – 1.2 and 2 – 1.3, above), marked an official turning away from openness to multicultural education, its practices and institutions. In the last five or six years, however, there has been a greater recognition by the state of the importance of community languages, and of the

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[14] See Appendix IV on Hornberger's 'Continua of Biliteracy'.

role minority communities can play in supporting their children's education (Lambeth Education, 2005). The government report *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils* (DfES, 2003) has documented the role of the student's first or home language in the development of English as an Additional Language, while the National Language Strategy (introduced in *Languages for All: Languages for Life* (DfES, 2002)) provides for all primary-school children the opportunity to study 'a foreign language'. For many mainstream schools this will mean the teaching and support of community languages[15]. This more open atmosphere has helped to build a 'growing recognition in educational circles of supplementary and mother-tongue schools and classes' (Jon Snow, Forward to Kempadoo & Abdelrazzak, 2001). Instances of this greater recognition include the setting up of the Multiverse web site (http://www.multiverse.ac.uk) in 2004, with the backing of the government's Teacher Training Agency – a site aimed at trainee teachers including information on community schooling. Meanwhile the London Borough of Lambeth has published a directory of supplementary schools in the borough, in recognition of the fact that 'supplementary schools represent a great resource that is still to be utilised, particularly in light of the new DfES emphasis on community involvement' (Lambeth Education, 2005).

To turn now to the Hellenic Community Schools. These schools mostly serve the Greek-Cypriot community, as well as some children of families from mainland Greece. The largest Greek-heritage population, and the main focus of this study, is in London. Today Greek is the 11th most spoken home-language by London schoolchildren (there are estimated to be about 6000 speakers in schools) with a total of around 30,000 in the community. These children are concentrated mostly in North London (e.g. in Enfield, where they represent 4.8% of mainstream school population, or Haringey at 2.32%) (Baker & Eversley, 2000). The student population tends to differ according to geographical and socio-economic distribution. For example, there are richer families from Greece in central and West London, while in the East there tend to be less-well-off Greek-Cypriots, and in the North of London more middle-class Cypriots.

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[15] Goldsmith's College, for example, since 2004 has offered a PGCE in Community Languages (Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Panjabi, Urdu), aimed at primary teachers.

In the Greater London area there are numerous Community schools and a handful of full-time schools. They are often held in properties owned by the Greek Orthodox Church, which is heavily involved in the administration of these schools. There are also a large number of secular schools ('Independent' schools), which were originally founded by Cypriots on the political left in order to provide schools free of what they saw as 'the excessive stress on Greek nationalism present in the Church schools' (Constantinides,1977: 284). In both cases the schools are often small, and several may be concentrated in a relatively small area. The main subject is Greek language, which is taught up to A Level. History, religion, music, dance, and other culturally relevant subjects are also available in a number of schools.

The schools may be seen as an element of the Greek government's policy in respect to the Greek Diaspora. As we have seen, there has been a tradition, in a number of countries where there is a significant Greek population, of Greece sending qualified and experienced teachers for a period of time to support the language and culture abroad, as well as distributing materials to these communities. Similarly the Cypriot Ministry of Education and Government attempts to 'keep alive a consciousness of [students] belonging to a Greek-speaking ethnic group' (ibid), through the work of the local *Apostoli*[16] and through sending some teachers from Cyprus. This teaching force is supplemented by some Cypriot parents, who have received brief training, as well as a significant number of Greek and Cypriot graduate students teaching on an hourly basis.

Hellenic schools have existed in the UK since the 1950s, and by the 1970s they had multiplied and were thriving, due to the influx from Cyprus both before and after the Turkish invasion (Constantinides, 1977; Alkan & Constantinides, 1980). Today the schools are still generally well-organised, but the rolls are falling, and the pupils are often in need of motivation for something which may not be seen as immediately relevant. Most of the children are now second or third generation, so needs have changed. There

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[16] The local Educational Mission - the office responsible for the teachers in the Community Schools (see Appendix II: Glossary)

is thus some tension between the original aims, embodied in the curriculum, and the present needs of the students.

In socio-linguistic terms, Greek is a threatened community language, fighting for survival with English, although the form of diglossia within the community means that Greek does survive in particular settings (the Church, some homes, some business, Greek radio, etc, as well as in the community schools). Significant questions exist as to the future of the language (and aspects of the culture), and so a major challenge exists for the community schools in terms of the appropriateness of their policies and practices.

There has been very little research conducted into the schools in Britain (e.g. Adamantos, 1972; Constantinides, 1977; Alkan & Constantinides, 1980), and none which focuses on teachers' perspectives. In my view this presents a problem for the schools, and for the administration in Greece. *There is a need now to gain information about the culture and needs of the present students at these schools*, so that the courses, school culture and teaching approaches can become more relevant to them. This is particularly important as arguably these students are culturally 'invisible' (Moore, op cit) at the mainstream school, meaning the Greek community here may face a loss of its culture and language. In my view, the teachers' own knowledge is critical in any project to revitalise the schools and reverse the process of cultural and linguistic decline.

Thus I aim to draw on the teachers' knowledge, *since they are aware which approaches 'work' in this context.* By building up a detailed understanding of their theories, I will be able to show which approaches they adopt – *what kind of discourse of multicultural pedagogy these teachers construct, to meet the needs of this particular group of students.* In addition to contributing to the literature on Hellenic community schools, this research will also contribute to an understanding of the role of *teachers* in community schools more generally.

Chapter 3   Conceptualising Teachers' Theories
and the Role of the Teacher

This study explores the development of teachers' theories and practices by focussing on the accounts of teachers who shift position from mainstream education in Greece, to the British Community Schools – where they work with the Greek community. I have outlined some of the key discourses of multicultural pedagogy – more abstractly, and more concretely, as they have been realised in educational policy – in order to understand how the teachers' theories and practices evolve. But at this point it is still necessary to clarify some of our basic concepts.

Thus I turn to focus explicitly on what is meant by *'teachers' theories'*, and what different *models of development* are relevant to explain how teachers' theories and practices change:

- First there will be an exploration of *teachers' theories* (3.1)

This will be followed by a discussion of *reflection*. However, the notion of reflection will be contextualised and subject to close examination:

- There will be an overview of *models of the teacher* (3.2), including notions of the *competent, reflective* and *critical* teacher

- I will then give an overview of *reflection* (3.3), followed by a discussion of *critical* forms of reflection (3.4), including *reflexivity*.

- Lastly I will discuss *limits* to reflection (3.5) and the link between *reflection* and *multicultural pedagogy* (3.6).

I will aim to show throughout how different conception of teachers' thinking and practice relate to debates on multicultural pedagogy in general, and to the Hellenic Community Schools in particular.

3 - 1 - Teachers' Theories

In very broad terms teachers can be conceptualised along a spectrum of views which, at one extreme, sees them as *implementors* of policy constructed by experts (curriculum)

and *followers* of pedagogic best-practice outlined by experts and imparted during initial and in-service training (pedagogy); at the other extreme are views which conceptualise teachers as potentially *critical and reflective practitioners* who filter policy through their own theories, beliefs and knowledge, who can therefore exercise professional judgement as to what and how they teach, and who can develop their theories and practice through reflection. The former view has been embedded in 'cut and run' forms of educational research in which academics observed teachers and teaching, but maintained a formal distance, and had little interest in teachers' expressed views (Woods, 1990: 203). Even ethnographic work may be more concerned with the school environment than with teachers. This can be contrasted with an increasing interest among researchers in teachers' knowledge and in collaborative research with teachers (op cit: 204), and a recognition that 'any change must come *through* ... rather than *in spite of* the teacher' (ibid).

Teachers' knowledge is variously described as: *attitudes, judgements, opinions, perceptions, conceptions, preconceptions, dispositions, beliefs* and *theories* (Pajares, 1992: 309). Here, I will mainly use the term 'teachers' theories', but not only in a sense which describes consciously-held ideas or beliefs. I find a useful starting point in this terrain, therefore, to be Osterman and Kotcamp's (1993) model of teachers' 'espoused theories' and 'theories-in-use'.

'Espoused' theories can be seen as knowledge or ideas which are more accessible to consciousness. These kinds of theories may well be those acquired in formal training: 'academic' pedagogic theories (such as those of Piaget or, in a multicultural context Krashen, for example). In addition, teachers' own reflections on their experience may well take a clear, conscious form - supplemented by teachers' own reading, discussions with colleagues and so on. However, these explicit, 'espoused' theories may not correspond closely with practice. 'Theories-in-use', on the other hand, may be less accessible to consciousness, more deep-rooted, and *more influential in terms of practice*. These theories may be influenced by teacher-training, but can also evolve from teachers' own experiences as students, as well as from their teaching experience.

They can include knowledge of specific groups of students (e.g. the Greek minority in UK), and of particular instructional techniques and approaches.

A number of other writers argue that teachers' theories consist of far more than what has been consciously acquired through training. *'Context-specific'*, practical knowledge (Elbaz, 1983; Calderhead, 1996) is seen as firsthand experience of students' learning styles, interests, needs, strengths and difficulties, and a repertoire of instructional techniques and classroom management skills. Windschitl talks of teachers' 'mental models of instruction' (2002: 151), which include epistemological assumptions, as well as ideas about appropriate teaching strategies (op cit: 142/3). They will be influenced both by training and by the teachers' own personal histories as learners. In Hammersley's view, too much educational research 'reflects an exaggerated estimate of the role of propositional knowledge and of cognition in practical activities' (Hammersley, 2002: 46/7), whereas 'tacit knowledge' (Polyani, 1959) may be far more relevant in explaining how teachers act.

Similarly, the notion of teachers' 'professional craft knowledge' (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996; Cohen, 1977; Tom, 1984) emphases the close fit between experience, practice and knowledge. In this model less attention is given to how conscious this knowledge is. However, the emphasis is on professional craft knowledge developing through *the day-to-day experience of problem-solving in the class*, and as teachers *reflect* on this experience (Cooper and McIntyre: 76). Thus it will be knowledge closely linked to personal biography - where one has worked, what kinds of pupils one has taught, and so on. This knowledge, 'embedded in everyday practice', consists in part of a range of individual repertoires of instructional, class-management strategies, and so on, which the teacher can draw on as s/he feels is appropriate to the particular situation.

A link can be drawn here, between the notion of teachers' theories and that of discourses of multicultural pedagogy. This research explores the ways in which teachers think about issues related to multicultural pedagogy. Teachers' knowledge is embodied in 'action theories' (Schön, 1983) - the model for Osterman and Kottkamp's 'theories-in-

use'. Many teachers unreflectively draw on their action theories when faced with new challenges: they 'frame' the situation (c.f. Goffman, 1974), in a manner which may obscure some aspects of reality, while illuminating others, and suggesting possible courses of action. In fact there may be a range of ways to 'frame' a particular problem/situation (or a number of 'discourses' which could be drawn on). Unless teachers are 'reflective' they cannot choose from a range of frames (or discourses) when defining a problem: 'They do not attend to the ways in which they construct the reality in which they function: *it is simply the given reality*' (Schön, 1983: 310 - emphasis added).

Thus teachers may, for example, unreflectively employ deficit models, or subtractive notions of bilingualism when dealing with minority students. A more reflective approach would bring these assumptions more into conscious focus. Through different stages of reflective practice, teachers may come to challenge their previous assumptions, and start to explore different ways to 'frame' the problems they identify.

We have seen, then, that *teachers' theories* can be understood to have certain key characteristics:

- at one level they consist of key *assumptions* which closely inform practice: these key assumptions often derive from previous experience, such as the experience of being a student, and from one's teaching experience

- teachers' theories consist also of *practical* knowledge – *how* to set up certain activities, for example – and a wealth of *tacit* knowledge relating to particular groups of students one has taught (learning styles, forms of motivation, etc)

- these kinds of 'action theories', or 'theories-in-use', exist to a degree at an unconscious level, and may be resistant to rapid modification; while the teacher may accept an abstract theory at a conscious level (an 'espoused' theory) she may still teach according to previously acquired 'theories-in-use' – even if the two contradict one another (e.g. consciously accepting the need to be meaningfully inclusive of minority cultures, but in practice treating them in a superficial manner)

- deep and lasting changes in teachers' theories are likely to come about as a result of reflection on experience: problems arising in practice can lead teachers to question

their underlying assumptions, to 'reframe' the problem, looking for new explanations and alternative solutions.
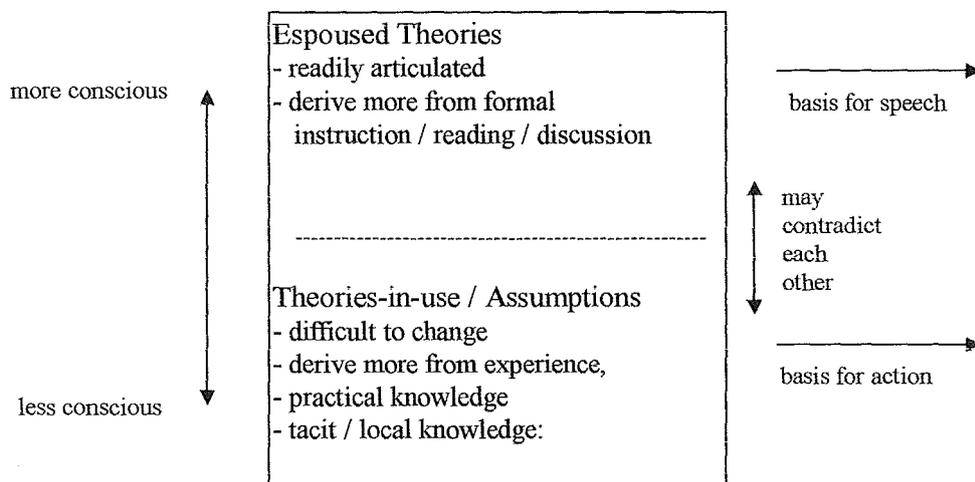
So what does this tell us about teachers' developing theories of *multicultural pedagogy*? It is unlikely that profound change will come about only through top-down, explicit instruction as part of pre-service and in-service teacher education. Rather, teachers' theories are most likely to be influenced by the context in which they actually teach. Through the process of reflection on problems encountered in practice, teachers are able to construct new knowledge. Thus the discourses of multicultural pedagogy employed by teachers will largely be constructed in accordance with the particular conditions in which they work.

3 - 2 - Conceptualising the Teacher: 'Competent', 'Reflective', 'Critical'

Below I will employ a typology of discourses which conceptualise the teacher as 'competent', 'reflective' or as 'critical'. As already stated, each view will have embedded within it a notion of what teachers' theories are. Such a typology, as that employed in the previous chapter for approaches to pedagogy in multicultural settings, is primarily for heuristic purposes. Here I draw on Moore's (1999b) review of approaches to initial and continuing teacher-training ('competent', 'reflective', and 'reflexive'). However, I believe these categories can be extended to the nature of teaching and the

teacher. As will be seen below, 'reflection' itself can be seen to be more or less critical - and I will argue that the notion of 'reflexivity' has much in common with notions of the critical. Again, my initial presumption is that teachers are capable of reflective and critical practice. The more important questions for my research will be *how* teachers reflect and become critical; how it affects their understanding of multicultural pedagogy; and to what extent this knowledge puts them in a position to contribute to policy within multicultural settings.

- Historically, in the modern period, initial teacher education, has been dominated by competence models deriving from Enlightenment notions of the importance of expert, or 'scientific', knowledge (Hammersley, 2002). 'Objective' knowledge is supposed to be derived from experiment and observation, and/or from the considered conclusions of expert, widely-read academics. The role of initial teacher education is to pass on this wisdom, which teachers are then supposed to apply in their practice. This is supposed to happen in a fully conscious, explicit manner. As will be discussed in the next section, there are different versions of the 'competence' model, the more recent emphasising readily useable classroom techniques, backed-up with empirical evidence. In any case, teachers are expected to have adequate subject knowledge, to be able to teach effectively (to have mastered techniques for efficiently instructing and assessing students), to be able to deal with issues of classroom management, and so on.

- The reflective discourse can be traced back to the work of Dewey (e.g. 1933), and the pragmatic philosophical tradition of which he was a part. The reflective tradition differs epistemologically from competence in that teaching is not so readily reduced to explicitly stateable formulas and there is more respect for the knowledge of the practitioner. Schön's work (e.g. 1983) has been influential in advocating the potential value of practitioner's local knowledge, and has elaborated the processes involved in reflection. Notable too has been the action-research tradition, sharing key beliefs about epistemology and teacher-development with other models of the reflective teacher (Farrell, 2004). Associated in particular with the work of

Stenhouse and Elliot in the UK, initially in the 1960s (Stenhouse, 1975; Elliot, 1991), but also with a long history in the US, action research not only values the knowledge of the practitioner, but posits a 'bottom-up' model of research, either teacher-led, or in collaboration with academics.

- While 'reflexive' and 'reflective' may sound like synonyms, the former notion (associated especially with the work of Giddens) signals what could be described as a post-structuralist understanding of human consciousness and agency. While action may be influenced by explicit theories taken from initial training, and may be influenced by one's own teaching experience, reflexivity also emphasises the complex relationship between *identity* and action. One's identity is seen as an amalgam of conscious and unconscious elements, and will influence teaching in complex and unpredictable ways. In this view childhood experiences of education, as well as a whole range of other factors, can shape our personal 'narratives', which in turn influence how we teach.

- Finally, a 'critical' model of teaching derives both from the work of the Frankfurt school, and from later post-structural and post-modern theory. Associated with names such as Apple, Giroux or McLaren, the model of the critical teacher emphasises the broader goals of teaching, and stresses ethical questions. The teacher is seen as a moral and political agent, one whose duty is to question the purposes of education, and through praxis to attempt to realise (in Habermas' terms) 'liberatory' goals. A critical teacher could also be 'reflective' or 'reflexive', and arguably must necessarily be so. As stated above, the question will not be whether the teachers in this study are reflective or critical concerning multicultural pedagogy, but rather *how* they are.

3 - 2.1 - Competence

Competence models

For many years, both in the UK and in Greece, initial teacher education courses have emphasised teachers becoming acquainted with key bodies of theoretical knowledge (Moore, 2000: 123). Such an approach was based on an understanding of the relationship between research and practice: '[setting] aside ... the role of wisdom and accumulated experience in practical affairs ... in favour of a governing role for scientific knowledge.' (Hammersley, 2002: 40). The keynote of such an approach was the acquisition of *theoretical* knowledge which, although not necessarily providing immediate 'how to' answers for every pedagogic setting, was thought to create a breadth and depth of knowledge which would help to shape teachers thinking and practice. The aim was for the best possible practice.

This can be seen as one model of the 'competent' teacher. However, in recent years a discourse of a 'competence-based approach' to teaching has developed (Stephens & Crawley, 1994), which can be more associated with the notion of the teacher as a 'trained craftsperson' (Moore, 1999b). Here there is less emphasis on the teacher's acquisition of abstract pedagogic theory, but rather on mastery of useful in-class skills. Competences emphasised in this discourse include:

- Subject Knowledge
- Subject Application (the ability to teach effectively)
- Class Management (maintaining an ordered environment which promotes effective learning)
- Assessment and Recording Pupils' Progress

(Stephens & Crawley, 1994: 5 - based on DfE, 1992).

Such an approach identifies 'discreet', universal skills, based on a *technical* view of knowledge. In the process-product research model (Little & Cochran-Smith, 1994) there is an attempt to capture the activity of teaching by identifying a set of discreet behaviours reproducible from one teacher and class to the next. There is, in

Hammersley's terms an 'engineering' model of how research should direct teachers towards practical and effective techniques (Hammersley, 2002: 38). Information is seen as 'neutral, and detached from the knower and cultural context'. In addition there is supposed to be 'a specific body of knowledge to be learned' as well as 'specific methods for teaching and learning it' (Kincheloe, 2003: 97). Teachers are judged by their ability to meet 'standards'.

The Situation in Greece and the UK

In Greece the model of initial teacher education still lies within the older version of competence. Initial training consists of four-year courses which cover a very wide range of subjects: in-depth introductions to key pedagogic theories, and to areas such as sociology, psychology and methodology. After the '70s there was a move to protect the independence of universities (seen as a counterweight to state power), and thus the notion of 'expert' academic control of initial teacher education is still highly valued.

In the UK, on the other hand, the movement has been in the other direction. Circular 9/92 from the Department of Education (DfE, 1992) signalled a shift to the kind of emphasis on technical skills outlined above (see also: TTA, 1998; DfEE, 1997a, 1997b.). This is now the 'dominant discourse' (Moore, op cit).

The Hellenic Community Schools too follow a broadly competence-based model. Policy, which has evolved slowly over the years, derives from the school hierarchies but is influenced by Greece (which also produces the textbooks). Indeed, the curriculum is implicit in these textbooks, which the teachers are strongly encouraged to follow. There is little or no consultation with teachers as to this curriculum, and there is little access to alternative materials on-site. Training seminars are conducted before teachers arrive in the UK, and in-service, from time to time. They are also conducted in a top-down manner.

Critique

In competence models the 'funds of knowledge' (Elliot, 1991) of teachers themselves are ignored. There is the assumption that pedagogic knowledge can be decontextualised and widely generalised. However, as has been argued in the previous chapter, multicultural classrooms are typified by their diverse, heterogeneous nature, and indeed teaching itself can be seen as essentially contingent and unpredictable.

Essentially, the competence model draws on a positivistic epistemology, the results of which can be characterised as follows:

> 'the teacher [is] excluded from ownership of research ... We are left with a notion of the professional teacher as technician - the hard-to-qualify concept of professional wisdom or artistry does not fit into the schema. As a result, teacher education programmes retreat into a vicious circle of technical rationality focusing on 'how-to' curriculum which promotes general, universal methods of teaching. Practising teachers are judged along the lines of technical criteria - a procedure which tends to erode their professional autonomy as they scramble in the name of accountability to meet their superiors' expectations of competence. In such as context the idea of a self-regulating professional ... is quite out of place.' (Kincheloe, 2003)

Indeed, Dewey criticised such learning of discreet skills (rather than intellectual *strategies* to improve their practice). Furthermore, the competence discourse focuses on 'a world of skills and capabilities that, as it were, already exists outside of the individual' (Moore, 1999b: 141) and 'increasingly marginalises those complex interpersonal relationships and skills that often defy ... itemisation in practice' (Moore, op cit). Indeed, this can lead to an 'overemphasis on those outcomes which can be measured' (Hammersley, 2002: 23), which may mean goals whose outcomes are hard to measure may be neglected.

An example of the undervaluing of teachers' knowledge is in the preparatory seminars for teachers who come from Greece to work in the Hellenic Schools. There are talks from academic experts on bilingualism, but no input from experienced teachers. Furthermore, teachers going to a variety of countries in the Greek Diaspora attend the same seminars, which means that the different context and conditions in each country are

given little attention. It can be seen, then, that the prevailing view in the seminars is that 'expert' knowledge is universally applicable, as well as being superior to that of the practitioner.

3 - 3 - Reflection

3 - 3.1 - The Notion of Reflective Practice

The discourse of the *reflective practitioner* focuses on processes in which we *'look at concrete aspects of teaching and learning with the overall goal of personal change and more effective practice'* (Farrell, 2004: 27). Researchers working in this frame place emphasis on exploring the *nature* of the teaching and learning processes by focusing on 'the process of meaning-assignation and situation-defining ... [and on] how the social world is constructed by people, how they are continually striving to make sense of the world' (Woods, 1979). Therefore, there is a concern with teachers' subjective experience, with their mental models, with their theories. Indeed, we can say that in this discourse knowledge primarily is seen to be bottom-up: the movement is from practice *to* theory. In other words, the approach is *inductive*, where the competence model in *deductive*.

A range of understandings of the reflective practitioner exist, but have in common an emphasis on 'teacher development' and 'teacher thinking' (Woods, 1990: 22). Dewey emphasised the importance of teachers reflecting on their own practices and integrating these observations into emerging theories of teaching and learning (Dewey, 1933). Schön (1983, 1987) posits an alternative to the notion of knowledge 'trickling-down'. His notion of 'knowing-in-action' is not a complete rejection of skills (e.g. planning and management skills), but there is an emphasis on teachers' own evaluations, both those which occur in the process of teaching, and those which take place afterwards. Notions of the reflective practitioner parallel *constructivist* or *social constructivist* theories of student learning, such as those of Piaget (1926, 1950) or Vygotsky (1962) respectively, stressing 'the progressive construction of cognitive representations through experience

and action in the world' (Woods, 1990: 22; Elliot, 1991: 10), and the importance of collaboration in this process. For Freire educators, like their students, are 'knowing subjects', constantly learning from the process of teaching; education is seen as a 'pedagogy of knowledge' (Freire, 1971). Thus the teacher is seen as a learner, but knowledge is not 'handed down' - it is constructed out of experience, action and reflection (Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004: 24) - at times individually, at others collectively.

A range of typologies exist of forms of reflective practice (see Farrell, 2004). Van Manen (1977) delineates *technical, practical* and *critical* forms. Zeichner and Tabachnick (2001: 74) formulate four different varieties of reflective teaching practice:

- *academic*: stressing *reflection on subject matter*
- *social efficiency*: focussing on *teaching strategies*
- *developmentalist*: focussing on *students' needs,* learning styles and patterns of developmental growth
- *social reconstructionist*: reflection about the social and political context of schooling, and assessment of classroom actions in terms of their potential for contribution towards greater equity, social justice, humane conditions in school and the wider society

It is probably best, then, to see forms of reflective practice as a *continuum,* between at one extreme '*technical*' forms (such as the 'academic' model which, focussing closely on subject matter, and has much in common with the DfE's first and second competence areas) and at the other extreme more '*critical*' forms (i.e. 'social reconstructionism').

3 - 3.2 - The Nature of Reflective Practice

In Schön's characterisation (1983) professional life can be divided between 'scientific' work (e.g. that of laboratory-based biologists), and 'caring' professions like teaching or social work. Professionals like teachers occupy the 'swampy lowlands' in which interpersonal relationships dominate, and 'personal action theories' are required to

perform effectively, since cut-and-dry scientific theories cannot always be reliable guides to effective action (Pollard, 2002:4).

Below I will examine the nature of reflection for teachers using a range of perspectives:

Stages of Reflection

Reflective practice involves a number of stages. In the most basic formulation teachers *monitor, evaluate* and *revise* what they do (Pollard, 2002: 15). In other words teachers *observe, reflect* and then *change their practice* (a more elaborate construction is provided by Kolb (1984), for example: the stages are *experience, observation and reflection, abstract (re)conceptualisation* and *experimentation*). Essentially teachers *research* their own practice and try to put the findings into effect. The discourse emphasises the continuing nature of reflection. Within this cyclical process, not only will classroom strategies be refined, but alternative solutions may suggest themselves, as well as new problems coming into view.

Such a process has a great deal in common with the hermeneutic approach to research (see *methodology*, below), and the 'hermeneutic circle' (Gadamer, 1975). This is no coincidence, as reflective practice shares some of the epistemological underpinnings of hermeneutics (i.e. there is a tentative and personal approach to knowledge and research). In both cases one starts with assumptions and particular questions which are explored and tested to refine them, and the process begins again.

One form of reflective practice which has refined this notion of cyclical research stages is *action research* (Pollard, ibid; Farrell, 2004: 31). In the UK in the 1970s many teachers were beginning to question the usefulness of abstract generalisations in the concrete and ambiguous situations in which they operated on a daily basis. Laurence Stenhouse and John Elliot (see, e.g. Stenhouse, 1975, 1983; Elliot, 1991) began to articulate the deep significance of teacher participation in improvement and reform at the classroom level, and asked teachers to engage in a 'process model' of curriculum innovation where professional development and curricular development became the same enterprise, with

teachers conducting research in their own work settings. The stages of an action research project could include: *identification* of an issue; *planning* (choice of method); *research* (consulting literature and/or colleagues); *observation* (classroom observations, journal writing, etc); *reflection* (analysing data); *action*; and *repetition* (repeating the cycle to test results of new actions) (Farrell: 31/2). Elliot describes this approach to teacher participation within 1960s projects aimed at school-based curricular reform:

> They were not so much applications of educational theory learned in the world of academe, but generations of theory from attempts to change curricular practice in the school. *Theory was derived from practice* and constituted a set of abstractions from it ... I learned as a teacher that theories were implicit in all practices and that theorising consisted of articulating those 'tacit theories' and subjecting them to critique in free and open discussion and a willingness to tolerate a diversity of views and practices. (Elliot, 1991: 5/6 - emphasis added)

Action researchers usually aim to publish their research, they frequently work in groups (possibly in cooperation with a university-based academic), and usually refer to other published research. *Reflective practice*, however, may be much more small scale and informal. The stages through which this kind of reflective practice takes place have been described by writers such as Schön and Stones. Schön (1983) distinguishes between *reflection-on-action* and *reflection-in-action*: the former is analysis of known data - thinking about what happened *after* the class has finished; the latter takes the form of insights produced *while* teaching, and making decisions based on those insights *in the moment*. Reflection-in-action takes place on the spot (Farrell, 2004: 29). When a problem arises, and it cannot be resolved in the usual way, the teacher may reflect at that moment, and then experiment with a new approach, observing the results.

For Stones (1992) the *context* of the group being studied is important - each teacher and pupil is unique; lessons are unique since there are multiple influences on them. His approach, *reflection-post-action*, involves teachers making explicit the aims of their lessons, and analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the initial assumptions – for example, did they use the correct approaches to teach the knowledge or skills that they aimed to teach? For Stones, both beginners and experienced teachers need to develop

understanding of the complex reality of teaching through reflection. This is similar to Killon and Todnew's notion of *reflection-for-action* (1991): drawing on reflections inside the class, and after the class, the teacher establishes guidelines for future practice. These different approaches can be represented as follows:

stages of reflection / form of reflection	reflection	experimentation
in action (Schön)	reflection in class	experiment with new approach immediately
on action (Schön)	reflection after class	experiment in future classes
post action (Stones)	make aims explicit before class; reflect after class	experiment in future classes
for action (Killon & Todnew)	reflection in and after class	guidelines generated for future practice / experimentation

Much of the literature on reflection describes a series of stages which teachers can consciously and explicitly plan and carry out, often in collaboration with colleagues or under supervision. Arguably, however, the formal setting-out of a series of distinct 'stages' represents something of a reification of a process which can and does occur (at least in some of its stages) perfectly naturally. In fact we can argue that it is perfectly normal for teachers to think about their teaching before, during and after their classes, and to discuss issues with their colleagues.

Schön's theory turns on the notion that learning occurs through the combination of thoughts and actions; and that in action we employ tacit 'action theories' to guide us (in fact Osterman and Kottkamp explicitly cite Schön's notion of 'knowing-in-action' (1983) as the basis for the concepts of espoused theories and theories-in-use). Thus: 'the tacit is made explicit either by engaging in individual reflective practice or reflecting with others' (Farrell, 2004: 16). Zeichner and Liston (1996) similarly believe that

teachers can uncover their 'personal theories' and make them explicit. They consider that this presents a challenge to the teacher (i.e. that there is psychological resistance) but that there is immense value in investigating the origin of one's own theories and understanding how they influence one's practice.

Prompts to Reflection: Dilemmas and Critical Incidents

The reflective cycle is often prompted by a problematic situation: a *dilemma* which arises for the teacher (Osterman and Kottcamp, 2004: 27; Pollard, 2002: 5). When teachers experience difficulties they come to identify a problem. They can then reflect on their performance in the classroom in relation to this problem, and on their students' behaviour and responses. In Schön's terms (1983) they can 'frame' and 'reframe' the problem – i.e. generate different hypotheses as possible explanations. Both in terms of understanding the problem, and generating a possible solution, reflection implies this ability not to prematurely come to a judgement, but to consider a range of possibilities (Yusko, 2004). The kind of hermeneutic 'journey' involved in the cycle of reflection tends to throw up new questions as well as new insights.

Thus once the reflective process has been undertaken a heightened sensitivity makes us aware of further teaching dilemmas.

Reflection is also triggered by more powerful *critical incidents* (Brookfield, 1990; Tripp, 1993). These may be 'vividly remembered' turning points in the personal biography of the teacher (Brookfield, 1990: 84). They could be challenging early experiences of teaching (for example when one's initial assumptions of what it is to be a teacher are undermined by students' hostility, indifference or otherwise unexpected behaviour). These kinds of turning points, brought about by strain, surprise or shock, can act as a catalyst to 'crystallise ideas, attitudes and beliefs which are already being formed' (Sikes, Measor & Woods, 2001).

We can then ask: *how* do teachers' theories change? 'Theories-in-use' are thought to be embedded and resistant to change, arising from direct experience (such as one's own experience as a student) and tending to be very strongly held (Block and Hazelip: 1995).

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Thus change can come about through a process in which deeply held, often *tacit* beliefs are made more explicit and are challenged. In the reflective model such changes can occur through an *experience* provoking conscious reflection. So is it then the case that *experience* is the main motor of change in beliefs (Thompson, 1992) – i.e. that experience is essential for meaningful change to take place – or is *conscious reflection* in itself sufficient? Furthermore, what can this research tell us about the relationship between experience, conscious reflection and change? These questions will be addressed through the analysis and interpretation of the data in this study.

In the case of the Greek Teachers coming to work in the Hellenic Schools in the UK, the shift in location and role, and the radical change in teaching environment, produce these kinds of critical incidents and therefore promote reflective practice. I want to examine the extent to which the experience of such dilemmas and critical incidents plays a role in shifting teachers towards 'strong' forms of multicultural pedagogy.

Collaborative Reflective Practice

There can be a greater opportunity for insight and meaningful change if teachers engage in reflective practice collaboratively. Teachers can observe one another, discuss problems they have and suggest possible forms of action. They can draw on one another's experience, as well as to support one another emotionally (Fullan, 1999) - to foster 'free, open and tolerant professional discourse' (Elliot, 1991: 6). Furthermore, conducting reflective practice within a group can give opportunities for *peer validation.* While it is difficult to be objective about one's own practice, the group presents the opportunity for critical appraisal and feedback, which gives teachers more data upon which to judge their own practice (Senge, 1990). Schön's notion of single-loop learning is complemented by that of 'double-loop learning' (1983). The former involves the stages of planning, teaching and evaluating on a personal level. The latter involves the same stages, but they are made explicit and 'publicly' accessible (through journals, discussions with colleagues, etc). In addition, the presence of a *researcher* can act as a *catalyst for reflection* (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996), in some cases by simply giving

teachers the time and opportunity to articulate and to discuss their views on teaching (time for reflection which may not always be available).

A further form of collaborative reflective practice is that between 'mentors' and student-teachers, or newly qualified teachers with a more experienced colleague. This can provide what we can describe as a 'cognitive apprenticeship' as novices are given the chance to think aloud and reveal their thinking, providing opportunities for the mentors to intervene (by making students aware of the 'frames' or discourses they employ, for example).

Emotional Resistance to Reflection

In terms of *emotional resistance*, a number of writers have argued that 'uncovering' one's latent assumptions about teaching (theories-in-use) can be a difficult, sometimes emotionally challenging process (e.g. Zeichner & Liston, 1996). For Dewey, an attitude of 'open-mindedness' is required, demanding a great deal from the individual:

> an active desire to listen to more sides than one, to give heed to facts from whichever source they come, to give full attention to alternative possibilities, to recognise the possibility of error even in the beliefs which are dearest to us. (Dewey, 1933: 29)

Theories-in-use can be 'so elusive, so hidden, and often unpalatable [that] individuals can rarely express them' (Osterman & Kottcamp, 2004: 35). One important issue here is the involvement of third parties: on the one hand many teachers are disturbed by the idea of being observed, and will resist it; while on the other hand, engaging in reflective practice with others gives the opportunity for emotional support.

3 - 3.3 - Critique of the Reflective Discourse

It is possible to see reflective practice as existing along a continuum, with at one extreme more *technical* forms of reflection, to at the other more *critical* (VanManen, 1977) or *reflexive* forms (Moore, 1999b). 'Technical' reflection focuses on effectiveness in the classroom (Valli, 1993: 13), and has much in common with the competence model. *Practical* forms of reflection (VanManen, 1977) can involve a deeper questioning of

one's own assumptions, a less explicit concern for externally-imposed norms, but still a primary focus on the here-and-now of the classroom.

Arguably, these more 'technical' and 'practical' forms of reflection share with the competence discourse a primary focus on cognitive rationality at the expense of emotion and intuition, or in terms of teachers' or students' personal histories. According to Moore (2000), both the limited-reflective, and the competence discourses are rooted in a notion of the 'unified self' (Lacan, 1977, 1979), and have a 'pseudo-scientific view of teaching and learning that is circumscribed by a notion of closure and of the naming of parts':

> they seek out and identify what is 'wrong' in classroom interactions through explicit reference both to what has 'happened' and to some normalising notion of what 'ought to have happened'. Both, as a consequence, lend themselves to the danger of pathologising the individual teacher or pupil ... rather than seeking their causes in the wider, deeper structures and interrelations of society, or indeed in the very complex interrelations between teachers and their pupils. (Moore, 1999b)

The effect, then, of such approaches can be to put the teacher in the position of a clinical patient - s/he is problematic and needs to be 'fixed' in order to be an 'effective' teacher: there can be a 'deficit' model of the teacher (c.f. Woods, 1990: 3). The remit of the teacher can be restricted to the more narrowly technical function ('efficiency'), at the expense of engagement with broader and deeper analyses, examining the aims of education, its real-world effects, and its broader socio-economic and political context.

3 - 4 - Critical Forms of Reflection / The Critical Teacher

3 - 4.1 - Critical Reflection

It is possible to distinguish more *critical* forms of reflective practice. Van Manen (1977), delineates between *technical, practical* and *critical* forms of reflection. These mirror Habermas' technical, practical and emancipatory interests driving different forms of research. '*Technical*' forms of reflection, for Van Manen, correspond to competence

models of the relationship between research and teachers (and it is questionable whether this can be described as 'reflective' at all). *'Practical action'* follows the 'hermeneutic-phenomenological' paradigm - in which there is a concern with revealing underlying assumptions, with observing teacher practice, and with assessing its effectiveness. Finally *'critical reflection'* brings into consideration moral and ethical concerns, as well as taking into account the broader socio-cultural context. Similar characterisations of 'critical' forms of reflection have been made by Jay and Johnson (2002) and Zeichner and Tabachnick (2001: 72) - what the latter call a *social reconstructionist* approach (see section *3.3.1* above).

Critical forms of reflection are in line with the kind of pedagogy advocated by critical theorists such as Apple, Giroux, McLaren and Kincheloe (see Chapter 2). There are two key aspects to this approach:

1. Critical perspectives broaden the discussion to *include socio-economic and wider cultural contexts*, using analyses of the operation of power to link 'macro' social, economic, cultural and political forces to the 'micro' environment of the school;

2. Beyond this, the teacher is encouraged to *see herself as an agent of positive social change*: to be concerned with change beyond the walls of the classroom.

Similar priorities have been found among members of the *action research* tradition who have adopted a critical stance. For them a key aim has been to identify and expose those aspects which frustrate progressive change and to provide a basis for action to overcome injustice and deprivation (Carr & Kemmis, 1986: 197)

Within the discourse of critical pedagogy teachers are seen as potentially 'transformative intellectuals' (Giroux, 1988). For advocates of *'transformative pedagogy'* this requires a discussion of the power relations which position the teacher (Cummins, 2000a; Hollingsworth & Sockett, 1994). The role of the teacher can include mounting their own critiques of school policy and materials, and facilitating critical interrogations within their classrooms, of issues including: culture, media, socio-economic arrangements, racism and sexism within the curriculum and beyond the school. In this view teachers

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have *intellectual responsibility*: they must carefully consider the consequences of their actions, in order to 'secure integrity' (Dewey, 1933: 30). Ultimately, teachers can be seen as having the (potential) responsibility for 'liberating' students from repressive ideological constructs and their associated practices:

> Teachers must understand teaching not so much as a transmission of skills and knowledge to
> ignorant students, but rather as a place where perceptions are altered and new knowledges are
> formed ... [making] education *the practice of freedom*. (hooks, 1994 - emphasis added)

Critical reflection stresses teachers' active consideration of the aims and consequences of education. Teachers are seen not simply as functionaries, but as citizens (with the moral obligations this entails) and as professionals (with the specialised knowledge that this implies). They thus 'should be entitled to not only a hearing, but also to act as active *'interpreters'* of official policy (Pollard, 2002: 15):

> Whilst accepting a responsibility for translating politically determined aims into practice,
> teachers should speak out, as they have done in the past, if they view particular aims and
> policies as being professionally impracticable, educationally unsound or morally questionable.
> (Pollard, ibid)

3 - 4.2 - <u>Reflexivity</u>

Within a critical frame the modernist notion of self is also put in question. The notion of the *reflexive* self (Giddens, 1991) or the 'post-Cartesian' self (Moore, 1999b; Kincheloe, 2003) have the 'self' as a project continually being revised. According to this discourse, teachers are invited not only to be reflective about what happens at the explicit level in the classroom, but also about how their notions of self play out in the classroom, for example what memories might be influencing them, and to bring into consideration how similar factors may affect their students. Among the influences on trainee-teachers which can be identified within a 'reflexive' frame, are:

> the array of contending social and political ideologies calling out to them via their own
> experiences in schools, the stories and advice of family and friends and cultural representations
> of teaching (Ritchie & Wilson, 2000: 10)

Indeed, teachers (like students) can be seen as 'sites of contradiction ... scripted by conflicting social and political forces', including 'narratives' of education, gender, race and class (op cit: 10/11).

Teachers can examine the content of their own consciousness, viewing their own conditioning and ideological commitments (Kincheloe, 2003). Autobiographical work can be useful in this context (e.g. thinking back to previous experience - one's own student experiences, teacher-training, and so forth). A great diversity of formats and sources can be employed in this process, including free-association, journals, 'slices' of school life, cognitive and *intuitive* insights' (op cit). Through the practice of writing reflexive essays, for example, student teachers: 'simultaneously consider past, present and future actions while looking 'inward' to their own histories and perceived character traits and 'outward' to the behaviours of their pupils and to the social conditions within which they and their pupils operate' (Moore & Atkinson, 1998).

The discussion of reflective practice contains much which addresses questions of intersubjectivity, reflexivitiy, socio-economic context and a broader political/moral concern. Indeed, it is quite natural when teachers try to reflect on their 'theories-in-use' that they refer to their own biography (including, of course, their own teaching experience, and teachers *they had* who still influence them now).

Soler, Craft & Burgess (2001) posit the possibility for (critical) *reflection to be facilitated through contact with other teachers* (meaning can be 'grounded in and confirmed by' relationships in a particular context (e.g. a school, an association for teachers working in similar conditions), and 'through shared experience and perspectives ... teachers will come to understand the meanings of reflections and the action that is generated' (op cit). This can create a *critical distance* from official policies and 'conventional wisdom' in education. This kind of situation has been described as a manifestation of a 'social reconstructionist' conception of reflective teaching. Furthermore, collaborative work can ensure that the research is more thorough. When reflecting alone, it may be tempting not to complete the whole hermeneutic circle:

instead one could simply complete the 'forward arc' - preconceptions and initial interpretations - and not the 'backward arc' - reflecting on the initial interpretation. This could actually consolidate *bad* practice! Collaborative research, then, can push the individual to break through resistances to complete the research cycle.

3 - 5 - Limits to Reflective Practice

3 - 5.1 – Constraints on Reflection

The *scope* for teachers to engage in reflective practice will vary greatly. There will be constraints on teachers' '*opportunities to reflect*', as there are on her 'opportunities to teach' in the manner she desires (Woods, 1990), deriving from factors such as the ethos of the school and time made available for reflection, as well as aspects of individuals' own biographies and life-situations. Discussing how teaching practice is conditioned, Woods comments:

> The interplay between [such] forces makes for a wide range of possibilities in teaching on a number of continua, from, for example, continuing professional development to deskilling and alienation; from freedom to initiate and enact teaching policy to externally determined activity; from golden opportunity to leaden constraint; from the heights of satisfaction that come from successful teaching, to the depths of despair that come from failure. (Woods, 1990: 22).

As it is for the *freedom to teach*, so it is for the opportunity to reflect. Relevant factors include:

- *personal and cognitive factors* influencing one's commitment: changing interests over time, psychological issues to do with self-image, and so forth

- *lack of time*: Cooper and McIntyre (1996) note that pressures of workload and school culture mean that there is *little opportunity for reflection in school*, and 'the time that teachers do have for reflection and development outside the classroom is often insufficient for the kind of exploration that the uncovering of craft knowledge requires' (1996: 76). Indeed, according to research by Pollard (1985), some teachers regard their work as being 'endless'.

- *social and institutional constraints* including lack of funding, hostile or unsupportive colleagues/head, prevailing ideologies which are hostile to reflective practice.

In terms of *institutional* constraints, the 'ethos' of the school (Woods, 1990) may either act as an encouragement or a discouragement to reflective practice, depending on the enthusiasm of the staff and management. For example, if the head of one's school is hostile to reflective practice, it might be difficult to initiate or sustain. Another common problem is that of workload. However, as noted above, in the Greek mainstream, since so many decisions are taken centrally, the school ethos makes far less of a difference to the degree of freedom teachers have as compared to the official policy.

3 - 5.2 – Reflection & University-Based Research

While there has been a recent trend in the UK towards school-based training for teachers - largely based on the idea that local knowledge and the acquisition of 'craft skills' were key to success for teachers - recent reports have shown better results for trainee-teachers educated in university departments, than those mentored 'in school'. The relationship between the university and the teacher – be it in the form of training, or through teachers reading research – includes the fact that university-based researchers still have a degree of *intellectual independence* as well as having a *breadth of vision*, based on familiarity with pedagogic literature (Hammersley, 2002).

It is important for reflective practitioners themselves to have a good grounding in pedagogic literature, since this will of course inform their reflections and theorising. If we follow hermeneutic theory, the researcher has to begin with pre-assumptions, which are tested in initial research and then modified in the light of the new data. The hermeneutic argument is that there can be no research without such assumptions - there is no initial possibility of a 'blank slate'. Thus, the better-informed we are coming into the research, the better we will be able to interpret what we observe.

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In certain cases it may be that teachers may carry false assumptions which academic research could correct (Hammersley, 2002: 24). In multicultural pedagogy, for example, empirical evidence suggest that the 'catch-up period' for non-native speaking children to acquire a mastery of the dominant language *adequate for school work*, which is comparable to their native-speaker peers, is around seven years (Cummins, 2000b), whereas conversational competence would usually take around two years to achieve within a dominant-language school environment (the contrast highlighted in Cummins BICS/CALP dichotomy (op cit)). Without this reference teachers might *assume* the acquisition of academic, written, Greek would take a similar time to the acquisition of conversational Greek. Similarly, research has the capacity for illuminating areas of teacher action which they might not usually be conscious of, such as how they 'typify' children (Hammersley, ibid; c.f. Hargreaves et al, 1975). Again, how stereotyping operates in the multicultural classroom (or indeed in the monocultural classroom, when it is with reference to minority groups) is of enormous relevance if teachers want to avoid what is arguably sometimes unconscious racism or cultural bias.

3 - 6 - Reflection and Multicultural Pedagogy

This research addresses an important gap in pedagogic literature. On the one hand, research on, and theories of *multicultural pedagogy* largely ignore the importance of reflective practice. Similarly, the literature on *reflection* makes no special mention of multicultural settings or the issues faced in such settings.

In fact, I want to look at precisely this intersection. One reason is that the fact of *diversity*, in itself, must put into question pedagogic research and theory which places a lot of emphasis on generalisability. In fact it is becoming more widely recognised that *any* school or class is a *complex system*, which cannot necessarily be adequately and entirely understood by analysing its component parts (Waldrop, 1992). There may be a danger in research which claims a very broad generalisability, since '[standardised] research cannot provide the knowledge base for practice because what it produces is not

attuned to the contexts in which practice operates ... [Therefore] if research findings are given too much weight by practitioners, as against their own background assumptions or information from other sources, the outcome may be undesirable.' (Hammersley, 2002: 49). Thus a strong argument exists for the potential value of teachers' own, reflectively-produced, knowledge.

But this is all-the-more the case in multicultural settings: for example, we have seen that there are a number of 'continua of biliteracy' (Hornberger, 1996 – see Appendix IV), meaning that a very wide range of linguistic profiles are possible. Similarly, in terms of culture, *hybridity* (Bhabha, 1998) is a feature of minority-community cultures which combine elements of the heritage culture, with aspects of that from the new country. In the face of such realities, it becomes an impossibility to find 'any one best answer' (Hornberger, op cit) to the question of how minority group children should be taught. From this perspective, *there is a very strong case, epistemologically, for teachers' 'local', reflectively developed knowledge to be taken far more seriously in research and policy discussions concerned with multicultural pedagogy.*

One of my aims in this research, then, is to investigate how teachers, facing such a complex reality, come to learn about that reality – and develop a tailored pedagogy for particular set of students they teach. I want to explore the potential connection between multicultural pedagogy and reflection, and to see to what extent the latter can help the former.

Next, then, I turn to the *analysis*. I will look at the extent to which the teachers construct new understandings of multicultural pedagogy, both with reference to the particular conditions of the Community Schools, but also in terms of relevance to the Greek mainstream.

- I will look at how the *teachers' theories develop in terms of their relation to key discourses in multicultural pedagogy*: the extent and manner in which, through constructing new understandings, their theories about teaching minority-community students shift from a weaker to a stronger form of multicultural pedagogy.

- I will also focus on the *process through which reflection takes place* – under what kinds of conditions the teachers reflect, through which stages they pass, and so on.

In doing so I will focus on several key sets of issues, which include:

- the extent to which teachers consider their shift in position (to becoming themselves part of a minority in the UK and to working with minority students) a 'critical incident', and how this has affected their understanding of minority students

- the importance of teachers' personal histories on their teaching theories

- the extent to which teachers are aware of influences on their teaching styles, attitudes, feelings, and so forth (from their own histories, training, teaching experience, critical incidents, etc)

- to what degree the teachers adapt to their new conditions, and to what degree they resist changing their approach

- their ability to apply these understandings to the context of mainland Greece

- what the commonalties between teachers derive from and what the differences between teachers derive from

- what constraints and opportunities effect the teachers?

- do teachers have time/opportunity for reflection?

- how interactions with others here generate reflection: both exchanges with colleagues and with myself as researcher

- do they have sufficient space to find their voice or raise awareness?

- do they see themselves as possible agents of change?

Chapter 4   Methodology & Study Design

This study looks at the theories of teachers in Greek Community Schools as they relate, primarily, to teaching bilingual, bicultural students. Given the nature of the subject matter, I have used a methodology which allows access to these theories, representing them accurately and in their full complexity. Thus I have adopted a qualitative orientation, based around interviews with a small number of teachers. In the following sections I will explain what my methodology is, and why I have chosen this approach. First, however, I will briefly define a few key terms that I will be using.

The term 'methodology' can be used in a broad sense (i.e. qualitative or quantitative methodology), and in a narrower sense (discourse analysis, critical ethnography, etc), in order to describe different approaches to how research can be conducted (Silverman, 2000: 89). Methodologies are grounded in theories of knowledge ('epistemologies' (e.g. positivism, postmodernism)). 'Method' will refer to specific techniques employed when operating using a particular methodology (e.g. open-ended interviews, analysis of participants' categories in speech) (ibid).

My methodological orientation will now be explored under the following headings:
- Initial orientations to the research
- Broad methodological position
- Epistemological orientation
- Issues of validity & reliability
- Research methods
- Approach to interpretation and analysis
- Ethical dimensions to the research

4 - 1 - Initial Orientations to the Research

Two key considerations have determined the methodological approach I have adopted: firstly, the nature of the subject, and secondly, my own ethical and political orientations.

A key aim of this research is to explore how Greek teachers working in Community Schools in the UK theorise about teaching bilingual and bicultural students. I am interested in what these teachers 'know' about working with such students and how they come to know it, using the literature on 'teachers' theories' and the 'reflective practitioner' as an aid to analysis.

As we have seen, there is an important distinction between the kind of pedagogic theories contained in books written by academics, and the 'theories' which teachers themselves have. These theories have the following aspects. One is a *practical dimension* – a kind of 'how-to' knowledge about teaching. Another aspect relates to *underlying assumptions* – what teachers believe the aims of education should be, for example; or their fundamental beliefs about how learning takes place. Schön (1983) has highlighted the *tacit* dimension to much of teachers' thinking. He refers to 'action theories', which teachers draw on *when* they are teaching, which may be only partially conscious, and are structured around a set of deep assumptions. Osterman and Kottkamp (1993) have extended Schön's framework by positing 'theories-in-use' (tacit/partly unconscious) and 'espoused theories' (explicit/conscious). Theories-in-use are supposed to directly inform practice, while espoused theories are more easily articulated, but may be at odds with what one actually does in the classroom. Another dimension is their 'local knowledge' (Geertz, 1983). Much of teachers' knowledge will be specific to particular environments and particular groups of students. Again, much of this may be tacit: knowing how students from a particular minority-community are likely to react to certain types of activity in class, for example, is likely to be knowledge acquired from experience, and may be barely conscious for the teacher.

I am interested in how theories change while these teachers are in the UK, working in close contact with the Greek minority community. Differences between theories of teachers who have just arrived, and those who have been teaching here for a number of years, should indicate how the experience of teaching minority students, and of moving from the position of member of the majority community in Greece to that of being a member of a minority in the UK, affects teaching theories. I am interested not only in how teachers theorise about teaching, but also their views on materials, teacher-training, and the economic, cultural and identity needs of minority students both in the UK and in Greece.

If epistemologies are theories of knowledge, then these aims raise important epistemological questions:

- in what sense are 'teachers' theories' worthy of study - can they have a validity comparable to pedagogical theory based on the research work of 'experts' in the academy?

- how can these theories best be studied - what kinds of methods are most appropriate for accessing this kind of knowledge, and what kind of analysis can be used to connect teachers' theories with wider debates on multicultural pedagogy?

As I have said in the introductory chapter, my perspectives when I started this research were shaped by commitments to 'critical' views of pedagogy. While the term critical 'has a complex and confusing range of connotations and applications' (Scott & Usher, 1999: 23), from a methodological point of view, critical approaches share:

> a disengagement from the 'scientific' as conventionally conceived, with an accompanying
> critique of its distinguishing features such as 'objectivity', value neutrality and the strict
> separation between knowing subjects and objects to be known, or ... the self and the world
>
> (Scott and Usher: 24)

From my point of view, then, the idea of 'objective' research was suspect. This is not to say that I do not believe in an objective reality; however, I start from a position which sees researchers, like everybody else, as socially and culturally situated. I believe

researchers have their own preconceptions which influence their interpretations, and that language is not a 'neutral' or unambiguous tool that can be used simply to reflect reality.

My previous studies had introduced me to action research, and I knew that the hermeneutic approach it adopted was one that fitted well with my subject and with my views on the nature of the research process. Having studied research methods in my Masters degree, I was also aware of the qualitative tradition. It seemed to offer answers to my questions about the value of teachers' theories and the best approach to studying them. The qualitative tradition stressed *meaning* rather than *behaviour* (or at least wanted to understand the meaning behind behaviour). It stressed 'in depth' knowledge gained 'in the field', rather than through superficial or artificial contact through mass-surveys or in a controlled environment. A qualitative/hermeneutic approach also seemed to offer a good way to start understanding the complexity of teachers' theories, as it acknowledged that understanding would probably come gradually through the research process, and that questions and methods could be adapted during research to cope with an evolving understanding of the topic. For all these reasons, I knew my initial orientation would be qualitative, would draw on hermeneutics, and would be broadly 'critical'.

4 - 2 – Broad Methodological Position

From a certain point of view, teachers' theories may be seen as not the kind of thing that 'scientists' should be particularly interested in: 'hard' data comes from observation, and, since policy has been devised by 'experts', what teachers *think* about that policy may not be of much interest. I believe, however, that teachers' knowledge is a form of professional knowledge with its own worth: it is the product of close contact with a local reality (and is therefore likely to be detailed and accurate in terms of local conditions); furthermore, it may be the product of reflective practices. I would argue that, while the study of what teachers' think may be complex and 'messy' it is nonetheless valuable. In

sum, I would reject any epistemological position that could characterise teachers' knowledge as irrelevant or as impossible to study effectively.

Critique of Quantitative Approaches to Teachers' Theories

Quantitative research employs a number of different methods, which have certain typical applications and advantages: social surveys (using random samples), experiments (using control groups, typically in psychological research), official statistics (drawing on large data sets), structured observation (with predetermined schedules of points to observe), and content analysis (used in the analysis of mass media, for example to count occurrences of particular key words or phrases). The advantages of such methods are said to be accuracy, representativeness (in the case of surveys) and reliability (Silverman, 2000: 3 - adapted from Bryman, 1988)

Quantitative approaches are widely seen as being *positivistic* in their epistemological orientation. Positivism has attempted to outline rules of scientific procedure, in order to attain objectivity - a situation in which the representation of reality produced 'is untainted by researcher bias, or the ambiguity of language, among other possible threats to validity' (Scheurich, 1997: 29). However, there are many criticisms of positivism, and in turn of quantitative methodology. According to Scheurich, the consensus today is that positivism has failed in its attempt to provide such rules, and its key tenets have been refuted (ibid). It is also frequently argued that it is an inappropriate scientific model for researching the *social* world (as opposed to the natural).

Criticisms of quantitative research include:

- Research can be conducted quickly and with little contact with people or 'the field' (Silverman, 2000:7). Thus survey results, for example, may appear to show the prevalence of certain beliefs, but, without sufficient contact with the respondents or time spent interpreting the data, it would be hard to know how deep these beliefs run, what exactly they mean to the respondents (ibid).

- Since this kind of research is concerned with identifying unambiguous cause and effect relationships, it is, arguably, poorly equipped to deal with the inevitably ambiguous nature of human (in this case teachers' and students') activities:

  > [it] assumes that the personal histories of individuals and the social histories of their contexts are not germane to an appreciation of an educational setting and its significance. Such contextual information is invariably ambiguous ... [H]uman activities such as education are rarely free of ambiguity, and to miss their complexity is to miss the point. (Kincheloe, 2003: 79)

In fact its reductionistic impulse means that, effectively, what cannot be 'proved' is treated as non-existent. If teachers' knowledge is treated in this way we will inevitably end up with an impoverished view of that knowledge. By stepping outside the positivist paradigm, and attempting to study teachers' theories in their complexity, we may be able to contribute valuable insights, especially where we are concerned with unearthing 'local' knowledge (Kincheloe, 2003: 84) - in my case knowledge about teaching Greek-minority students in the UK.

A Qualitative Approach to Researching Developing Teachers' Theories

What, then, can be the basis for studying teachers' theories and their development effectively? *Qualitative* methods can be characterised as more 'fine grained' than quantitative - placing more emphasis on detail, depth and theoretical interpretation. There are a range of *qualitative* methodologies, from ethnographic approaches (stretching back to the work of 'urban sociologists' such as William Foote Whyte in the 1940s), through ethnomethodology (based on the phenomenologically-inspired work of sociologists such as Garfinkel and Schutz in the '50s and '60s), to more recent approaches drawing on postmodern or feminist insights, or employing a 'critical' perspective. My own approach draws on insights from a number of these different traditions, but is probably best described as a form of *critical hermeneutics* (Gallagher, 1992).

So which aspects of the broad qualitative tradition best fit my particular study?

Ethnography aims for in-depth understanding of a social environment by prolonged contact, observation and interview. The approach, is to participate in the life of the 'social world' being studied (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 35). Grounded Theory, initially developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s, is an influential modern ethnographic approach. It argues against the kind of deductive approach which starts from an abstract theoretical model, and develops hypotheses which will be 'tested' in research – as this restricts the possible range of interpretations which the data may actually suggest (Ezzy, 2002: 9). Instead the researcher should carefully collect and analyse data, building theory from scratch: new understandings should arise from contact with 'informants' in the field.

Ethnography's inductive approach can also be criticised, however, for assuming that pre-existing theories will not influence how data will be perceived. For Ezzy, since it is inevitable that the researcher will have preconceived theories, the first step is for these to be *stated* (ibid). In fact, on the positive side, such theory can *sensitise* the researcher to particular aspects of what is being studied. What must be avoided is a rigid adherence to preconceptions in the face of new data; there must be an 'ongoing simultaneous process of deduction and induction, of theory building, testing and rebuilding' (ibid).

My starting point, then, is essentially ethnographic. As a teacher in the Community Schools, I am a *participant-observer*. Some of the interviewees have been my colleagues and we have faced the same issues in the job. I have *insider knowledge* which would be hard for other researchers to get – not only have I observed other teachers' (including my interviewees Viki and Agni), but I have had numerous informal conversations with teachers, heads, committee members and parents – and all of this with the background of a Greek upbringing, training in the Greek education system, and all the tacit knowledge which comes with teaching in the research site itself. But, like Ezzy, I do not accept that I come to research *without assumptions*. The key point for me, however, has been *openness* about what my assumptions are, and a willingness to reassess them in the light of new information and insights during the research process.

Ethnomethodology, like grounded theory, stresses the importance of being close to one's subject. However researchers must not be 'engrossed by the natural standpoint' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 41, and there should be a suspension of belief in the common-sense 'world of facts which surrounds us' and which we generally 'accept as unquestionable' (Schutz, 1970: 58). In this manner, the researcher is open to the 'strangeness of the familiar world' (Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970: 98).

This is an approach in which participants' speech is regarded as 'topic' rather than 'resource', implying a 'bracketing' of objective reality outside of the text of the transcript (Schutz, op cit) to tighten the focus on the speech itself. In the form of 'Conversation Analysis' (CA), ethnomethodology has become one of the most influential ways of approaching the examination of spoken language. The researcher uses the categories societal members use in their speech when s/he comes to code their talk (Sacks, 1992), and by focusing on an array of speech functions CA identifies how language is used to ensure compliance, to resist, to negotiate identity and so forth. Thus ethnomethodology/CA offers a more structured and self-conscious approach to the analysis of subjects' accounts of their lives and their worlds than ethnography.

CA offers a method of analysing 'talk-in-interaction' - looking at how speakers position themselves and carry out 'transactions' *in conversation* (Silverman, 2000: 97). For a subject area like mine, it may be of limited use, since I deal with teachers' *theories* and think that *interviews* are the best way to do this, in order to understand as fully as possible teachers' knowledge and understandings. This requires more than just a focus on the 'rules' of language use, but needs the interviewer to bring in her own understandings of the world to try to interpret what is said.[17]

Hermeneutics is such an approach. It is an epistemological / methodological position which, like ethnomethodology, has much in common with phenomenology, stressing the attempt to appreciate the strangeness of the familiar world - and the importance of language. Meaning is regarded as negotiated 'between one's own preconceptions and

those within the horizon of the other' (Tate, 1998: 13); meaning is largely to do with the complexities of subjectivity and language.

Hermeneutics does not require a rigid bracketing of the outside world. The main focus is that research is a *process*; that the researcher's preconceptions will be modified by contact with the participants in research, and that this will generate new insights and hypotheses which can be tested by further research: the hermeneutic circle. There is *modification* and *refinement* of these initial theories, however, as the research progresses, rather than simply testing an initial hypothesis: as this study developed I started to ask more relevant questions and to build up a fuller, more detailed picture.

The researcher will have her own 'fore-conceptions' – understandings or assumptions. When 'reading' a text, she must be aware of them 'so that the text can present itself in all its otherness ... against one's own fore-meanings' (Gadamer, 1975: 269). Hermeneutics is central to my study, and will therefore be more thoroughly explored below. However, I also draw on postmodernist, critical and feminist approaches to research.

While ethnomethodologists bracket the outside world for research purposes, '*postmodernists* might bracket the entire possibility of 'reality' ', leaving 'not reality ... but a world of images and *pure representation*' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 79). Lyotard (1984) has argued that theories are linked with the perspectives and interests of those who construct and employ them. Previously dominant theories in the social sciences, which were given the status of scientific law, are now treated as 'stories', without privileged status (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 76).

It is possible to identify more and less extreme versions of postmodernism: a more extreme, 'nihilistic' postmodernism (Carspecken, 1996: 15), which may see no reality outside the text, and more moderate versions, which accept the possibility of more local, personal forms of truth (in opposition to grand narratives). These forms of postmodernism see reality as interpreted, with the researcher's values being implicated in

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[17] Having said this, I do wish to draw on the ethnomethodological idea of using participants' *own*

the research, and regarding issues of generalisability as being localised and applicable to other similar settings, or very tentatively to a wider reality. This view fits well with my research as I investigate the 'truth' of a very specific group of teachers: their understandings are *situated* in terms of their own cultural background, and the culture and location of their specific students. Furthermore, I fully accept that my values are part of the research, although I have been open about this to give the reader a critical distance from my own views.

Methods such as 'discourse analysis' or 'narrative analysis' are rooted in postmodern or poststructuralist understandings that everything can be 'read' like a text. However, if discourses or narratives are seen as culturally-available 'resources' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 170), which are 'employed' by speakers, this does not mean that we have to accept that there is no reality *outside* of the text. I will have more to say about discourse analysis, in the section on *interpretation and analysis* below, as I have made selective use of such methods as interpretative tools within a broadly hermeneutic approach.

Feminists, such as Collins (Collins, 1997) and New (New, 1998), have developed a distinct epistemology. They reject the notion of,

> one true and final correct representation of reality. Rather, they argue that knowledge is always situated and what is known is influenced by the shared experiences and political orientations of the standpoint of the person (Ezzy, 2002: 20)

The nature of group-based experience differentiates this perspective from postmodernist relativism in that it is possible to identify shared truths for that group, which does not necessarily have to apply universally. Lather (Lather, 1986: 67), furthermore, stresses that one aspect of validity must be the degree to which research empowers and emancipates the research subjects (for example through dialogue and collaboration between researchers and participants).

This dual emphasis in feminism on the *situated* nature of knowledge, and on the *political/ethical* aspects of research, provides a good fit not only with my subject, but

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categories in analysing their speech.

also with my own political/ethical orientation. They give support to the idea of 'local truth', but also robustly advocate *engaged* and *ethical* research – aimed at the empowerment of its subjects: my experience has been that through the interview process I was able to challenge and encourage the teachers to be more critical, and to recognise their own potential for agency.

Kincheloe and McLaren (1994)'s *'critical postmodernism'* takes on board much of the postmodern critique but still retains some criteria for making judgements. Carspecken, working from this perspective, (1996: 173) argues that: 'To take a stand against oppression is to implicate a theory of oppression, *a systems theory*'. He advocates fine-grained qualitative analysis, but in the final stages of analysis an attempt to draw links between the local and the 'macro-sociological' in order to analyse the influence of political conditions (Carspecken, 1996: 190-203). Many critical theorists, in attempting to make links with macro-sociological theory, draw on a form of 'realist' epistemology which sees knowledge as a social and historical product (House, 1991: 3). However, *unlike* postmodernism, there is still a belief that theories can be developed which accurately describe the 'complex and stratified' 'real world' (Scheurich, 1997: 31). Feminists and critical theorists, then, both wish to include an appreciation of socio-economic factors in their analysis of research data. They also share an ethical concern that research should be non-exploitative, and should further the interests of the marginalised or exploited.

I see my research as critical in that I take a *non-exploitative and collaborative stance* towards the teachers, and furthermore through the questions I ask, and in the analysis, attempt to *bring in issues of power*. The interviews touch on issues of school organisation and policy, for example, and the degree to which teachers could contribute to both. My research is critical, then, to the extent that it is takes into account issues of power, and recognises the potential agency of both the teachers and the researcher.

In choosing a qualitative orientation I have been able to draw from a range of possible approaches, but one essential rooted in hermeneutics – I understand research as a cyclical process, which begins with the researcher's own theoretical orientation. I have

used insights from 'discourse analysis' and 'narrative analysis' to facilitate a reading of that data. By drawing on critical and feminist traditions I want to stress the importance of membership (in terms of job, group-membership, etc) as a basis for at least partial sharing of theories, understandings, etc. These last two approaches have also influenced me in my efforts to make the research democratic and engaged. Later sections of this chapter will describe in more depth the methods I will use and my orientation on questions of validity and research ethics.

4 - 3 - Epistemological Orientation

I would now like to return to the question of epistemology as it relates to my study. In their discussion of research in education, Scott and Usher (1999: 1) raise a number of crucial questions, including:

- What is legitimate knowledge?
- How reliable and valid are conclusions drawn from particular collections of data?
- How does the researcher's presence in the field affect their data?
- How do research methods relate to epistemological and ontological debates about the nature of reality?

Central to each question is the subject of this section: epistemology. Epistemologies are theories of knowledge: an identification of 'what is legitimate knowledge [rather than] ... what is simply opinion and belief' (Scott and Usher, 1999: 11). I aim to produce 'legitimate' knowledge about the subjective knowledge, theories, opinions and beliefs of teachers. As argued above, for many positivists this kind of research would involve too much 'ambiguous' material: the 'subjectivity' of the material would make objective observation difficult - how could the researcher tell truth from lie or illusion? The question, then, is can the knowledge produced by such research be legitimate?

As far as my research is concerned, firstly, to understand teachers' theories requires *interpretation*: language is ambiguous, since words are 'tokens' without absolutely fixed meanings (Saussure, 1966) and 'discourse' can only be understood by drawing on

cultural knowledge, which may be shared by speaker/writer and listener/reader (Cameron, 2001). Our knowledge of reality comes through the 'constructions' of communication. This is the constructionist view. According to Gubrium and Holstein, for qualitative researchers operating in this paradigm:

> Respondents' answers and comments are not viewed as reality reports delivered from a fixed repository (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997:127)

Within this perspective, we attempt to reconstruct reality (e.g. the genuine beliefs of a teacher about multicultural pedagogy), but we recognise that some account must be taken of the language used (and perhaps body language, or other factors) in order to interpret what is being said.

From an 'analytic realist' position: 'the social world is an interpreted world' - interpreted by subjects of research and researchers (Altheide and Johnson, 1998: 292). However 'analytic' or 'critical' realist (Bhaskar, 1989, Carspecken, 1996) positions differ from constructionist ones (Kincheloe, 2003, Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, Guba, 1990, Lincoln, 1990), in that the former insist on the uniform nature of reality, while the latter see a multiplicity of realities (see Appendix V for a fuller discussion of the approach to 'reality' in this study).

From my point of view, while this distinction is important, I feel a more practical approach for me is Carspecken's (1996) focus on, in his terms 'objective', 'subjective' and 'normative' realms of reality. By 'objective' here he means those aspects of reality that could theoretically be agreed on by a number of observers, such as how many chairs there are in a particular room. Carspecken wants to know what happens in the classroom (objective), as well as what happens inside teachers' and students' heads (subjective, normative). Although I am interested in the objective reality of what happens in the class, and draw on my own experiences and on texts, I am also interested in accessing this objective realm *through* the teachers' reports of what happens there. I focus on the subjective (teachers' theories, beliefs, knowledge, feelings), and teachers' normative theories (what they believe *should* happen in the class, school, country, etc).

My approach to the objective realm also involves engaging with 'subjective' teachers' knowledge, and then placing it within a context of information taken from other sources.

I am focusing on a relatively homogenous *single cultural (sub) group*: Greek teachers working in the UK; and furthermore I am a member of that group. My aim is to describe the theories of these teachers, how the theories develop, and the degree to which the teachers are 'reflective'. As we share the same background, the teachers and I have compatible senses of reality, brought closer by my working in the schools and having the intense *ethnographic* experience of participating and observing *at* first-hand and *as* an insider. As to the degree to which my findings should be generalisable, they should be relevant to other Greek teachers in the UK, and to a degree to other Greek teachers in the Diaspora. To an extent my findings may be generalisable concerning the processes which facilitate reflective action in teachers, but again I would aim to qualify my findings by stressing the importance of context: the local conditions and specific cultural setting, so we do not compromise the 'fine grained' quality of qualitative work (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997).

A final point is that, by using an epistemology which does not require legitimate knowledge to have been produced through experiment, the use of controlled environments or surveys using large samples, the teachers' theories described in the study can be seen as 'legitimate' educational knowledge. Scott and Usher describe a contemporary 'theory-practice binary' in which 'educational researchers are considered experts because of their research-based knowledge and are distinguishable from those who are to be informed by that knowledge' (1999: 13). This research should contribute to undermining that binary.

4 - 4 - Issues of Validity & Reliability

Key terms, when discussing validity and reliability, include *internal validity, external validity, generalisability* and *reliability*. Validity essentially means that the findings accurately describe what the researcher claims they describe. Arguably, it is the essence of the scientific approach, separating science from common sense, art and so on. Qualitative studies are often criticised in terms of validity, since they work with small samples and use methods which are seen as subjective. My approach emphasises *internal validity*: the degree to which my findings correctly map the subject of my study (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 100). I put less emphasis on external validity - the degree to which the findings could be generalised to a similar setting (ibid), or *'reliability'* - the degree to which another researcher could reproduce my findings. My claim for the internal validity of this study is based particularly on my position as a teacher in the Community Schools, and the similarity of background with the teachers, which has allowed me a close understanding. As a participant observer – an 'insider' – I know the local setting; I share experiences with the teachers; I have a relationship with them. Furthermore, through the interviews, I have been able to encourage the teachers to develop their theories in a more critical and reflective manner. These kinds of conditions would be impossible for an outside academic to reproduce exactly (and so to show the 'reliability' of the findings).

My main aim is not to produce findings which are 'universally true' for most educational settings; I have focused on a particular group, and part of my research stresses the importance of recognising local and cultural differences, and the importance of local knowledge. A number of theorists (Hammersley, 1992; Altheide & Johnson, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1988) argue that generalisability is a fragile quality - results of research should be seen as provisional. Even if other studies do seem to offer confirmation:

> 'this ... cannot be seen as a firm deduction, but merely a weak inductive confirmation of one's hypothesis. Though there may be evidence of a shared reality as experienced, or shared underlying structures, the complexity of these structures and the possibility of agency to transform them, means that generalisations can only be moderate ones' (Williams, 2002: 138).

To focus on internal validity I have used *purposive sampling* (Silverman, 2000: 104). This can mean selecting cases in the light of '[critical thinking] about the parameters of the population we are interested in' (ibid). In the case of Greek teachers this means selecting interviewees of both sexes, and across a range of ages, subject backgrounds, from different parts of Greece and with different levels of experience. *'Theoretical' sampling* is an allied concept, but the selection of cases requires a theoretical justification (op cit). Since we are interested in what teachers believe about teaching minority students (rather than, for example, how much they earn, their career prospects or how much students appear to respect them), variables such as gender or age are not particularly relevant. However, which part of Greece they come from (e.g. Thrace or Athens, which both have sizeable minority populations), and particularly their previous experience with minority students, or particular relevance of their own biographies are important factors.

Although interviewing has constituted the main method, I have also been able to informally observe teachers, as well as drawing on some key documents (i.e. a *multiple method* approach). My position as a participant observer has meant a great deal of observation, which has given some feedback ('triangulation') on the teachers' comments about their classroom practice. Having said this, the notion of *triangulation* is challenged by some qualitative researchers. It 'refers to the attempt to get a 'true' fix on a situation by combining different ways of looking at it or different findings'. However, qualitative research is 'simply not compatible' with an assumption of ' 'true' fixes on 'reality' ' (Silverman, 2000: 177). In my case the burden of any validity claims is based on the interview data. However, the use of observations should contribute something to the validation of the study since I am very familiar with the context and culture.

As for the issue of validity in the interviews, I think rapport is important since it results in a degree of trust, and honesty on the part of the interviewees: by reducing any 'status gap' between the 'scientific researcher' and the 'subjects', by treating the interviewees as equals, and partners in the research, you are more likely to increase rapport. In this respect, I am fortunate that I also teach in the Hellenic schools, and that many of the

participants have post-graduate degrees, meaning that there is no clear 'status gap' between us. Also, since the teachers know I have much the same experience as they do, there is a greater incentive to be open about their beliefs, feelings and experiences.

Finally, I would stress the importance of openness. Firstly, I use *member checks* - I review initial results of the study with participants to see to what degree they see them as valid. Secondly I am as clear as possible about how the research has been conducted. This involves having clear transcripts and original recordings available, and showing the methods I have used to reach my conclusions. It requires that *deviant cases* are included in the analysis - i.e. pieces of data which contradict emergent patterns - so that theoretical justifications can be given for the existence of any of them. Openness also involves declaring my own 'pre-understandings' or 'biases'. Instead of presenting myself as the objective 'scientist', which according to postmodern thought would merely be a mask, I am open about my presuppositions and allow the reader to draw their own conclusions as to how satisfactory they find my conclusions given this information.

4 - 5 - Ethical Dimensions to the Research

An important factor in qualitative work is how the researcher positions herself in terms of her relationship to the interviewees: are they seen as 'respondents', 'participants' or 'subjects'? Feminist and critical researchers have problematised this, arguing for a more equitable and democratic relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

Oakley has characterised the classic (quantitative, positivistic) interview format as a masculine paradigm. By this she means that there is a stress on objectivity and neutrality on the part of the interviewer; his role is that of the expert; he controls the interview, lets nothing slip about his personal opinions, and treats the interviewee in an ultimately impersonal manner, as a natural scientist would treat an inanimate object of inquiry. In the interview situation, the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1991) of the interviewer, with its associations of scientific objectivity, and the 'neutral' language that goes with it, can

have the effect of placing the interviewee in a subordinate position, where s/he may be subject to a degree of (subtle) coercion from the researcher. Oakley argues for the inclusion of more 'feminine' characteristics such as sensitivity and emotionality in the interview format (Oakley, 1981).

A factor common to all interview formats is the importance of interviewees answering questions willingly, honestly and (depending on the format) at length. This is a question of establishing trust or 'rapport' (as mentioned above). The sense of a degree of equality of status, and the feminist advocacy of the interviewer becoming a resource, giving something of herself (i.e. answering questions as well as asking them, giving information if requested), should naturally produce a degree of trust. As mentioned above, this sense of equality should also encourage openness and *exchange*: the interviewee may be more open and volunteer more information if there is a sense in which the interviewer too is 'giving' something of their personal views, professional knowledge, etc.

I have used the semi-structured interview format, which clearly signals to the participants that they are involved in an interview, and it is clear to them that what they say is 'on the record'. This avoids some of the risk of manipulation which there might be in very unstructured interviewing where the participants might not be clear about the intentions of the interviewer: if sensitive information is coaxed out of them and they are not fully aware of how this will be used they may be unhappy with the end results. This format also makes it easier for them to ask me questions, if they want to, making the process more democratic.

The democratic view of interviewing asserts that the participants' interests should be furthered in the process, or at the least they should not be exploited. An emphasis on reducing the hierarchical divide between participants in an interview, and a concern with advancing the interviewee's interests is also a feature of Critical qualitative research (Carspeken, 1996: 207). Having equal status between myself and the interviewees allows for equal exchange (in Bourdieu's terms (1991)). In Carspecken's model there is an emphasis on 'democratising' the research process in order to help the researcher move

towards an 'insider' understanding of the cultural group being studied, as well as facilitating an ethical approach to research in which the effects of the project should be more helpful than harmful for the participants (Carspecken, 1996: 207).

As part of this commitment to democratic research I have explained what the aims of the research are, and the possible uses the results could be put to (Seale, 1998: 208), and I have asked for feedback from the participants, reviewing the findings with them and checking to what degree they agreed with my interpretations. I also see this as part of the process of empowering the teachers in the study, through facilitating their reflective action. By acting in a more 'engaged' manner, I have approached the research as someone working *with* the teachers to encourage them to recognise the value of their knowledge and their potential as contributors to change.

4 - 6 - Research Methods

I have chosen to use *interviews* as my main research method (in addition to ethnographic observation and textual analysis), as interviews seem to me to be the most appropriate method of accessing teachers' thinking. My sample group is relatively small and the questions are relatively 'open', allowing in-depth analysis, and (relative) flexibility in terms of questions asked and the nature of replies encouraged. These characteristics are fairly typical of *qualitative* interviews (Silverman, 2000: 3,7), and contrast with a *quantitative* approach which would usually work with a large sample, stressing regularity in the form of questions, and trying to limit the possible replies, in an attempt to provide data which can be categorised unambiguously.

The 'unstructured' interview, which has the appearance of a free-flowing conversation between researcher and participant:

> is now used widely in educational research generally and in teacher research more particularly [and] has distinct advantages for the teacher-researcher working within a known culture with fellow professionals. (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989: 163)

One of the advantages is that the more spontaneous the speech is, the more revealing it is likely to be. Tightly controlled sets of questions, which aim to limit the range of possible answers, obviously pre-condition the kind of responses given. The closer you come to natural conversation the more likely it is that participants will express themselves 'in their own words' (May, 2001:111). These kinds of responses may suggest meanings that were unanticipated by the researcher (op cit: 112), or may reveal what the researcher originally wanted to know but might be difficult to elicit through a 'straight' question. The more equal relationship between researcher and participant produces an atmosphere in which the interviewee feels able to reveal more personal information than they might otherwise do (Hitchcock & Hughes:163).

I have wanted to take advantage of these benefits, but also to have a degree of structure to allow more rigorous comparison between data. For this reason I have used *semi-structured* interviews, where there is a pre-written list of questions (see Appendix I) which is used with all interviewees. However, if I felt that a certain area needs 'probing' (in response for example to unexpected information or insights) I had the flexibility to leave the strict order of the list and ask additional questions. If it seemed appropriate at certain points in the interview, in order to follow the 'flow' of the conversation, I asked questions out of order or in a modified form. This format allows a more hermeneutic approach: introducing new questions when new information or insights arise. This approach, therefore, has the advantage of using a structure which allows effective comparison of data, but on the other hand it encourages spontaneity and a degree of trust and openness. With the teachers being in a position of more equal power and status with me, there is also more *rapport* and so more honest and fuller answers (see Ethics section above).

Unstructured interviews, however, are clearly still *interviews*, so I reminded participants that what they say is not just part of 'a chat' but will be used in the research. Doing this reduced the chance that interviewees would feel they had been 'tricked' in to revealing too much. The format also allowed participants to ask their own questions, making the research more democratic.

Another advantage of the semi-structured interview was that it allowed for more effective studying of 'reflective' behaviours that can take place within the interview, i.e. when it seemed that the interviewee is 'thinking over' a question as they tried to answer it. In this case I had the chance to follow the development of their thoughts and to encourage them in this reflection – we could engage with each other in a more *dialogic* manner. One of my key assumptions has been that teachers' theories have to be understood dynamically. To take an 'detached' stance, in which I 'just ask the questions' would involve a misunderstanding. In fact it is *through* dialogue that theories are constructed. The interview can represent a crucial moment in the reflective evolution of the teachers' thinking – in much the same way that discussions with colleagues, mentors or 'critical friends' could nudge them towards new understandings. In the case that a teacher has been reflecting on a particular problem, discussing it can lead to new insights:

> dialogue ... [is] a form of collaborative meaning-making ... it is by attempting to make sense with and for others that we make sense for ourselves (Wells, 2000: 58)

In terms of the actual questions to be asked, a number of writers recommend the use of questions about concrete events (Carspecken, 1996: 156; Cooper & McIntyre, 1996: 37; Alasuutari,1998: 147). In a study concerned with 'the thinking that underlies teachers' and pupils' classroom activities' (Cooper & McIntyre, 1996: 36) the researchers used this method for distinguishing between:

> responses which represent such thinking, and responses which are *post hoc* rationalisations of behaviour ... or expressions of espoused rather than practised thinking (ibid).

For this reason I have included questions about particular classroom experiences. These questions were designed to exploit the kind of structures of memory and recall underlying Roy's theory of 'cognitive interviewing' (Roy, 1991), in that 'accurate recall can often depend on the pursuit of idiosyncratic connection' (Cooper & McIntyre, 1996: 37). Thus, focussing on particular events in the classroom has provided access to underlying *theories-in-use*. In addition, this can also provide a cue to discuss their more *espoused* theories. Other types of question focus on concrete situations outside the

classroom – for example their first-hand knowledge of the Greek community in London. There are also more 'abstract' questions - included precisely to explore espoused theories.

The ethnographic aspect of this research has meant I have conducted informal observations, serving as background knowledge. I have been able to draw on these experiences and my own teaching experience in the community schools in helping to formulate questions. Being a qualified teacher from Greece, I also have an insight into the educational system which the teachers have come from and will return to, and so this experience too has fed into the questions.

This ethnographic experience has served as a resource for *interpretation* of the teachers' responses in the interviews, and as a form of *triangulation*. My knowledge of Greece, teaching experience, insights into the organisation and structure of the schools, the students and their culture, the materials, and so on have provided as basis from which to *check* how their accounts of their beliefs relate to the reality of the classroom, the community and so on.

A further layer to the research is provided by drawing on key texts. I have wanted to see how teachers view the Hellenic schools, interculturalism in Greece and so on, but it is useful to be able to see their assertions about any objective state of affairs in the context of documentary evidence when available. For example, I have looked at the Greek legislation which introduced interculturalism as state education policy. I have also used some texts from the Greek Department of Education concerned with the organisation of the seminars which teachers attend before being sent to work in schools in the Diaspora. The purpose of using texts such as these, as well as newspapers, policy documents, books and other materials about the Hellenic schools, is to provide another form of triangulation, and to provide greater contextualisation for the interview data. In addition this contextualisation gives more information to allow better explanations of what teachers say: the process of interpretation is helped by having more data to draw on. A

final source of text is the internet, where there is currently an internet forum for Greek community school teachers based in the UK.

4 - 7 - Approach to Interpretation and Analysis

The question of analysis and interpretation of research data is extremely important when working within a qualitative framework, since we examine relatively unstructured data 'in depth'. Following phenomenological and post-modern approaches to the analysis of interview data (see, e.g. Gadamer, 1975, Gubrium & Holstein, 1997) I do not believe that language is 'transparent', but rather requires analytic work to reliably bring out meaning.

My approach to initial analysis of qualitative interview data has been to group the data according to different references made or themes employed. Hitchcock and Hughes (1989: 174) describe the first stage of this process as one of familiarisation with the transcripts (by reading and re-reading), and then to start to isolate 'general units of meaning', such as "teachers' perceptions of teaching, attitudes towards the underlying philosophy of the syllabus, ... views on the children involved' (op cit: 174). This kind of coding is, by its nature, subjective, and for this reason 'peer debriefers' are useful to check to plausibility of the coding (see also Huberman and Miles (1998: 187) and Carspeken (1996: 148)).

At the early stages, my aim was to focus on the categories used by the participants (drawing on the methods of ethnomethodology). Having generated some initial categories, however, I wanted to focus on those areas which form the core of my research: teachers' theories and practice concerning bilingual and bicultural pedagogy, and data connected with reflective practice. As key concerns and themes emerge I focussed on particular sections of the transcript for more detailed analysis. In line with the hermeneutic orientation of this study, as new interviews brought up new concerns I shifted my focus to bring these areas into the study. An example is my recognition of the

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importance of teachers' biographies in understanding their present theories, leading me to a greater focus on narrative.

4 - 7.1 - <u>Horizon Analysis</u>

Throughout the analysis I have looked for areas of agreement or disagreement between the participants, to try to build up a picture of similarities in the theories of the teachers as a group. I wanted to uncover what, in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions, are called subjects' 'horizons of intelligibility' (Carspecken, 1996: 103). The approach to doing this is known as 'horizon analysis' (Silverman, 2000: 33; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 146). We can only understand an idea 'against a horizon from which that idea is brought forth' (Carspeken, 1996: 103). Thus, where in speech an explicit idea, or claim, is asserted ('foregrounded') there will be a range of *assumptions* upon which this claim rests, or associated with it, which we can say form its 'background'. An example might be a comment like: 'I was really surprised when I had to do most of the lesson in English.' The teacher's surprise is foregrounded: it was remarkable to her that Greek-community children in London could not easily speak Greek in her class! A number of background assumptions could be hypothesised, such as: she initially expected most Diaspora-community children to have some Greek fluency; or, she thought language classes were generally conducted in the target language.

Horizon analysis aims for a 'fusion' of horizons between the researcher and the subject of research (Gadamer, 1975). While pre-conceptions are initially bracketed to try to see the categories participants are using with fresh eyes, at this point in the analysis we have to employ pre-understandings to attempt an *empathetic* understanding of what the subject thinks, believes and feels (Scott & Usher, 1999: 28/9). We try to 'fit' the kinds of assumptions we interpret in the data with assumptions of our own, or that we are aware of. Here, a lot depends on the researcher's understanding of the culture she is dealing with: 'our recognition of relevant cultural typifications is contingent upon our familiarity with the culture of our subjects' (Carspecken, 1996: 99). This is one reason why I am in a good position to carry out the analysis: as a native Greek, who also

teaches in the community schools, I share a great deal of the cultural understandings and local knowledge of the teachers, and 'culture' of the teachers as a group.

At this level of analysis I am concerned with the kinds of understandings which have been described as 'implicit theories' or 'tacit knowledge' (Carspecken, 1996: 117/8; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 299). This can cover specific situational and experiential knowledge (op cit: 299): 'largely unarticulated, contextual understanding[s]' (op cit: 297). I have attempted to 'reconstruct' (op cit: 119) these theories, but clearly this kind of 'reconstruction' is highly subjective. However, this is done with a very heavy reliance on context: examples of tacit theories identified in one teacher's discourse are likely to be repeated by her elsewhere. To build up a picture of certain tacit theories being common between the teachers clearly requires a number of examples strongly suggesting their existence. They have been checked with the teachers for confirmation, modification or refutation.

4 - 7.2 - Discourse & Narrative Analysis

According to Alasuutari (1998):

> by making use of different methods such as semiotics, narrative analysis, rhetoric or different forms of discourse analysis, we make observations about the interview data as a whole. How do the participants ... co-construct and negotiate their roles [or] definitions of the situation ...? What frames, discourses, 'interpretative repertoires' are invoked, and what functions do they serve?' (Alasuutari, 1998.150)

This kind of pragmatic approach means taking an 'active' attitude to methods rather than 'passively receiving the 'correct, universally applicable' methodologies' (Kincheloe, 2003: 249). From my point of view, the attempt to make reconstructions of tacit theories held by teachers is aided by drawing on the resources of discourse analysis and narrative analysis.

The term *discourse analysis* has a wide range of meanings (Cameron, 2001: 9). As I have said above, Conversation Analysis is not the approach I have wanted to use for discourse analysis: its focus on looking at conversation is at odds with my primary aim, to investigate the views and knowledge of teachers. Furthermore, the very close analysis

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of minute details of transcripts in CA is not appropriate for my material – which is translated from Greek to English. Thus I am using broadly Foucaultian-inspired versions of discourse analysis and narrative analysis, methods more suited to both my subject and to the use of translated materials.

Foucault developed concepts such as *institutional discourses* or *professional gazes* (Gubrium & Holstein, 1996: 121), which describe not only a vocabulary typical of a particular institution or professional group, but also the limits within which members are capable of conceptualising or 'seeing' reality. The effects of such discourses can be particularly seen when they 'intersect', for example over questions of definition (in the courtroom, for example, a social worker may clash with a judge in their understanding of what constitutes deviance, disability, criminality, etc (e.g. is the defendant 'mentally ill' or 'a criminal')). A wide range of discourses can be identified, through which subjects are 'constructed' (op cit: 41).

Another approach associated with postmodernism is the analysis of *narratives*. According to Richardson,

> Participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationships to each other (1990: 24)

We have a range of narrative resources at our disposal as ways of understanding / describing social reality (Seale, op cit: 213, and we employ considerable 'artfulness' in using available narratives, metaphors and so on to make sense of reality.

By examining interview data, I want to see to what extent discourses of multicultural pedagogy can be identified, for example of approaches such as *interculturalism* or *cultural pluralism*. However, I do not want to push the Foucaultian interpretation too far: I am not making claims about teachers being determined by discourses; instead, discourse can be seen as 'narrative resources' - for describing experience or viewpoint. I want to be sensitive to the details of teachers' apparent use of such discourses, and the degree to which they construct a 'local discourse', by trying to ensure that the totality of

their comments on a particular subject are taken into account, and trying to describe how consistent or inconsistent what they say is as a group.

In another sense I've also wanted to focus on the *developing* nature of the teachers' theories. Thus there is also a *narrative* in that the teachers move from initial assumptions, through a reflective process, towards more developed understandings. This shift in understanding takes place as a result of a shift in position from Greece to the UK: new experiences in the Community School classroom form a basis upon which they can reconstruct their theories. So through a narrative form I try to show teachers' theories in a more dynamic light – one interconnected with their experiences over time.

4 - 7.3 - **Employing Typologies & Analysing Reflection**

As I have said above, the ideas of 'discourses' or 'narrative resources' can inform the reconstruction of 'tacit theories', or whatever term we choose to describe the contents of interviewees' meaning horizons, from the transcripts. While I have built from the teachers own (emic) categories, I have also tried to see where their talk connects with *dominant and marginal ways of conceiving multicultural pedagogy*. There are a number of typologies of multicultural pedagogy which have been delineated in academic texts, legislation and policy documents, and I have constructed one drawing on Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), distinguishing between: assimilationism, liberal multiculturalism, cultural pluralism and radical / critical multiculturalisms (Chapter 2). Similarly I have identified a range of positions in the debate on bilingualism and language teaching (e.g. views of additive or subtractive bilingualism, communicative language-teaching approaches or more tradition grammar-oriented ones). I have tried to see how well teachers' theories sit with one or other of these positions.

In this attempt I have wanted to clearly distance myself from an overtly 'cognitivist' position[18]. I am not starting from an assumption that teachers attend teacher-training courses, or read particular texts, swallow particular theoretical positions whole, and then

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[18] Craib talks of the prevalent sociological assumption that 'cognition dominates people's lives', that 'we only have ideas and those ideas come from the outside world, from the social world. We take them in and act on them' (Craib, 1998: 1-2).

proceed to teach strictly on this basis. Rather, in a similar way to Giddens (1979), I believe that when we act, there are different 'levels' to the decision-making process: 'an unconscious, a taken-for-granted framework of meaning, commonsense, and ongoing reflexive rationalisation' (Craib, 1998: 68). As mentioned above, discussions of teachers' theories tend to distinguish between more explicit 'espoused theories' and more implicit 'theories-in-use'. I explore the complex manner in which these theories develop through reflection – how their practice in a new environment shapes their theories at both these explicit and implicit levels and how, for example through dialogue, theories can become more explicit, can further develop, can become more critical.

Teachers' theories-in-use (their 'craft knowledge') should be based on certain assumptions. For example, if a teacher believes it is better to put more emphasis on speaking and listening than on reading and writing in language-learning, there may be an assumption that acquisition happens more quickly when there is an emphasis on speaking and listening, or perhaps that oral and aural skills are more useful to her students than reading and writing. This does not have to mean that this teacher is fully aware of Krashen's theory of natural stages in language-learning (which has influenced communicative methodologies). On the other hand she might consciously talk about these kinds of 'meta-theories'. It's also possible, of course, that a teacher's actual practice does not 'fit' with their 'espoused' theoretical position. I have looked for evidence of 'theories' across this spectrum: from the more explicit to the more implicit. I have tried to identify the degree to which the explicit theories have affinities with particular discourses, and to reconstruct implicit theories looking for patterns that emerge.[19]

I have looked to build up a picture of the degree to which teachers are 'reflective' in their practice. This implies a recognition of the dynamic nature of knowledge. By interviewing some teachers at the beginning of their stay in the UK, and some towards

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[19] . It seems to be the experience of a number of researchers working within the discourse analysis paradigm that there is a gradual recognition of a discourse / discourses common to the particular 'community' being analysed (e.g. Smith's recognition of a 'mothering' discourse when studying parents at a Toronto school (Smith, 2002: 29) or Frazer's identification of 'individualistic' and 'class-aware' discourses among girls at an English public school (Frazer,1992: 90-112)).

the end, I have been able to put together evidence from how teachers use narrative resources, looking at their accounts of their changes in thinking and practice, particularly around any 'critical incidents' (Soler, Craft, Burgess, 2001: 71), and connecting the accounts of newer and more experienced teachers.

The interview process itself can also contribute to the reflective process: interviewees being listened to intensely reflect and reveal themselves 'in more detail than ever before' (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). This is also an aspect of the democratic agenda of this research, by facilitating teachers in their own development. Following Alain Tourraine (1981), I believe I can play a part in helping the participants to a greater awareness of their position in struggles for social and cultural development, and can help to 'push the group towards critical self-reflection' (Alusuutari, 1998: 89/90). This approach is in the tradition of critical theorists such as Mannheim, C. Wright Mills, and Horkheimer, who saw social research as an active social institution rather than a passive 'observer' (Alusuutari, 1998: 88). It is also in the tradition of action research in seeing 'the ultimate purpose of knowledge and research [as being] its ability to *change* social reality' (op cit: 89).

A final issue in the analysis of interview data is how the data can be connected to the 'wider world'. From a 'critical' perspective (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994; Carspecken, 1996) there is an influence of social structures on the workings of the school, so we should attempt to bring in 'macro-sociological' analysis when we try to understand what happens there: 'structures, by providing the means, media, rules and resources available to enable or coerce action, will engender tendencies towards certain courses of action' (Porter, 2002:66). This kind of understanding of the role of social structure is not crudely deterministic.

I do not wish to overplay the influence of social structure on the teachers, but I do want to note the importance of their situation in the policy process. Teachers stand at the intersection of policy and practice. This makes them clearly subject to determining power relations, but also provides scope for their empowerment. Policy cannot always

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demonstrate, on the part of those who drew it up, the same level of detailed local knowledge as the teachers – those who are necessary to put that policy into practice. This study will need to account for teachers' views on policy and organisation: the degree to which they accept or reject the view of the teacher as 'mere deliverer' of policy; what they consider to be the best form of organisation of schools. They are well placed to comment, as most of the teachers work in several different schools on different days of the week, and can provide information about a large number of schools.

4 - 7.4 – The Use of Texts

As has been mentioned, the research draws certain texts, mainly to use them as material to contextualise interview data and as a form of triangualtion. I have looked at texts from both Greece and the UK such as policy documents, legislation (i.e. those referring to interculturalism), curricula, other studies of the Hellenic community schools, and so on, in a critical manner, trying to place them in their socio-political and historical contexts. One reason for looking at such documents is as a reference point for when teachers refer to them in interview, in order to better understand teachers' perceptions of them. Another reason is to help provide a 'thicker' description of the context within which the teachers operate, and also make myself better informed, allowing me to tighten the focus of the questions I have asked and of my analysis of the interview data. This contextualisation from texts includes information about the training teachers have, the curricula of the schools and so on. These data obviously play a role in validating the research, but the burden of validity is internal, based on the quality of the approach to the interview material.

4 - 8 - Conclusion

In sum then, I have adopted a qualitative methodological approach, mainly based around interviews. I have analysed the data in the context of discourses derived from the field of multicultural pedagogy, but with extreme sensitivity to teachers' 'narrative resources', and based on the assumption that their own understandings are extremely rich in terms of local knowledge and tacit understanding. I have wanted to strike a balance between attention to 'fine-grained' detail, and acknowledgement of 'macro-sociological' factors bearing on the reality of teachers and students. I have attempted to ensure validity through purposive sampling, by trying to build rapport, by openness about my methods and data, and by revealing deviant cases. I have taken an ethical stance by treating the teachers as participants rather than subjects, giving feedback and thinking carefully about the impact of the research on their lives.

Chapter 5   Changing Roles, Changing Theories: Analysing Teachers' Theories & Practices

The analysis will be divided into two sections: **Part I** (Chapter 5) and **Part II** (Chapter 6). In this first part, I will focus on *what* the teachers' theories are, in the second on the *reflective nature* of those theories.

My approach to analysing the teachers' theories has developed following a hermeneutic pattern. My starting point was the hypothesis that by shifting position, from majority in Greece to minority in the UK, the teachers would come to a deeper understanding of the needs of minority communities and of approaches to teaching them. Next I conducted a *pilot study*, making an initial analysis of three interviews (for original Pilot study see Appendix IX). What I found was that, while my early assumptions were confirmed, my thinking was also *modified* and *moved forward*. The picture was beginning to take a firmer shape – but it was one with some unexpected contours.

My initial concern had been more with the interrelationship of three sets of factors:
* the nature of teachers' theories
* links between these theories and discourses of multicultural pedagogy
* teachers' developing local knowledge

What became more clear as a result of the pilot study was how *a process of reflective development* was *interwoven* between these elements. Under the new conditions of the Greek Community Schools, the teachers' theories began to develop, and I could see that this was happening in a reflective manner. Moreover their developing theories largely converged around 'strong', *intercultural* understandings of multicultural pedagogy. A further point was that these 'stronger' approaches to pedagogy seemed to be rooted in a reflective process influenced not only by the new conditions, but in some cases by previous events in the teachers' biographies. Thus a stronger emphasis on exploring the *dynamic* nature of these teachers' theories, and on understanding this *reflective process*, has given a particular direction to the analysis. Part I (Chapter 5) focuses on *what* the teachers' theories *are*, but also follows a broadly chronological structure tracing how the

theories and practices evolve; while Part II (Chapter 6) focuses more explicitly on *how* their theories change, and what *kind* of teachers they become.

The key questions for **Part I** of the analysis, therefore, are:

o To what extent is there a *shift* from the set of assumptions and values gathered from their experience in mainstream schools in Greece to new understandings influenced by their experiences in the Community Schools?

o How does any shift in their theories relate to discourses of multiculturalism? To what extent is there a rejection of transmission and assimilationist models in favour of 'strong' – interculturalist, transformative or critical – forms of multicultural pedagogy?

o To what extent is there convergence between the teachers' developing theories? Do they construct a 'local discourse'?

o To what extent do the teachers see any new understandings as relevant to Greece?

While the key questions for **Part II** are:

o What is the *process* of reflection in this context?

o Which factors serve to promote or limit reflection in this setting?

o To what extent do teachers' theories concerning multicultural pedagogy derive from experiences and reflection here; to what extent from their previous experiences as teachers, students, etc (their biographies)

o At what levels does reflection take place? To what extent is reflection collective, critical, etc?

o What 'model' of the teacher emerges: 'competent', 'reflective', 'reflexive'?

o To what extent, as teachers become more reflective, do they also advocate more critical, transformative approaches to multicultural pedagogy?

o Given the preceding analysis, are these teachers in a suitable position to contribute to the policy-making and research processes for the Community Schools or the Greek mainstream?

5 - 0 - Introduction to Analysis Part I

5 - 0.1 - Structure of the Analysis

In this chapter I will divide the analysis into three parts:

5 - 1 - Initial Experiences & Developing Local Knowledge

5 - 2 - Developing Practices & Theories

5 - 3 - Changing Beliefs about Greece

● 5 – 1 Starting from teachers' *initial experiences* the analysis moves on to how teachers broaden their *local knowledge* - we could say how they 'research' the backgrounds of the students and the community. We examine the common experience of 'shock' which most of the teachers have when shifting position from being mainstream teachers in Greece to working in the Community Schools in the UK, challenging some of their deeply-held assumptions. These initial experiences prompt a series of questions for the teachers as to how they can meet the new demands placed on them by this environment. This leads the teachers to try to understand more – to 'research' their students and their backgrounds - for example about their use of Greek outside the class, about their motivation and learning style, about their community and so on.

● 5 – 2 Next we will turn to teachers' *developing practices* and *developing theories*.

Drawing on this local knowledge, the teachers begin to modify their practices inside the classroom: there is a reflective process involving the development of the teachers' theories as well as the development of their practices.

Analysis of the interview data indicates how their theories develop over this time. Commonalities between these theories allow us to talk of a *local discourse* constructed by the teachers. There is also a *critical* aspect to the teachers' discourse, showing an

awareness of how socio-economic or political factors bear on the lives of their students (through assimilationist pressures in British society, for example).

● 5 – 3 Finally, therefore, I will draw links between teachers' knowledge of the Community Schools in the UK, and their normative beliefs *about what should happen in Greece* in terms of multicultural pedagogy. A holistic picture is built up of the reflective process. Teachers' previous biographies are considered - especially experience with multicultured students before coming to the UK. I give an account of the reflective circle experienced in the community schools, starting with the most concrete and local knowledge and moving towards more abstract and critical beliefs, but ones to an extent grounded in the experience of the community schools.

5 - 0.2 - The teachers

Before moving on to the main sections of the analysis, it is necessary to introduce the teachers interviewed for the study. Eight teachers were interviewed, as well as the Coordinator of the Cypriot *Apostoli*. In addition, I draw on my own experiences as a 'participant observer'.

All the teachers I have interviewed come from Greece, although Viki was originally from the Diasporic community in America - New York to be precise (Pavlides, the Coordinator, is from Cyprus). Thus, one important feature narrowing down the focus of the research is the link with the Greek mainland. Through engaging with the process of analysis I have been keenly aware of the importance of both the similarities, and the differences, in the backgrounds of the teachers. In this section, then, I will give a brief introduction to each teacher. I will start with one that is more typical of the Community School teachers as a whole: Agni.

- As with a number of the interviewees. *Agni* originally came to the UK as a student - to complete a Masters degree in Computing and Education. This link with higher education is typical of the teachers - many come initially to study here (often at Masters' level),

while others are given a teaching position here first and then begin further studies. We should also note that, apart from those teachers appointed by the Greek or Cypriot governments, a large number of teaching staff are drawn from postgraduate Greek and Cypriot students in the UK. Thus there is an unusually high level of educational attainment for a Community School teaching body in the Greek Schools.

Agni's previous experience was in schools in mainland Greece. Although she had never taught a class dominated by minority-community students before coming here, she did have some experience with first-generation Albanian students in Athens (which is a common experience for teachers in Greece, as Albanians are the most significant immigrant group). The familiarity with this community is typical amongst the teachers I interviewed, and provides a concrete memory on which to draw when discussing the prospects for multicultural pedagogy in Greece.

- *Michalis* is also a qualified teacher from mainland Greece. In common with Agni, his spouse is also a teacher in the Community Schools (in fact she worked for some time in the St Cyprian school: a full-time 'religious' school in Croydon, funded by the British state, and with a student body comprising mainly, but not exclusively, students with a Greek Orthodox background). He also came to the UK initially as a student, and completed a Masters degree here. In Greece, however, he worked primarily in the Ministry of Education, and has only limited experience in mainstream classrooms. Even so, his teaching practice did give him some experience with a small number of minority students - again Albanian.

- *Evangelia* again is studying for her Masters here in London, and has substantial experience in Greek mainstream classrooms. She has been a key-player in a number of funded projects using information technology in language-learning and intercultural understanding (for example an international project in the run-up to the Olympics). She also runs the internet forum for Community School teachers in the UK.

- *Costas* has had substantial teaching experience in Greece with some experience teaching bilingual Albanian and Russian community students in a school in Pireaus. In addition he was head of a Community School in Switzerland. He has also studied to Masters level while here.

- *Jorgeos* has recently become head of the full-time official Greek school in London. Before teaching in the Community Schools here he had worked for 12 years in an experimental 'Intercultural' school in Athens. He also worked on a project with the Catholic minority on the island of Syros, and has been involved in a project designing history material for minority-community students in Greece. He is presently working on a Masters degree in Intercultural education.

- *Viki*, as mentioned, was actually born and brought up in the US, and worked in the Intercultural school in Athens. She learned both Greek and English from childhood and attended Greek Community School in New York. She regularly visited Greece in her childhood, completed a degree in literature in Athens, and a Masters in the US. She is now settled in London and teaches in the Community Schools (one of which has been the state-sector primary school, St. Cyprian, in Croydon).

- *Aristides* again is a qualified teacher from Greece. He is involved in research for a Masters degree, and has been looking at teachers' attitudes towards course books. He wants to present these ideas at meetings of the Greek teachers here, and is keen to promote new attitudes towards class materials, moving away from an approach based on a single class text.

- *Eleni* did not teach in Greece before coming to the UK, and had spent 10 years here at the time of her interview. She studied Music Education here and taught in some mainstream schools before starting to work both in the state-sector Greek school, St. Cyprian, as well as in evening and weekend Community Schools. At the same time she has completed a PhD analysing theories of culture as they relate to music and to education.

- *Pavlides* is the Coordinator for the Greek Cypriot *Apostoli*, the office in charge of Greek-Cypriot teachers in the UK. He was previously a Community School teacher, and for the past 13 years has worked in the Coordinator's position, liaising with the schools, organising in-service training for the Greek-Cypriot teachers, and so forth.

In sum, then, the teachers have two basic commonalties in terms of their experience: they teach in the Community Schools here; and most have taught in Greece. In addition they are all highly qualified. Having said this, there are also important differences, including a greater or lesser amount of time spent with minority-community students in Greece, and the experience of living and/or working in a third country - such as Switzerland or the USA.

Finally, I need to reiterate the role my own experience and position play in the research. I too have qualified as a teacher in Greece, and have taught classes with Albanian students there. I have worked in a number of the Community Schools here, and I too have studied for a Masters degree in Education while here.

5 - 1 - Initial Experiences and Developing Local Knowledge

In the following section we will examine teachers' initial impressions of the community schools. They come to the UK with certain assumptions and expectations. In terms of their 'theories-in-use' all the teachers have experience teaching in Greece. While some teachers have significantly more experience with minority students than others, others have previous experiences with community schools.

Teachers entering the new environment of the community schools experience certain shocks, or 'critical incidents': there is a contradiction between such pre-existing assumptions, and the new reality. What will be described here is the nature of these incidents, and how these lead teachers to try to find out more about their students - to conduct informal 'research'. In the section after this (5 - 2), we will see how the teachers start to modify their practice based on these experiences and the local knowledge they have gained.

5 - 1.1 - Language: In the Class and at Home

Michalis: In the first lesson my opinion changed completely about the community, and the Greeks who live abroad. I gave them three words: 'priest', 'pray' and 'Sunday' because these words were included in the lesson. I gave them these three words to make their own sentence using them. The answer one student gave me was: 'O papas lalei [Cypriot] sto Church tin prosefhi' [the priest intones/sings (lalei) in the church the prayer]. It's not Greek, it's not Cypriot, it's not English - it's a mixture of the three.

Demitrius: In the beginning I tried to do everything in the ways we do it in Greece: in a systematic way. I had a fierce reaction. They didn't want to work in this way at all.

Effie: When you first went in the classroom ... did you think you'd face this kind of situation, or did you expect they'd want to learn the language?

Agni: I panicked. I saw that I'd have to speak English all the time, and wondered if my English would be good enough, especially for the GCSE students.

Costas: The problem is there are lot of different levels in the same class. Some children are more competent than others - I'm always dealing with mixed-ability classes.

Michalis: They usually can't have functional use of language, even at a basic level.

The preceding quotations reveal the teachers' initial expectations when starting to teach in the Community Schools. Agni says 'I panicked. I saw that I'd have to speak English all the time', suggesting a tacit pre-assumption that Greek would be the medium of instruction in the language classes. From this we can reconstruct an assumption that communities in the Greek Diaspora either use Greek as their medium of communication, or that members generally have Greek as a functioning second language (i.e. that the form of diglossia (Fishman, 1972, 1980; Baker, 1996) in these communities is one in which Greek plays a reasonably strong role[20]).

Agni comments further:

Agni: In the beginning I couldn't understand how someone can understand you and reply in English ... The older teachers, who lived here [Cypriots], said: they understand you - talk to them in Greek. So I asked [myself] - how will I know the level? What do they understand from what I say?

Agni: [When the] parents speak English ... their only familiarity with the language [is because of] the grandparents ... They speak English outside and inside the home.

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[20] Fishman (1980) argues that 'bilingualism' should refer to the individual ability to use two languages, while 'diglossia' refers to the use of two languages in a society. He argues that where diglossia and bilingualism exist together the two languages will be used for different functions - for example the minority language used at home and for social activities within the community, while the majority language is used in the school and in business. While Fishman uses the term at a societal level, it seems reasonable to assert that 'diglossia' can also exist within a community, where the community language is used for different functions from the majority language. Agni certainly seems to use it in this sense, as, at one point, she states: 'Now I understand diglossia - that they speak another language in their home. That's why they don't have oral ability in Greek.' (She literally uses the term since it is a Greek word: di - two, glossia - tongues/languages.)

There are some that speak Greek at home, sometimes one of the parents speaking Greek at home, one speaking English. In this case they don't speak in the school, but understand. And there are those who both speak and understand.

Having been 'panicked' by her students' lack of Greek (having had a 'critical incident') it becomes clear that she has subsequently done informal research on the question of what form of diglossia does exist in the community. She distinguishes three 'categories': those who understand little Greek, as they speak English at home with both parents (although contact with grandparents may involve some Greek); those who have one parent speaking Greek to them (and thus can understand effectively); and those who speak Greek at home, and are thus effective Greek speakers in the class. The point here is that Agni draws out the *differentiated* nature of language use within the community, and therefore a highly differentiated pattern of linguistic ability within the class. As she goes on to say, 'all these categories could be in the same class'.

She then draws a conclusion: 'that's why the use of English is sometimes necessary'. Here we see, in microcosm, the relevance of teachers' local knowledge in a multicultural setting. After having attended seminars in Greece to prepare her for the Community Schools, Agni still experiences a disjuncture between her expectations (which as we shall see later are mirrored by assumptions built into the materials and held by policy-makers), and the reality she finds on the ground. And this reality turns out, after a period of informal research, to be far from simple. However, equipped with this new knowledge, the teacher is able to make assertions about the correct pedagogic approach.

Costas agrees with the point about different categories of students being in the same class, what he describes as a difference of 'level', or as 'some children [being] more competent than others'. He makes an additional point, however, by noting that many students learn the Cypriot *dialect* at home (while standard Greek is taught in the schools), and that this too can impede comprehension.

Costas: There is a difference in dialect; the oral communication can be difficult. I've tried, and I've learned a lot about the Cypriot dialect, to make things work.

Effie: What about Switzerland?

Costas: Here was my first experience - in Switzerland we spoke Greek only [i.e. not Cypriot dialect].

Thus, not only are there differences between the amount of Greek spoken at home, there are also different *types* of Greek spoken[21]. The pedagogic implication Costas has drawn is the importance of the teacher acquiring some of the dialect, in order to 'make things work'.

The quote from Michalis concerning his lesson can be read as a summary of both Agni's and Costas' points about students' linguistic profiles, and of their recommendations for practice. In this particular group of students, three forms of language are in use - sometimes together.

The excerpts we have discussed here highlight the differences between classroom settings in multicultural societies. At this point we focus exclusively on language, rather than emphasising cultural differences. The quotations imply that it is difficult for policy makers, materials writers and teacher training institutions to adequately predict the precise combination of factors teachers will encounter in a given setting. And it is precisely the *local* knowledge of the teachers which is demonstrated here (local both in spatial and temporal terms, as forms of diglossia can change with each new generation (Paulston, 1992: 14)). The discourse the teachers employ is one which emphasises the possible complexity of language use within the community. In this sense it has much in common with Hornberger's (2002) notion of 'continua of biliteracy' (see Appendix IV). For example the *'content of biliteracy'* concerns the variations of language use within a particular setting of minority or majority languages, and the degree to which the language(s) used are more vernacular or more literary. Thus we see that:

- both the minority (Greek) and majority (English) languages are used in the schools

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[21] Standard ('Demotic') written Greek is taught in the Community Schools – differing from the *spoken* Cypriot dialect.

- there is variation in the use of Greek within the community: the dominant version of Greek *spoken* by the students is vernacular (Greek-Cypriot dialect), while that *taught* is more literary (standard Greek)

The teachers' analysis is backed up by research carried out in Haringey, North London, in 1980. At that time there were estimated to be around 80,000 Greek speakers in London (CLE/LMP, 1985: 41), with the highest concentration of Greek-Cypriots in Haringey (op cit: 40). As regards the patterns of language use among the Greek-Cypriot population, the survey found:

> The proportion of [couples] where both members used Greek all or most of the time ... represented *the lowest proportion of minority language use for any of the linguistic minorities in London, except Italian speakers.* One in six used only or mostly English, and the other third followed some mixed pattern of language use in which both Greek and English were spoken by both parties, or where one person spoke Greek and the other in English (op cit: 45: emphasis added)

Eight out of ten respondents said that their children 'used only or mostly English when talking to each other' (op cit: 46). Thus, over 20 years ago, there was evidence for language shift between generations - with 51% of parents speaking only Greek to each other, but the majority of children speaking English together. Today, these 'children' (the second generation) would likely be the parents Agni speaks of, many of whom only speak English at home; and their parents (the first generation) would be the grandparents with whom some of today's children still speak Greek.

We can say, then, that the initial experience of teachers has led them to question previous assumptions about the 'language situation' (Baker, 1996: 37) of the Greek community here. In turn, these questions induce teachers to find out more about the students and their use of language.

At this point we turn to how the teachers contextualise the language situation in the classroom, through reference to cultural and identity issues affecting the students.

5 - 1.2 - Language: Cultural and Identity Issues

In order to account for students' difficulties in acquiring Greek, or the difficulties faced in teaching the students, the teachers draw attention to:

- the context: attitudes within the community; assimilationist pressures
- the nature and determinants of motivation;
- the students' learning style.

5 - 1.2.i - Context

Attitudes of Greek Cypriot Students towards Greek Language & Culture

To turn initially to the *attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students*, there is the impression of strong forces tending towards assimilation, and a degree of reticence towards learning the language:

Viki: A lot of Greek Cypriots don't learn the language with a positive attitude; they are 'ambivalent' [in English]. This can have a very bad effect in the learning of the language - the Greek language is going to be hampered

Viki: they think: 'Only my Mum speaks this language; what can I do with this language?' If there was a community or a different attitude here ... I, as a child in America, experienced that. I needed Greek. There was a Greek community.

Agni: I think the children are integrated. I think the education system does integrate them.

Costas: They are completely integrated: they want to look and act like English. In Switzerland the *Greek* elements were more clearly visible.

A number of teachers make the point that students do not feel a pressing *need* to learn the language. Viki, drawing on her own experiences growing up in New York, notes that she felt she *needed* three languages to participate effectively in the world around

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her. But here, essentially, English is all you need. More than that, strong pressures exist both in the street, and in the mainstream school, to use only English. In fact, the situation depicted by the teachers here has many of the features of the process of 'language shift', as described in socio-linguistics literature (e.g. Paulston, 1977; Baker, 1996), in which a community gradually abandons its mother-tongue:

> Typically ... the first generation prefers to speak the non-English tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third claims English as its mother tongue (Thompson,1974: 7).

For the teachers, this process is accelerated by a dismissiveness of linguistic difference in British society as a whole, and in particular the monolinguistic and monocultural pressures exerted in mainstream schools. Eleni argues that commitment to principles of multiculturalism is only cosmetic in the mainstream, and also notes what she sees as a negative attitude towards the St. Cyprian school from the Local Education Authority:

> I think the English system hasn't helped the situation. They talk about equal opportunities but they didn't really mean this rhetoric. I worked for a local education authority, and in this school. And I'm now convinced all of this is just on paper. It doesn't really reflect the reality ... They still have a colonial attitude ... They create all these obstacles to the continued running of this school. They try to find to slightest pretext to close it down ... When we want to do a special celebration they try to find a way to say 'no' - there's a lot of pressure.

Despite the rhetoric of cultural pluralism, officially promoted in mainstream schools, the teachers understand that Greek culture and language are practically invisible in the mainstream. As Evangelia comments: 'I've asked [the students] ... what they do in the English school ... [and] in the GCSE they have Greek history in just three pages.'

Again this picture is backed up by the Haringey survey. On the one hand, for the first generation (i.e. parents in 1980) there was strong support for the idea of mother-tongue maintenance. 94% agreed with the assertion:

> We should make every possible effort to maintain the fullest use of our languages in Britain. (CLE/LMP, 1989: 46)

However, there seemed to be very explicit recognition of the assimilationist pressures the community was under, and the possibility of the kind of 'language shift' socio-linguists talk of. Thus *only 30%* agreed with the proposition:

There is no problem maintaining our languages; they will not die out in Britain. (op cit: 47)

Difference within the Community: Historical & Socio-Economic Contexts

Agni tries to explain this attitude towards maintenance of the Greek language:

The Greek-Cypriots came as immigrants or refugees - they had to survive and to adjust - after being colonial subjects of the English .

Equally, Costas says:

When they came [in 1974] as refugees ... sometimes they were working all day and all night ... [The schools] instead of being seen as an extra support for their learning may have been connected with their parents' negligence and over-work

A large proportion of first generation Cypriots came as refugees and cannot return to their villages due to the Turkish occupation. The same applies to many who came originally as economic migrants from the Northern areas of the island. In addition the majority were from rural backgrounds: a striking contrast to the British urban centres where most were to make their homes (Schools Council, 1970: 70).

The historical and socio-economic context is that, as immigrants/refugees and feeling anxiety about their survival, this community faced great hardship in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s.[22] As first generation migrants they worked hard to gain economic security. Far from feeling equal in status, the second generation experienced strong assimilationist

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[22] There have been several waves of immigration from Cyprus, in particular after independence from Britain (1954) and after the Turkish invasion of the North of the island (1974). According to an account published in 1970 'the Cypriots usually come with the original intention of earning a lot of money and returning home.' (Schools Council, 1970: 71). However, the same text notes the 'long drawn-out political trouble from 1954, with ... accompanying civil violence and economic disruption' (op cit: 70), and clearly after 1974 many Greek Cypriots had been forced out of their homes and villages by the invasion.

Thus, we can see that there have been a number of waves of 'first generation' migrants, primarily throughout the 50s, 60s and 70s; and a mix of reasons for migrating. One has been to escape rural poverty, another has been the forced exile of refugees.

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pressures. As a result, according to this account, many second-generation Cypriots rejected the Greek language, attempting instead to integrate and to achieve academically.

One tool which may help to explain this is Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1971, 1977). The habitus of a certain group is its dispositions - the habits of mind, typical 'tastes', expectations, and so forth (Bourdieu, 1971). The habitus of a particular group can be invested with *cultural* capital, which will ultimately act as a key to academic and economic success. Thus children equipped with a good grasp of standard English, with parents who can give them knowledge of aspects of the dominant culture, who instil in them a strong interest in education, are likely to provide their children with a solid foundation for academic success in an educational system in which there is:

> the assertion ... of one set of arbitrary cultural forms and preferences by the powerful people who 'own' and practise them above other sets which they perceive - and encourage *their* owners to perceive - as inferior forms. (Moore, 2000: 98)

Due to the poor fit between their parents' habitus and more academically acceptable 'cultural forms, practices and preferences' (op cit: 98), as Viki says, 'the students don't all feel comfortable for everyone to know ... that they are different from all the others'.

For Michalis:

> the children who have made a considered decision are better in both schools: they think, '... I speak English. I know there is a relation of my family to Greece. I like the language and I want to learn it.' They have a positive attitude ... [they] go to the English schools and learn English, and later go to English universities with good grades. But at the same time they speak Greek and have very strong bonds with Greece, and they don't have any problem to use positively this part of their identity in their personality. The kids that don't clearly know, or kid themselves that they're English, there is the problem. That's what happened with the second generation.

The children who can happily reconcile being both Greek and English feel a certain security in the Greek aspect of their identities, use Greek at home, are intrinsically motivated to improve their mother-tongue in the Community Schools, but also excel in the British academic system.

The Greeks from the mainland can 'afford' the luxury of difference (especially when such difference is largely confined to the private sphere). Their experiences, culture and expectations were quite different from those of Cypriots. Often coming from Athens or other urban areas, they have frequently taken high-status professional jobs, or come to study.

The teachers now teach mostly third generation Greek-Cypriot students. The key question then is: what are the attitudes of the third generation students, and how do their parents influence them?

5 - 1.2.ii - *Motivation*

The numbers of students going to the Community Schools is declining: from one third of children from the Greek-Cypriot community attending in 1988, to 25% in 1996 (Salapatas, 1996). We have seen the kinds of assimilationist pressures acting on the students, which might dissuade them from going. But what constitutes the students motivation *to* attend? According to the teachers:

> Michalis: The motives are related to the attitude to the language: if they see it as a part of the culture and tradition, as an instrument to do better in the school.

> Costas: The family plays a very important role. The teachers have them only 2 to 4 hours a week - they can't do miracles. For learning [the Greek] language the support of the family is needed ... There is [also] the motivation of the exams - A Level and GCSE. They find it important to have these qualifications, so there's this kind of instrumental motivation.

> Viki: When I ask whether students in the schools like Greek, they say 'I want to please my parents'.

Student motivation can be seen to take forms including the 'intrinsic', 'social', 'instrumental' (Pollard, 2002:157/303): doing things for their own sake, to please others,

or as a means to an end. The picture of student motivation given by the teachers, while somewhat complex, is essentially coherent.

For Michalis, 'there are not so many who ... learn Greek because they really want it'. Those who are intrinsically motivated tend to already speak Greek at home. The teachers mostly see *extrinsic* motivation: *firstly*, as a result of pressure from their parents, and *secondly*, the instrumental motivation of passing GCSE or A Level exams.

The first can be explained by the *parents' desire to maintain the community*:

> Agni: The parents see the schools more as communities [parikea], as a space where they'll meet other Greek-Cypriot children - to socialise. They don't want to lose contact with the community.

> Michalis: the motivation comes from the parents, or because [the students] want to make friends. And that's a motive for the parents as well - to keep the community together.

For Michalis some of the attendance originates in fear of 'the other'. The schools are seen as 'a very secure environment'. Paradoxically, there may be an actual *fear of the effects a multicultural society has on their children*. Parents do value the community, and therefore the schools as one of the most important meeting places for that community.

It's worth pausing for a moment here over terminology. If parents or grandparents 'push' them to the schools (Agni), then this is an extrinsic force. However, this 'external' form of motivation may also become internalised to a greater or lesser degree. Thus parental influence is rather complex. On the one hand there is the social and emotional dimension, coming from the students: 'I want to please my parents'. There are also points at which the desires of the parents intersect with those of the students: both value friendship opportunities afforded by the schools. Again, the instrumental motivation of passing exams might be said in some senses to be intrinsic, since this is something students themselves actually want: students may feel that an additional A Level will improve their chances of entering university - a very concrete incentive.

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Parents want their children to mix with other Greek children, seeing the Greek Community as a 'safe' environment. Parents may also desire to strengthen the community itself. Furthermore, the parents may meet their own friends at the schools, enjoying the social aspect for themselves. A final point made by the teachers is that many parents value Greek as a link to the culture and heritage. In sum, then, the main reasons for attending appear to be parental influence, and to take GCSEs or A Levels. Such a motivational profile has significant pedagogic implications (to be explored in a later section).

5 - 1.2.iii - *Learning Style*

Another way in which culture influences language-learning in the Community Schools is the nature of the students' *learning style* and how this relates to the *teaching style* in the mainstream schools. Learning style can be described as the different ways people think and feel as they solve problems, create products, and interact. Bruner (1972) has emphasised the cultural influences on learning, as a correction to an over-emphasis on Piagetian theories of universal patterns of development, and has looked at the social and material environments within which students are socialised (Wells, 2000: 55). The culture of the *school* is an important factor (Pollard, 2002: 153). This culture includes 'the underlying assumptions about learning and knowledge within the school' (op cit, 154). For the teachers in the Community Schools, the students have a particular learning style, partly understandable by reference to teaching styles in the mainstream:

> Michalis: Their [style is] determined by the English school. They're subjects of a specific system ... [In the mainstream] they work with projects and in groups. Here in the Greek schools they are put in a completely different environment, so of course their behaviour is different.

> Costas. because the learning style is different here ... I tried to correspond with this; they're not interested in learning rules, syntax; they're more interested in talking, communicating. The learning style is a product of the teaching styles which are deeply ingrained in the English system. Therefore my teaching style has been influenced by that; I can't use the same approaches that I used in Greece.

These quotations require some interpretation. Michalis and Costas understand the students' learning style to be a product of the mainstream teaching style (rather than being primarily determined by factors such as community culture). The problematic they seem to address is: *why do they behave in a manner so different from my expectations - so differently from children in Greece - in a manner which my previous experience has not equipped me for?* Teachers remark that students misbehave and/or react negatively to the kind of teaching style which is normal in Greece. According to Costas, 'Basically in Greece they are more polite and respectful to the teachers, and the lessons are generally pleasant on account of this. Here, they don't have so much respect'.

For Demitrius, the shock of such a different behavioural culture provoked a critical incident:

> The first year I thought about going back. I had a problem with one student. There are some things you can't tolerate - some insults. But here it is another place - another culture. They see things differently. I've adjusted. That's what I believe: we'll see.

Thus there are aspects of the teaching situation in the community schools for which their previous experience has not fully prepared (although Viki and Costas had previously had experience of educational systems in third countries). In addition to teaching in what is for them a foreign country, the Greek teachers also experience a shift from the mainstream to the supplementary sector. This also has implications for students' attitudes:

> Agni: For them it's something outside school ... [W]e're not exactly teachers. I can't tell them what to do - it's up to them if they're going to work or not.

Key observations that the teachers make from this perspective include:

> Viki: In the Saint Cyprian School they are not taught grammar systematically ... The Australian teachers there ... are also surprised by this lack of knowledge.

> Effie: Here they use stories. They're more relaxed

Agni: Of course they don't learn grammar - it's what they understand from the text.

The teachers' general view seems to be that their knowledge of formal grammar rules falls short of what would be expected of a student in Greece. Furthermore, as Costas says 'they're more interested in talking, communicating.'

One influential approach to *learning style* is the differentiation between 'field dependence' and 'field independence' (Banks, 1988; Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974). The notion of 'field' here refers to *topic* in a 'text' (written or spoken) (Halliday & Hasan, 1976):

> the more speakers are doing things together and engaging in dialogue, the more they can take
> for granted. As language moves away from the *events* that it describes, and the possibility of
> feedback is removed, more and more of the meanings must be made explicit in the text
> (Martin, 1984: 27).

Thus *relational* ('field dependent') learning styles imply more dependence on context for understanding, and a preference for learning with an affective, personalised dimension, while *analytic* ('field independent') styles of learning are typified by an ability to work with abstract ideas and de-contextualised information - an ability to work on tasks with which students have little emotional involvement (Marshall, 2002: 306). Of course such constructs need to be approached with extreme caution because of the dangers of over-generalisation, and thus of racial, class or other forms of stereotyping.

Arguably the learning style of the students in the Community Schools is more field dependent than that which the teachers have been used to in Greece. Another way to say this would be that the teaching style in the British mainstream emphasises induction more, and 'work with projects and in groups' (Michalis) - again a more contextualised approach, as well as more cooperative ('relational' styles are supposed to favour cooperative over individual work (Marshall, op cit)). Two concrete points arise: that students are used to working with a number of books, rather than working through a single textbook (typical in Greece); and English students have little explicit grammatical knowledge. Viki, for example, provides a form of triangulation for this truth-claim, by asserting that Australian colleagues had also commented on this.

This section, then, has made three substantive points: that students from the Greek-Cypriot community (the majority) tend to have an ambivalent attitude towards the language; that motivation to learn Greek tends to be more extrinsic and instrumental, rather than intrinsic; that the learning-style of most students is characterised by a preference for contextualisation, personalisation, learning by example, communication, group-work, project-work, using a variety of materials - that it is more 'field-dependent'. An important conclusion to draw here is that the *local knowledge* of the teachers in this respect provides a solid foundation for the *pedagogic choices* that they make. This connection will be explored more fully below, in the section of pedagogic strategies used and advocated by the teachers.

5 - 1.3 - Culture & Identity

The schools do not only function as places to learn the Greek language. Many schools teach Greek history, and may have classes in Greek dance, music and so on. Furthermore, although the explicit functions of the schools may include language or history teaching, in reality, the teachers argue, the schools also have 'latent' functions (Merton), such as providing a place where the *parents* can meet and socialise. Thus, while language, culture and identity are closely linked, there are some questions which mainly focus on the latter two areas.

Which Culture?

As funding for the Greek and Cypriot teachers comes from their respective states, what happens in the schools is understood to be, in one sense, maintenance of the *Greek Diaspora*. Teachers see language and culture as intrinsically linked and language-learning as contributing to identity formation. Therefore teachers view themselves as having a *responsibility* to educate students about the culture as well as teaching the language:

Costas: These schools are providing language and culture together ... Language and culture go together ... We include all these things about religion, celebrations ... historical events and so on.

In doing this, however, the teachers are faced with *the question of what 'Greek' culture is*? For example Michalis' discourse is reminiscent of Kymlicka's (1989) view of the culture of origin as a *resource* which can empower individuals, making them better able to deal with the choices they face in day-to-day life. He questions the way the locally dominant discourse connects *ancient Greek civilisation* with the heritage of the *Christian Orthodox faith* (the 'ideological assertion ... about *Elleniko-Orthodoxo* civilisation'), and notes how internal conflict in the history of Greece is downplayed.

First teachers gain an understanding of what the local community culture is, as well as what version of Greek culture they are expected to pass on (the two may be different). Through reflection (taking into account also *their own* understandings of Greek culture) the teachers then begin to decide what their pedagogic approach should be (this stage will be discussed below).

Agni stresses the hybrid nature of the students' culture: 'The culture is Anglo-Cypriot'. She uses the Greek term 'teratomorphie' to describe these Cypriot-heritage children - a Greek mythical creature, like a Centaur, half human, half animal: 'They're not English; they're not Greek.' Michalis sees a rather confused, unresolved hybridity amongst some of the Greek-Cypriots. This issue also goes right to the heart of postmodern and critical debates about culture, which stress the *hybrid* nature of diasporic cultures (Bhabha, 1998). Later he argues that pressure to be monolingual in the mainstream may provoke this kind of confused attitude, since Greek is not 'in reality' a foreign language to them: 'There is a part that belongs there .. [and] ... Even if they want to cut themselves off, they can't do it.' Viki notes that as they age they can become more interested in their heritage and political issues about Cyprus: 'they want to discuss it, they ask my opinion'.

The Illusion of 'Cultural Pluralism'

The issue of assimilationist pressure is put into a more macro-sociological frame[23] by some of the teachers. They identify assimilationist pressures, not only in the mainstream schools (where students may not 'feel comfortable' for others to know that they are Greek-Cypriots), but also, quite literally, in the street. Viki is able, by drawing on her own life history, to put such experiences into a critical perspective. Born in New York, but now living in London, she refers to quite distinct discourses of multiculturalism (and associated practices) in the two settings:

> the English regard the Greeks as a minority ... you are embarrassed to go out and speak another
> language except for English [as] they will say: 'He is not English' ... [but] ... In America you
> are not a minority .... It doesn't matter if you are Greek, Italian, Spanish ... you're a citizen.

According to the typology of discourses concerning multiculturalism that I have outlined in the Literature Review, above, in contrast to the *cultural pluralism* which Viki experienced growing up in the US after the Civil Rights movement, English attitudes now seem to be *integrationalist*. For Eleni, despite the rhetoric of multiculturalism, this is the reality of the mainstream school:

> They talk about 'equal opportunities' 'ethnic minorities' and so on, and they chew it like gum,
> but they don't understand it. They say on paper and in their programmes that they value the
> experience of the students. But they can't really acknowledge, really understand what the
> experiences of these groups are.

The comments by the teachers serve to put into perspective any claims that *cultural pluralism* is the official policy in English schools, or indeed significantly informs public attitudes. Where the Swann Report advocated:

> active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all the ethnic groups
> within [society] (DES, 1985: 6)

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[23] The term 'macro-sociological' is used by Carspecken (1996) to refer to ethnographic explanations which point outside the immediate field of research (the classroom, school or local community) to broader socio-economic or socio-cultural phenomena.

the reality for Greek students today appears more to be 'invisibility' (Moore, 1999a): a failure to recognise Greek culture and language; a situation in which 'they may regularly find themselves at the wrong end of routine symbolic marginalisations' (Moore, 1999a: 34).

Indeed, the promise of the Swann Report, and the support given to cultural pluralism by academics, local educational authorities and many practising teachers in the 1980s, has to be put into a historical context in which there was strain between government and academia on issues relating to the education of children from ethnic minorities. The hostility of the Thatcher administration to cultural pluralism was reflected in the 1988 Education Reform Act, and the introduction of the National Curriculum. In the National Curriculum for History, for example, 'students were expected to form identities that were constructed from England's development as a parliamentary democracy, its rise to head a great and glorious empire, and its relations with Europe' (op cit: 22).

Cyprus became an 'independent republic within the British Commonwealth' in 1960, after almost a century of British occupation. The National Curriculum for history, with some modifications, stands today. What has its impact been on the identity-formation of Greek-Cypriot students? In the process of Greek-Cypriot students trying to reconcile the Greek-Cypriot and British aspects of their identities, the role of the curriculum in 'positioning' them is highly important. If they identify themselves as Cypriot, does this mean feeling inferior? If they position themselves as 'British' or 'English' does this mean they must reject their Greek-Cypriot 'side'. In this situation, they may feel 'forced' to choose:

> Partly because of the conscious or unconscious pressure of an inhospitable society, partly because of their own sense of unease, [immigrants] feel forced to define themselves, to say to others and even to themselves, who they are, and what constitutes their identity ... (Parekh, 1989)

This arguably leads to an overcompensation in the Community Schools, where the culture may be presented in an extremely positive light. For Viki: 'because [the Community Schools] don't have a lot of recognition ... [t]hey think that if the Greek

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school starts to doubt as well .... So they try to create an artificial picture, and that results in a gap between the children and this unreal image'. Michalis also notes that the ethos of the schools does not encourage students to reflect critically on cultural issues: 'The schools don't help the students to think. A lot of things are taken for granted.' A lack of *recognition*, therefore, can lead to an unbalanced view of the culture being presented in the Community Schools.

From the above discussion, we can see that the teachers face a range of issues in formulating their own approach to culture in their teaching. They describe their position as one in which they need to respond to students' cultural/identity needs, on the one hand in the face of assimilationist pressures in the wider society, and on the other, in response to an 'artificial' view of Greek culture in the Community Schools. As we move to discussing teachers' beliefs about what should happen in the schools, and what their actual practice is, we will explore this area further, showing how teachers draw upon this local knowledge.

5 - 1.4 - Organisation

In this stage of the analysis I am primarily concerned with describing how the conditions in the community schools contradict teachers' expectations in terms of the pedagogic goals they have. The teachers want to work on language and to raise students' awareness of aspects of Greek culture, and they find 'obstacles' (Woods, 1990) in their way. Gradually they gain the local knowledge to allow them to find solutions to some of these problems.

Structural conditions can block teachers' creativity - their desire to teach *what* they want, in the *manner* that they wish (Woods, 1990: 26). I will discuss such structural constraints under the following headings:
- hierarchical management structure
- lack of time

- curriculum & textbooks

5 - 1.4.i - *Hierarchical Management Structure*

One aspect of the organisation of the community schools is that they receive no funding from the British state, and the main sources of support from Greece and Cyprus are not *directly* financial, but come in the form of a certain number of teachers whose salaries they pay, and in the provision of textbooks. At the same time there is an ongoing decline in the numbers of students attending (Salapatas, 1996). This means that the financial position of the schools is *precarious*. Most schools are either run by the Orthodox Church, or they are non-religious 'independent' schools. In both cases they are largely or wholly dependent on money raised from the parents and the committees which run the schools.

The teachers, therefore, are sometimes placed in a position where they feel constrained in their teaching as they do not wish to upset parents. Arguably, the financial dependency of the schools on the parents undermines teachers' professional autonomy. According to Jorgeos, this problem can be particularly bad in the Independent schools: 'where you have more interventions from parents, the head can become a pawn of the committee.'

Another factor influencing the teachers, when they are teaching in the religious schools, can be the influence of the religious leaders. Referring to the mainland, Zambeta (2000) argues that: 'school knowledge codifies Greek identity and the Greek Orthodox religion as inseparable concepts' (op cit: 146). So in the UK too, the church plays an important role in the running of the community schools (with the Independent schools as an exception). For Demitrius, the Archbishop 'lives in the past'. There is a *dominant local discourse* - elements of which are socially conservative. Thus dilemmas can arise for the teachers when considering how to deal with cultural issues bearing on religion.

The teachers argue that the management structure excludes their input, and that even the professional status of Head Teachers is precarious. Real power is seen to lie with the

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committees and, in the case of the church schools, partly with the Orthodox Church. As Costas concludes, the teachers are 'the last wheel of the carriage'. They experience a reduction in the status they are used to in Greece.

As I myself have experienced, there are sometimes students who are extremely disruptive, often because they have no intrinsic motivation to be in the class, but have been pressured by parents into attending. Talking with Costas about this issue – one that we had both encountered in the classroom – I suggested that it was something the head-teachers are reluctant to face. Costas comments:

> Sometimes the heads are appointed to 'control' the situation and to report to the committee.
> ... [I]f you mention a problem, they say 'it doesn't matter, try to do your lesson as best you can'. Or they say, 'We'll try to do something', but nothing happens. Head teachers don't want to give the impression that there are problems because they want to keep their positions. They don't want to lose children [because of the fees]. They never explain why they have this attitude: they say 'we have to keep him'. The situation is just perpetuated.

Here we see a snapshot of the power-structures operating in the schools: the teachers feel that the committees, the parents or the church can exert undue influence. The kind of decision-making led by pedagogic concerns, which the teachers have come to expect from their previous experience working in Greece, can be compromised by financially-related concerns when the schools are reluctant to lose pupils.

For Woods these kinds of dilemmas are experienced by teachers because they are at the meeting point of a range of contradictory aims, 'from the general educational policy ... through the expectations of the ... parents, governors and pupils, through the mediation of the head teacher' (op cit: 25), which they have to resolve through their classroom actions. The resolution of such conflicts and dilemmas will be discussed in Section 5 – 2, below.

5 - 1.4.ii – Lack of Time

Another preoccupation of the teachers is how to teach both language and cultural aspects adequately within the time they have. One aspect of this problem comes from the teachers having to work in a number of different schools each year, and then changing to new schools at the end of the year. They may have to rush between schools in the same day, and have to invest time in repeatedly getting to know new schools and new students. The other key issue is that students have to come after the mainstream school or at the weekend. Thus they often arrive tired, and 'always come late [so] you have difficulties organising your lessons' [Costas].

Indeed Jorgeos shows an understanding of the hard work needed by students, but also of a dilemma for teachers resulting from the lack of time:

> Because the children here have two different backgrounds, one part of it they can develop ... through the English school. At the same time, they're struggling to cover the other part in the community school. To put together the pieces of this puzzle ... with two or four hours, or sometimes three on a Saturday morning - there is very limited time to fully offer students the opportunity to take in civilisation, language, culture, everything.

The teachers argue that, with around two or four hours per week, there is not much time to teach Greek, or for cultural and historical issues. As Jorgeos recognises, students' identities are at stake - 'the other part' of their background.

5 - 1.4.iii - Curriculum & Textbooks

The teachers are particularly concerned with what they see as a *mismatch* between the contents of the set texts, and the needs of the students. This links to the wider issue of *curriculum*: there is no official curriculum, and this gap is filled either by an implicit curriculum derived from the textbooks, or by a range of curricula of varying quality chosen by individual schools.

While Pavlides, the Co-ordinator of the Cypriot 'Apostoli' (the department responsible for the Cypriot teachers in the UK), claims there have been curricula emanating from the Cypriot Apostoli, *from the interview data,* the consensus among the teachers seems to

indicate that the *reality on the ground* is of a perceived lack of any such official curriculum.

Agni puts it this way:

> There are schools that have their own curriculum. One I know has the vocabulary for each class as the base of the curriculum ... [while] others follow the book as the curriculum

An exception, noted by Pavlides, Jorgeos and Eleni, are the full-time schools. Jorgeos's own school, providing mainly for the Greek expatriate community, uses the Greek national curriculum, while St Cyprian, the Greek-Orthodox Faith School in Croydon, follows a version of the National Curriculum for England.

Apart from these cases, for other schools 'the curriculum' is generally seen as something dictated by the course-books. Schools frequently require the teachers to use one book per year (although which book that is will vary between schools). In this they follow the typical practice in Greece, and it is an expectation strongly embedded in the culture, shared by those running the schools and by many parents. For the teachers: '... in Greece we always work with a textbook' [Demitrius]. The problem here is that the teachers are highly critical of the set textbooks themselves.

When I asked them about successful and unsuccessful lessons they had taught, most said that the most successful lessons were based on their own materials, and for the unsuccessful ones they made a point of saying: 'I used the book' So, for Demitrius, for a 'successful' lesson:

> I didn't use the book. I used other material that I believed would talk better to these students

> - What about a *less* successful lesson?

> Mostly the first year when I was trying to exhaust the whole book. The kids didn't want to follow.

In Agni's opinion: 'If I was following only the book they wouldn't learn anything'.

The problem that the teachers identify is twofold: first that the books do not match with the students' needs: the language level is appropriate for speakers of Greek as a *first* language, while the topics are not relevant to the students; and second, that the use of one main course book does not fit with students' learning styles. According to Viki:

> In the English schools, they do a lot of books; here they have one, and of course they find it boring.

Demitrius has conducted a study for his MA on the use of course books and their alternatives. He found that most of the teachers he spoke to 'don't follow the book, because they can't - it's unrealistic. All of them found that the books have problems'. For Agni:

> it's very difficult ... [the level] is higher than the level they speak. It presupposes that they speak this language, that the oral tradition survives at home.

As a source of triangulation for these comments we can turn to Pavlides. He has been in the UK for 18 years, initially teaching in the Community Schools, and later as Coordinator. He discusses the materials produced in Crete under the supervision of Professor Damanakis :

> The Damanakis series - most of the teachers use it provisionally. Although it's a very nice publication, with good quality pictures and a lot of nice detail, there is however an issue with the level: it's pitched too high ... It addresses students who have much better knowledge: they speak Greek in the home, and have a much better fluency. The level of comprehension is assumed to be quite high. Sometimes you say things like 'cliste tin porta' [close the door] and they can't understand!

The points made here about the textbooks link directly to the issue of management style, and to broader issues of power. As we said, the books are written in Greece, and in the opinion of the teachers, the materials-writers are out of touch: being distant from the reality on the ground, they assume that Greek is widely used in the home, and misunderstand the local culture of the students. The writers fail to understand the *hybrid* nature of minority-community cultures: 'Greeks' in Athens, London or Melbourne, for

example, clearly don't have the same cultures. The teachers are well placed to understand how Greek, Cypriot and British cultures are fused to produce the local culture - and therefore what will interest and motivate students in class.

There is also criticism of the books' treatment of Greek history. The older books tend to be biased in favour of Greece, while the newer ones attempt to whitewash the internal conflict during the Civil War: 'from distortions [of the older materials] to soft-focus history' [Michalis].

Having said this, the view of the textbooks is not unremittingly negative - there is an appreciation of recent improvements, such as better coverage of social and cultural issues (Agni), while Jorgeos argues that some parts are valuable: 'if you combine things you can get desirable results.'

In sum, therefore, the textbooks can be seen as articulating a particular view, and form a key component in the *locally dominant discourse* concerning how languages are to be taught and what version of Greek culture the students should be engaging with. If we consider language-teaching, that dominant discourse is a 'traditional'[24] one, tending to emphasise reading, writing, formal grammar and vocabulary presentation and practice using exercises. For history it can be at times nationalistic, at times 'soft-focus'.

To an extent, then, the teachers find the locally dominant discourse a poor fit with what they understand of students' motivation, learning style and their identities (their local knowledge). In the next section we will look at how teachers resist this local discourse, how they envisage possible solutions to some of the organisational problems discussed, and how in their practice they attempt to overcome the difficulties they perceive. Thus, an alternative discourse - that of the teachers - is revealed.

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[24] Richards and Rodgers (2001: 5-6) describe one traditional approach to language teaching (the Grammar-Translation method) as one in which 'reading and writing are the major focus', 'accuracy is emphasised', and 'grammar is taught deductively ... by presentation and study of ... rules, which are then practised'. The locally dominant discourse seems to emphasise these elements.

5 - 2 - Developing Theories and Practices

We have examined certain aspects of the teachers' theories: their initial impressions of the community schools, the questions these lead them to pose, and their subsequent 'research'. To an extent this has been an exploration of their *local knowledge*: the teachers informally research the environment - their students' knowledge, background, needs and motivation, the nature of the community and the organisation of the schools - to contextualise and understand their initial experiences.

Now we turn more towards 'subjective' and 'normative' claims:

- teachers' theories concerned with *practice*, with *how* to teach these students
- teachers' value commitments in terms of multicultural pedagogy - what they think *should* happen in the community schools

In this section I will again discuss issues related to language, culture and organisation.

5 - 2.1 - Language: Developing Practice & Theories

5 – 2.1.i Local Discourses

In summary, the teachers' initial 'research' revealed:

- The majority of students have a poor grasp of Greek since it is not the first language. However, there are a sizeable minority who do speak Greek at home, and therefore there are differences in language competence in the classroom.
- The majority of students are familiar with the Greek-Cypriot dialect, rather than the target language - standard Greek.
- There are problems of motivation, with students feeling under pressure to use English exclusively in the mainstream school and often seeing little practical benefit in learning Greek other than gaining a GCSE or A Level. Motivational problems are intensified

by a mismatch between the teaching style of the Community Schools, and the teaching style in the mainstream.

- Additionally, the textbooks which teachers are generally expected to use are largely inappropriate: they employ outdated methodologies, again unsuited to the students' learning styles; they are written on the false assumption that Greek is still the home language, and thus are pitched at an unrealistically high level.

The kind of discourse the teachers produce as they struggle with this knowledge is in one sense formed in relation to a prevailing discourse in the local setting, is also shaped by their normative commitments, which are the product of their previous biographies, as well as their experience and reflection here, and finally is formed in relation to broader socially-powerful discourses concerning the desirability of bilingualism and minority cultures.

As was noted in section 5 - 1.2 above, the teachers are well aware of the *assimilationist* discourse as this applies to the mainstream schools (i.e. in terms of language use, and attitudes towards bilingualism). In addition they have seen the persistence of aspects of the assimilationist discourse in operation in Greece, despite the attempts to introduce interculturalism as state educational policy (Paleologou, 2004: 326). One aspect of the teachers' discourse, then, is its opposition to assimilationism and negative views of bilingualism. At this point the teachers' discourse and the *locally* dominant discourse overlap - since everyone involved in the community schools is in favour of bilingualism.

However, the teachers' practice, and the discourse they use to describe it, is formed partially in opposition to this locally dominant discourse. For example, the following comment comes from Viki:

> I had brought some books and I was reading. Some of [the children] were drawing. And the parents said: 'Why are they drawing?' Ah, don't you think it's better to do the book.'

In many cases too, the head teachers 'encourage' the use of traditional teaching styles. Thus the teachers discourse moves away from a 'traditional' view of language teaching –

one which is powerful both in Greece, and among parents and many heads in the community schools.

5 – 2.1.ii *The Teachers' Discourse on Language*

There are a number of commonly held fundamental elements in the teachers' theories about language:

Additive Bilingualism

Teachers are committed to *additive* versions of *bilingualism*, i.e. they believe in the cognitive and social benefits of bilingualism. For Evangelia: 'when they are bilingual, children know that there isn't only one solution to a problem, one definition, one name for an object .... They have a flexibility of thought.'

Viki, drawing on her own experience of growing up bilingual in New York, strongly argues the case for 'additive' bilingualism:

> We are *'bilingual, we are not confused'**. We can *'function'** in two languages. From the very start, when you're learning Greek at home, you develop metacognitive abilities. We have *'positive attitudes'** ... [about learning] new things; you invest in that; you see the advantages ... You are more flexible to go to other places ... [to] belong in two worlds. You have more choices. You know how different systems work. You can function here and there

Viki's discourse here is highly *personal*: she talks of her own life-history and the example of her sister, thus drawing on her whole biography in addition to her experiences in the UK. She argues that there are cognitive advantages (mental flexibility and an interest in learning). This counters a 'subtractive' discourse on bilingualism which argues that it can interfere with cognitive function and make minorities more insular.

Costas stresses both advantages in terms of practicalities, as well as in terms of identity:

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* Spoken in English

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It's good to know a second language: Goethe said: if you don't know another language, you don't know your own language ... [and] I think in a practical sense it's going to help their career.

... it's their mother tongue. If you don't know it, you've lost something of your personality. Through the language you understand the way of thinking of a culture, and in this way you can enrich yourself, in terms of your thinking. Especially Greek and Latin are a kind of source to understand the functioning of every European language.

Agni too notes language's positive relationship to one's sense of identity:

Language is a window. Of course, apart from [learning] a foreign language ... it's the language of their ancestors. They're related to this language

It is also the case that the teachers themselves are bilingual: in Greece it is normal to learn a second or third language. Greek is not a globally-powerful language. Thus, being in the periphery, it becomes a virtual necessity to acquire another language. The Greek teachers, then, are more likely to see bilingualism as something normal, perhaps, than their British counterparts. We can see here that the normative commitment to bilingualism draws on two sources: teachers' own 'knowledge' (their experiences), and on 'theory' (acquired through formal education, through reading, etc).

Another aspect to having an explicit or tacit *additive* understanding of bilingualism is through the recognition of how the *commonalities* between two languages can be used as a base upon which to build students' strength in *both*. Thus vocabulary can be expanded by teaching 'common' words (i.e. *'cognates'* – see section on Scaffolding, below).[25]

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[25] This example illustrates the Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism (Cummins, 1981). The point here is that by learning Greek, or by *maintaining* the home language, students can actually improve their English, and so their potential for academic achievement. This is especially true in the case of Greek-English bilinguals, not only because of the high number of cognates, but also because it gives students potential access to many academic linguistic fields.

Sensitivity to Actual Language Use

Another key element is a sensitivity to the *actual* language-use in the Greek community in Britain. Instead of accepting the assumptions of the textbooks - that Greek is the home language - they identify language use within the community as *diverse*. They recognise a *continuum* of language use (c.f. Hornberger, op cit), from those for whom Greek *is* L1 (but who use English in the mainstream school), to those for whom English is the language of the home, and who have few opportunities to use Greek, and a range of positions between these extremes.

One key point is that, since the majority of students now speak English at home, the teachers understand that Greek cannot be taught as the first language. They are then faced with the question: should it be taught as a 'second' language, or as a 'foreign' language: is Greek a language they need to use on a regular basis and which they are surrounded by? For some students it is, but for others (perhaps the majority) it is not. There is a debate on this question, with most teachers feeling it should be taught as a second language.

This sensitivity also extends to the use of Cypriot dialect by the majority of students. Costas, for example, has made the effort to learn a lot of Cypriot vocabulary. As well as 'recognising' their language-use as legitimate, this improves his ability to communicate with the students. For Michalis:

> You have to recognise the dialect, [sometimes] putting aside the Greek translation ...

> You [can't] diminish one-third of their cultural identity: the language that the grandparents speak in their home. At lot of them quit the school and don't continue because they can't face these teachers who are not sensitive to these issues. The same thing used to happen in Greece with the dialects in the past. But now there is a new generation of teachers. Because they have been taught socio-linguistics in the university they are more sensitive.

In fact the target language in the schools is the 'demotic'[26] form of Greek which is the standard *written* form in both Greece and Cyprus. But as we can see, by recognising the

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[26] In fact, in Greece, there are two important forms of the language: the 'demotic' (popular tongue) and 'katharevousa', the 'purist' written language, based on the grammar of ancient Attic Greek. Katharevousa

local, spoken, Cypriot dialect, by including it in the class, the teachers both affirm the legitimacy of the students' 'mother tongue', and provide a form of 'scaffolding' (see below) for them to better acquire the target language.

A Communicative Approach

Given the above commitments, does this gel into any kind of coherent approach to language teaching? The teachers reject the traditional *methodology* inherent in the Greek course books. So what kind of methods do they advocate?

The teachers in this study construct an approach which has many elements of *Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)* [27]. This can be seen from both teachers' *explicit* statements (espoused theories) and through reconstruction of tacit beliefs (theories-in-use). CLT differs from traditional approaches to language teaching in that it aims to develop learners' ability to *use* language in *real, meaningful communication* (Ellis, 2003: 27). 'Stronger' versions of CLT are based on the belief that language is actually *acquired* through communication (op cit: 28) (see Krashen and Terrell's 'Natural Approach' (1983)). In any case, they both stress the importance of communicative *activities* within the classroom.

Probably the most explicit endorsement of a communicative methodology comes from Demitrius. He is involved in a project to devise a new curriculum for the community schools, based on the 'Common European Framework for Foreign Language Teaching': '[a] framework, which is the result of 30 years research on the communicative approach, with clear aims and activities.'

Jorgeos argues that 2nd and 3rd generation students 'have difficulty communicating in Greek', so, 'the important point is to facilitate communication'. He tries to give students the ability to engage in basic forms of communication in Greek. Both Costas and Viki

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has now largely fallen out of favour, but is still useful for those wishing the engage with writing from nineteenth and twentieth century Greece.

[27] See Appendix VII for a fuller discussion of *communicative* approaches to language teaching

too explicitly refer to the importance of communication: 'communication is very important, I believe' (Costas); 'Where everything happens through communication and conversation ... [W]ith time it works' (Viki).

There is a great deal of evidence for a *tacit* commitment to the underlying principles of the communicative approach. One question I asked the teachers was 'Can you remember a particularly successful lesson you've given recently?' This question aimed to explore teachers' memories of a concrete event, in order to draw out the actual thinking behind the decisions made in the classroom[28].

Michalis' response was to recall two lessons: one on the Olympic Games, and another on '*the Hierarches*' - three early Christian scholars. Michalis says that the children '*enjoyed* all the background information', that the lesson 'was also high interest because of the Olympic Games' (taking place in Greece that year), that they covered the subject for two or three weeks, that 'the project work' was the key element that accounted for its success, and that through this 'they learnt a lot of vocabulary'. As for the Hierarchies, 'I made the material with things that basically interested the children', and the topic generated a lot of discussion. Both Michalis' examples fit very well into the *communicative* paradigm, in particular the *task-based* approach (see Ellis, 2003 & Appendix VII): the project is a task; both subjects were described as interesting; both generated a lot of conversation.

This approach then, *shows the reflective process in action.* The students have a more field dependent approach - preferring more communication, collaboration and tasks which draw on previous knowledge. The teacher, *by drawing on students' own interests and knowledge,* motivated them, and created an opportunity for genuine communication in the Greek language. Summing up his comments on the Olympics lesson, he adds:

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[28] For an explanation of the assumptions behind this method, see the reference to Cooper & McIntyre's research (1996) in the Methodology chapter.

That's exactly what we have to do: to build on the experience they already have about Greece - through the school, their travels or the family.

Viki's comments follow a similar pattern:

It was [around] a text I had written about Cyprus and Greece [with] a touristic theme ... [T]hey told me where they go, where they take holidays, where they swim, which beaches are clean. How can they help the tourism of Cyprus if they write it as an article? The elements now are ... they must know something to start with ... When they participate, it's not only me who talks ... They discuss what they're interested in .... [And] because they have to make linkages, they use different tenses - they have to talk about the past, present and future.

Again, Viki draws on students' own knowledge. It is significant here that it is about Cyprus: part of the community's 'funds of knowledge' (Moll, 2000: 258). Here Greek-Cypriot community children have first-hand experience of the island. Importantly the children are positioned as the 'experts' - the teacher is not Cypriot so they actually 'teach' her.

Scaffolding

We see here that the teachers are aware of the need to provide *scaffolding*, to make sure that their lessons and materials are appropriate to their students (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976)[29]. This approach draws on the sociocultural theories of Vygotsky (1987), stressing in particular the role more competent others play in individuals' learning. In order to move forward in our learning we use 'tools' to help us, the most powerful of which is language (which is a social construct). Thus, in language-learning it is for the teacher, or for more proficient students, to supply the individual learner with the linguistic (or other) tools she needs to progress. This is not the same as the teacher 'passing on' information: knowledge will always be constructed through some form of dialogue, although this can happen internally. The point with 'scaffolding' is that the 'expert' adjusts his language and approach to the needs/level of the learner. For Vygotsky (1987) there is a 'Zone of Proximal Development' based on already existing

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[29] Among the features of scaffolding identified by Wood, Bruner and Ross are: 1) recruiting interest in the task, 2) simplifying the task, 3) maintaining pursuit of the goal, 4) controlling frustrations during problem solving

knowledge – and within which it is possible for the student to genuinely learn more. The teacher or fellow student needs to help the learner to move on from where she is within this 'zone'.

An example is through drawing attention to 'cognates' - words with a common root in both languages. By focusing on these kinds of language features students can improve their knowledge and understanding of *both* languages. Michalis says: 'I explain how the Greek language is used in, for example, medicine, or in the everyday language.' Such an approach can rapidly expand students' vocabulary-base, since they will already know many of the English words (due to the particularly large number of shared words between Greek and English). This can also increase students' confidence in their ability to progress.

Making Teaching more Effective

i - 'Multiple Intelligences' and 'Multiple Modalities'

> [Eleni] In terms of what [makes lessons] successful - you need to differentiate the teaching style in terms of *different types of intelligence*: some work better with visual stimuli, some with actions, some on an auditory level, and so on. It important for the students to be active - to *do* - as much as possible: to play, to dance, to sing; it's more important than just going through the book.

Here Eleni references Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1993). He has described a range of core abilities and skills which some individuals have more strength in than others, labelling each set of capacities an 'intelligence'. The theory usefully challenges deep-seated Western views of intelligence (i.e. those which inform traditional I.Q. tests) by making 'logical-mathematical intelligence' just one of seven types (others include 'interpersonal', 'bodily-kinesthetic', 'spatial' (i.e. visual), 'linguistic' and 'musical'). This emphasis on the need to use different *modes* of instruction with different students also has an affinity with the theory that learning is most effective when it occurs through *multiple channels* (e.g. reading, visualisation, discussion, role-play) – i.e. that increased variety in instructional approaches will make learning more effective.

Michalis, for example, notes the value of *visual* media, both because the students respond to it well, and because images are a way of avoiding using English to explain:

> I very often use visual stimuli - whenever I've taken the laptop, and have had the ability to show them pictures of what I'm talking about, or explain with visual representation, I had much better responses and attention. I prefer to draw shoes, rather than write the English word 'shoes' on the board.

Teachers also emphasise the potential role of *music* and *drama*. Eleni tries to make music a regular part of her lessons. Viki was involved in producing theatrical plays in Greek, and referring to this comments: 'Do you know how much more Greek you learn in this way? ... The school must be fun as well!'

Evangelia does a lot of work with *computers* – again a visual form of media – since she finds the students respond well:

> [Traditionally] the kids have found the lessons very boring ... things haven't changed [in the Community Schools], although methods, approaches and pedagogy has developed [elsewhere]. But if there's something interesting they do it – [like when] I got them to do some research on the internet about Kederis [an Olympic athlete}

ii - The Affective Dimension

Another important aspect is the *affective* dimension in language teaching: creating a caring and friendly atmosphere. Costas says:

> There are problems of communication. They find it difficult; they're embarrassed ... I don't want to function in a teacher-centred manner: for me the teacher is a friend and helper, assisting the children to overcome their difficulties and progress. I want them to see me as a friend and to feel comfortable. To enjoy what they're doing.

While Evangelia suggests that the students respond well to teachers who create a 'caring' atmosphere in the class:

> I know a teacher that took a very 'difficult' class. It took her two to three months to transform it into a very interesting and stimulating class - but she did it. Because the children could see that she really cared and made a lot of effort.

It can further be noted that the approaches which the teachers describe here are - emphasising the *emotional* as well as the intellectual, are akin to 'humanistic' language teaching techniques such as Community Language Learning and Total Physical Response (Richards & Rogers, 2001: 73, 90), which:

> blend what the student *feels, thinks and knows* with what he is learning in the target language [and] ... help students to be themselves, to accept themselves, and be proud of themselves (Moskowitz, 1978: 2)

An idiosyncratic approach?

There are elements of communicative and humanistic approaches in the teachers' discourse, but there is also a focus on the teaching of *grammar*. As Demitrius notes, those working within the CLT tradition have had a changing attitude towards grammar: 'When the communicative approach started it didn't include any grammar. But now it's been superseded. So now they integrate the grammar ... [but] with emphasis on the use and not on the structure'. However, many theorists also believe that there does need to be *some* explicit focus on structure as a necessary complement to communicative practice (Cummins, 2000b: 46 – see Chapter 2 / Appendix VII). Thus within a modern communicative approach, grammar teaching will neither be completely absent, nor the main focus on the lesson (as in more traditional didactic approaches). So what line do these teachers follow?

For Costas:

> [In the English schools] they have the literacy hour and extract the grammar they want from the examples in the texts. But of course that's what I do. I extract things. Learning parrot-style is so not on! Grammar is needed to support your lesson, to explain what you give

Here there is an emphasis on grammar teaching that is embedded in the context of a reading text or some other form of task. *Grammar here is seen to be a 'support' to the lesson, not the main focus.* Similarly, Viki introduces grammar through vocabulary work:

I write the vocabulary on the board: the Greek word and the English one, and in brackets I write what it is grammatically - for example if it's a verb: 'It shows action' ... gradually they recognise the verbs and know that they are action words.

Another point on which the teachers' discourse can be differentiated from strong communicative approaches is their *attitude to the use of English* in the class. Most teachers accept some use of English as unavoidable, acceptable or even necessary for understanding. For Jorgeos, for example, the context of the classes explains the need to allow some English: the lack of Greek spoken in many homes, the hegemonic nature of English. Despite this, he does try to keep to Greek as much as possible inside the class. For Agni there are a lot of questions:

> You lose the thread [of the lesson] when you're continuously being drawn into using English ... I wonder if their attention sticks on the English. Maybe if I wrote the Greek only they would remember more.

But she goes on to suggest some possible solutions (demonstrating a degree of reflection on an unresolved issue):

> Maybe the teachers ... could try to explain more, to paraphrase, to use pictures, a story ...

In this issue, therefore, the teachers again point to the importance of scaffolding: English can be used to reduce anxiety and to make learning more effective, but at the same time Agni comes up with scaffolding strategies which could keep class-talk in Greek.

Summary

We can see, then, that the teachers construct an approach to teaching Greek which:

- is *tailored* to the local environment, since it is:
    - *sensitive* to learning style
    - *sensitive* to dialect
- emphasises meaningful *communication*, while recognising the role of *grammar teaching* and the potential role for *English* in the classroom
- is underpinned by an *additive* understanding of *bilingualism*

5 - 2.2 - Culture: Developing Theories & Practice

To return now to the question of their approach to culture in the classroom:

* What 'version' of Greek culture do they present?

* How do they make the study of Greek culture relevant to the students?

* To what extent do teachers present a critical view of Greek culture, and are students themselves encouraged to adopt a critical perspective?

* To what extent and how do the teachers attempt to affirm students' identities?

5 - 2.2.i - *The Version of Greek Culture Represented: Dynamic & Hybrid*

Viki: Culture helps us know who we are. You know where you come from, so you know where you're going.

Effie: What do you think the Greek teacher can bring?

Viki: [They] bring the living part of the culture. I think it's very positive because often in the schools there's a kind of nostalgia: they live in the past ... I think we can play the role to bridge the gap. This must be our aim: that's why we're here.

Michalis: [The schools] with national celebrations and poems every year make the students resentful. This is where the teachers come in to bridge the gap ... to provide other cultural elements

Costas: you can create a love of books in the students, you can create a little library and discuss them in Greek in the class. There is a whole world - there's a literature, there are movies, there's a whole culture.

Both Michalis and Viki employ the same striking phrase: the role of the teacher is to 'bridge the gap' - between what they see as a static, nostalgic version of Greek culture, and what is for them the living culture. Viki underlines how important she feels this to be: '[it] must be our aim: that's why we're here'.

At the normative level too, the teachers place a high value on culture. For Viki: 'you know where you've come from, so you know where you're going'; for Costas, the culture provides 'roots' - without a living culture the Cypriots here can feel they 'don't belong anywhere'. This kind of understanding of the positive role cultures can play in the identity-construction of members of minority groups provides a basic *resource* for minorities: students are able to draw on the creativity, knowledge and values embedded in Greek culture. They can become familiar with a range of cultural products - Greek cinema and literature (Costas) - which can expand their horizons.

At the same time, however, the teachers do not approach Greek culture uncritically. As we have seen, they feel it is a dangerous oversimplification to view cultures as homogenous across time and space: individuals 'contribute across generations' (Rogoff, 2003: 77) to the creation of cultures. The teachers set themselves against a *locally dominant discourse* (disseminated by locally powerful figures including prominent members of the church and members of school committees; and passed on through textbooks) which takes an uncritical and a *static* view of Greek culture.

Evangelia comments:

> ... the way that they try to give these elements in the Greek schools is static - from the time that the monks, at the end of the nineteenth century, started to teach the Greek language in England. You don't win [students] over with these *fossils*.

Against this static, nostalgic view, the teachers feel they bring a contemporary perspective: 'The real picture and not Ellinolatria [the idealised Greece]' [Viki].

In the *teachers' discourse* there is an emphasis on the 'present', on the 'living' culture as it is in Greece and here. They argue that the Greek teachers can make *connections* between older understandings of Greek identity and contemporary ones, between the distant and the local or personal. For Evangelia, on the one hand the Community Schools can encourage a sense of pride in Greek culture - in Greek cultural achievements (historically 'they laid the basis for scientific knowledge'), but on the other:

What we are now is equally important. It's not only what we used to be. These two things are connected. You create from your past. If you talk in terms of reality as it is now - they can connect [it] … to themselves.

5 - 2.2.ii - *Making Greek culture relevant in the class*

Jorgeos stresses the need to *engage* with students' own *experiences*:

> … you can show respect for what these children carry from their environment and from the English school - and use it. It's not only about speaking English, it all this experience … the experience of living a hybrid existence. Teachers have to bring in the Cypriot culture, as well as the 'Greek' … to learn about a lot of cultures [and] to 'interact' with these cultures

Arguably, this kind of approach is rooted in *social constructivist* pedagogic assumptions. Teaching is not a matter of 'transmitting' knowledge, but rather about the *collaborative construction* of *meaning* (Wells, 2000: 67) – the creation of a *'culture of learning'* – one in which teachers and students develop shared understandings (Conteh, 2003).

As we saw with the teaching of the Greek language, the teachers draw on students' own experiences in order to provide motivation and material for the lessons. Of course there is an essential crossover between teaching the language and dealing with cultural issues. Michalis, for example, discusses a language lesson, but one in which he draws out *cultural* themes:

> The lesson I did today discussed the high-rise blocks in Athens. This is a social issue so we started to discuss why they have these houses. And we started to talk about the *periptero* [street-corner kiosks] as part of the everyday life; as part of Greek culture… [and to connect] to their everyday life … [e.g. cornershops]

The importance of the idea of 'bridging the gap' is implicit in what Michalis says: by referring to a commonplace of Greek 'everyday life' - the street-corner kiosk - he chooses something which can be easily compared with what is familiar in 'their everyday life as well'. Thus Michalis starts with 'ordinary experiences' which students can then build on (Dewey, 1938). The focus on 'culture' here is not on some kind of (reified)

universal entity, but rather on particular *local* cultures - of the students in the UK, of modern Greece, of Cyprus. As Jorgeos says, there are 'a lot of cultures'.

Evangelia uses the students' own questions as a jumping-off point for investigations of the culture. A dialogue is initiated based on 'real' questions - i.e. questions which students are genuinely interested in knowing the answers to:

> When they go back on holiday and they see something - they ask me 'why do you do that?' - I always take the opportunity to talk about it [i.e. everyday Greek reality]

Evangelia also talks of a project, part of the EU Comenius programme: 'The students had to work together on this idea ... of linking the Olympic idea and peace'. In this project a number of schools communicated via the internet. Greek schools were involved as well as those in other countries and an English mainstream school. For the Community School students, then, there was an opportunity to find out more about an aspect of Greek history and culture, and to make links with this to the present. Moreover this was done collaboratively, with a range of students in different settings offering a diversity of perspectives. Clearly such an approach brings the issues 'to life'. In Evangelia's words, the treatment of culture becomes: 'something dynamic and about the now - about the present.'

Teachers recognise the importance of non-academic activities in stimulating students' interest, and in helping them to learn about Greek culture. As we saw above many argue that students respond well to activities such as dance, music, drama and poetry. Evangelia, for example, had made a CD with songs performed in Greek by her students. Eleni, who uses a lot of music in class, says:

> I try to give all these different elements that constitute this way of living ... Because this culture is a way of life - that's alive. My approach is that the children have to live it: the children join in, they're part of it.

Viki too links *cultural understanding* with *participation* in activites such as drama:

> It helps to understand who you are, your sense of self . In the Mill Hill school we did two months of rehearsal. Through the retelling of the story - giving more information - and through

the process of direction they learned so many things about their culture and their civilisation. And I personally learned a lot more from these kinds of experiences.

Culture, arguably, does not reside only in objects and representations, but also in the *bodily* processes of perception by which those representations come into being. Culture can be found 'in human practices, situated in people's involvement'; people 'live culturally' rather than 'live in cultures' (Moll, 2000: 258). Thus, in the teachers' discourse, forms such as dance, theatre or music are seen as an 'embodiment' of a culture, and a form through which it can be understood.

For Michalis and Evangelia activities such as dance and music help create a Greek environment in the schools which the students and the teachers feel part of. The parents are also involved: 'the parents gather and bring music, they cook and so on. You have a sense of community' (Evangelia).

A final point in this section also concerns the role of parents and of students' home-lives. We saw that the teachers put a lot of effort into gaining local knowledge - knowledge of the students' backgrounds (family, language use, school life, etc). We have seen that such knowledge is skilfully employed by teachers as a resource in language lessons (through 'personalisation' of communication tasks, for example). By bringing students' *experiences* into the class, therefore, the teacher brings in the living culture. Thus where Jorgeos talks about 'what children carry from their environment', or when Michalis talks about drawing on children's 'everyday life', we can understand that they are concerned with utilising children's 'lived culture' in the classroom.

5 - 2.2.iii - Affirming students' identities

The teachers are aware that students' identities in the Community Schools are complex. In the teachers' discourse there is a rejection of any oversimplifications concerning identity for this group. Jorgeos, describing a lesson on the theme 'My friend in the English school', notes that within the class there is already a degree of heterogeneity - children from marriages between Cypriots and English or other nationalities. They have friends of a lot of different ethnicities.

Jorgeos then stresses the importance of the teacher trying to understand the complex reality of the students' lives - and their identities - and the importance of sensitivity towards the heterogeneity existing within the local culture:

> The reality in which these kids live is different, so the teachers have to try to understand this reality ... To show them that; 'yes, although I come to teach you Greek, or some things about the Greek culture, that maybe through the years or generations have become indistinct, I accept that you live here, that you are one amalgam of cultures and I'm interested to learn from that' ... to help together to bring out what you have. So when you do that they will participate in the lesson and it will be successful. Because what makes a lesson successful is participation.

The students are encouraged to explore their own identities in *collaboration* with the teacher. There is an 'acceptance' of students' cultural identities and their need for 'recognition'. Exploration of identity through interaction with the teacher can uncover personal stories of the students which can promote a new sense of belonging. This goes beyond the recognition of 'minority cultures' (e.g. those of 'Somalis' or 'Greeks'), towards a more hybrid, complex notion of cultural identity (in Jorgeos's words, the 'Greek' students in his class are actually 'one amalgam of cultures').

As noted above, by drawing on students' own lived experience the teacher gets to know more about the students' culture. Drawing on knowledge of home-life or community life is an important skill for teachers in multicultural settings, as it can serve the role of affirming the student's cultural identity (Marshall, 2002: 20). In Jorgeos's lesson (above):

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I was utilising their background. I can tell you that the lesson took its shape from the kids'
own words. There is a theme that takes substance from what they say. And there is a
synthesis. Encouraging them to express all these emotional experiences afterwards creates a
comfortable and natural atmosphere within which they can express themselves. Because of
that, after you have this interaction between them. The final learning comes from this process
of interaction.

Here the classroom becomes a 'forum', within which cultural identities can be explored
by both the students and the teacher (Giroux, 1998). By 'utilising their background' in
the lesson, Jorgeos helps to maintain a secure 'sense of self' in the students: they feel a
central aspect of their identities is validated. He creates relations within the classroom
('micro-interactions') to co-construct alternative identity options for his students
(Cummins, 2003: 54) in opposition to 'coercive discourses' which support assimilation
as the 'only identity option' (ibid).

These personal elements of students lives (especially associated with home and
community life) can be described as their 'expressive culture': 'the realm of ...
worldviews and patterning of interpersonal relations that give meaning and *sustain a
sense of self*' (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001: 156, emphasis added). By
bringing this into the Community School classroom Jorgeos helps to build pride in what
the wider society (and the mainstream school) ignores or devalues.

This stress on *exploration* and on the acceptance of complexity could be said to be
'transformative' (Cummins, 2003) or 'critical' (Giroux, 1998) in that it creates a 'space'
for the exploration of identity within the classroom: it does not attempt to impose a
unitary understanding of culture.

5 - 2.2.iv - _Critical Approaches to Culture_

As we have seen, the teachers try to bring a more contemporary flavour to the discussion of culture and also draw on students' own experiences. Students' understandings of their own cultural identities are explored in 'spaces' created by some teachers (e.g. Jorgeos) in which identity can be 'negotiated' (Giroux, op cit).

But to turn to critique of the presentation of culture in the _mainstream_ schools, the teachers argue that there is limited coverage of Greek culture and history there. To what extent do the teachers offer any 'correction' to what they see as the ethnocentric nature of the mainstream curriculum? Here Evangelia comments on her handling of Greek history:

> I've asked them what they do in the English school to know 'where to walk' [what to teach]. In the GCSE they have just in three pages Greek history. They didn't know that there were three big Greek Empires: the Ancient Greek, the Alexandrian, and the Byzantine Empire. I sat with the map and explained Alexander's empire reached India at one time ... _the students couldn't believe the_ size. As I was explaining the different periods _they came to see the scale of the Greek empires - to understand the importance of the Greek contribution if you take the whole of human history._

> And again to understand the mixing of cultures. That during history there were a lot of influences: the Greeks influenced others; and later others influenced the Greeks. We are all mixtures. And _I think, in the beginning the kids see it more superficially. But later they come to realise these things - that it's part of their lives._ To be confident with what you are is very important.

This is a very clear demonstration of the failure of the mainstream education system to equip Greek-community students with an understanding and appreciation of their own history. Because of the built-in cultural bias, these students 'couldn't believe' that the Greeks once had three empires that were of world-historical dimensions. For Bhabha it is vital for minorities to write, or tell, their own histories (Bhabha, 1998): there is no liberal 'level playing field'. Rather, the dominant group will impose its version of history, culture, etc on the rest of society, while maintaining the illusion of 'fair

treatment'. Evangelia attempts to *correct* what she sees as an omission in the mainstream curriculum.

Michalis makes several references to a critical approach to cultural and historical issues:

> The schools don't help the students to think. A lot of things are taken for granted. We had this discussion about the Olympic Games, and one student asked me why they didn't continue the Olympic Games. The classic answer is 'because of the wars' and so on. But I told them that the Church stopped the Games because they didn't want to have any relation with the religion of the past, and [examining] this leads to [questioning] the ideological assertion that today we talk about *Elleniko-Orthodoxo* civilisation ... I think that this will give them the opportunity to think.

Here Michalis critiques the dominant discourse concerning Greek culture operating in the Community Schools. The point about 'Elleniko-Orthodoxo civilisation' is that the Church today posits a continuation between the values of ancient Greek civilisation and the roots of Orthodox Christianity. By highlighting the *religious difference* of that ancient civilisation, Michalis undermines the easy acceptance of this notion. Thus his intervention here could lead students to fundamentally question received notions of Greek national identity.

Later, discussing a lesson on three Greek saints associated with charitable works he says:

> we started discussing Ayios Vassilos[30] and his ideas about society - about charity and how to help the poor: who has to - the state or the public ... At the end of the lesson one child said to me 'Now that I think about it, the Queen of England isn't so good'

We can identify these quotes as examples of critical discourse. In the first quote Michalis takes a position on a contentious debate: stating the truth, as he knows it, in contravention to the prevailing 'classic answer'. In the second instance, starting from a religious subject, he leads the students to the consideration of issues such as the application of resources, social responsibility, etc. Raising such questions in the class, and encouraging students to think about them and discuss them is an approach that:

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[30] Saint associated with charitable works

[allows] students to speak, listen and learn differently within pedagogical spaces that are challenging but safe and affirming ... [and] provide the conditions for students to think and act otherwise, to imagine beyond the given (Giroux, 1998: 193)

5 - 2.2.v – *Culture: Conclusions*

The discourse which emerges from the interviews is one which is sensitive to complexity when it comes to issues around cultural identity. On the one hand the teachers see the 'home culture' as a resource for the students, providing a stronger, more secure sense of self. At the same time they acknowledge that the students have complex, hybrid identities - they are an 'amalgam' – and they try to affirm the sense students have of who they are. Therefore, the teachers employ concepts linked with critical and postmodern notions of multiculturalism.

The teachers critique the prevailing local discourse which they see as old-fashioned and conservative in its approach to Greek culture. They stress that this culture changes across space and time, and they see their role as interpreting the culture in its 'living' forms: discussing culture in Greece today; bringing students' own home life - their own 'lived culture' - into the classroom (the importance of dance, drama, music, poetry and so on being stressed); showing the relevance of Greek historical achievements in the present.

There is a critical/transformative dimension to their treatment of culture. In their 'micro-interactions' (Cummins) with students, teachers provide a space for the exploration of cultural identity which is absent in the mainstream school. But in addition these spaces permit a critique of received notions of cultural identity - both from the mainstream (such as the significance of Britain's imperial history), and those concerning Greek culture.

Pedagogically the teachers emphasise co-construction of knowledge. They draw on students' experiences as a starting point for discussions of cultural and historical issues. Their discourse can be seen as stressing *social-constructivist* themes: working from

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students 'real questions', engaging in dialogue, employing methods such as project-work. As we have seen, the teachers build up a complex picture of students' home lives, their experiences in the mainstream schools, the nature of the Greek community here. And in their teaching this local knowledge is used as a resource, showing them, in Evangelia's words 'where to walk'.

5 - 2.3 - Organisation - Developing Theories

In the previous section on *organisation* (5 - 1.4) the focus was on the classroom. Now we examine the teachers' proposals as to what can be done to overcome the problems they identify. Teachers move beyond their initial impressions to develop a more holistic view of the root causes of the schools' problems. We can see clearly *critical* or *transformative* aspects of their discourse as, by proposing changes to organisational structure, teachers move beyond notions of 'competence'[31], or narrow interpretations of 'reflection' - i.e. they see their concerns *not* as *limited* to the sphere of the classroom, but to include critique of the 'macro' level power relations and structures which *condition* what *can* be done within it. Their 'normative' assertions range, for example, from what the organisational structure of the Community Schools should be, to which model of community-language provision - the supplementary system or integrating Greek language provision into the mainstream - is best.

With increasing experience of the Community Schools the teachers begin to identify *structural* problems which, unless rectified, could lead to crisis. Viki says:

> For sure they must make some changes, otherwise I can't see a future: [changes need to be made] in the organisation and in the teaching level - the committees, the teachers.

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[31] See 3 – 2.1 above

These problems and possible solutions will be covered under three headings:

i. Curriculum & Materials

- The lack of an adequate curriculum, and textbooks are addressed, particularly through consultation with teachers. Teachers suggest sharing their own resources, and imaginative ways to access to a range of materials (via the internet, through a dedicated lending library, etc).

ii. Decision-Making in the Schools:

- Teachers want to be able to contribute more to decision-making. Communication should be better between teachers and other 'stakeholders' in the Community Schools.

iii. Restructuring the Schools:

- Teachers consider problems caused by the existence of a large number of small schools, and the lack of coordination between different types of school (religious, independent, parent-run), and discuss a range of possible solutions (including the that of integration into the mainstream). They discuss policy as it relates to the employment of under-qualified local teachers, as well as the approach to training (see next chapter).

5 - 2.3.i – *Curriculum & Materials*

Redesigning Curricula and Textbooks

As we saw in section 5-1.4 above, teachers argued that there is no official curriculum for the Community Schools, resulting in piecemeal attempts to fill the gap in individual schools, or by using the set text with its implicit curriculum.

The key problem for the teachers, however, is the inadequacy of the *textbooks*. As previously noted, their underlying assumptions have been criticised both in linguistic and

cultural terms. They lack sensitivity to the range of linguistic continua along which bilingual communities differ and the reality of Diasporic cultures being inevitably hybrid.

The teachers trace this problem to the method through which the books have been produced – in Greece, at a distance from local realities and without consultation with the teachers. Michalis says:

> When they made these books they looked at what books were available in Greece - the books Greek schools use to teach Greek. While, instead all these decades they could have taken material from the Diasporic schools.

Similarly, for Viki:

> People who write the books and design the curriculum; they are not teachers. But to write a curriculum you have to have been in [the environment of the classroom] to see how this thing works.

By proposing that teachers should be more closely involved in the production of textbooks the teachers are employing a *critical* discourse (Jorgeos says: 'the greatest need is ... to find the teachers who have worked here, who have good ideas, and to draw on them. *No academic can offer this experience.* The teachers question the traditional 'top-down' structure of materials writing - *from* the 'expert', *for the use of* the practitioner. Instead there is an assertion of the value of the teachers' 'professional knowledge' - in particular that they have precise *local* knowledge.

The teachers by no means suggest that academics should *not* be involved in, or indeed take the lead in, materials-writing; rather they suggest that there should be *meaningful* consultation. The nature of the involvement in materials-writing, research and policy-making desired by the teachers will be explored in depth in the next chapter. But at this point we can note that in this case they seek involvement in, rather than ownership of, a process which they feel should take a more dialogic form. Thus the discourse echoes the 'two worlds' discourse identified by Hammersley (2002: 59-82), with both teachers' 'everyday' knowledge, and researchers' 'scientific' knowledge having limitations and advantages. Local knowledge can serve as a corrective to research-based academic

knowledge. But equally 'scientific' knowledge can highlight for teachers areas which their own experience and reflection has not previously allowed them to explore.

The validity of the teachers' proposals concerning both curricula and the textbooks can be seen in the fact that the materials writers themselves have now come to an understanding of the problems:

> [Jorgeos] There isn't a curriculum at the moment. But, it's being written now in Crete .... [in which] they're going to assess the different needs of the Diasporic community in each country.

The point here is the significant time-lag between the awareness of the teachers, and that of the writers: the teachers have known for years that the books did not work. This implied validation of teachers' knowledge is made more explicit since teachers' feedback will be sought in the writing of these new books:

> [Pavlides] it's the first time they're asking for teachers' feedback: they already know they need to change things. They should have had firsthand information from the beginning.

Sharing Materials

> [Viki] Here when the teachers come, in the beginning they don't understand the needs of the students, the environment: the fact that the kids don't speak any Greek. In the first year they 'fight with the waves' - they don't have any help. And they don't know that there is this material around. There is a need for someone to give them a helping hand

> [Michalis] A lot of teachers have ideas about how to make supplementary materials - they could be distributed, so we could share these things.

Teachers' proposals include teachers sharing materials that they have produced themselves (worksheets, reading activities, etc), with the clear advantage of the materials being tailored to the needs of students (thus avoiding the problems associated with the textbooks). Viki refers to the problem of teacher-turnover, since in the present system teachers stay for a maximum of 5 years (as well as moving between schools frequently). Thus the local knowledge that they have acquired is 'lost' if they move back to Greece and take their materials with them. As Evangelia says, 'they leave, and all these things evaporate'.

In terms of *systemising* the sharing of such materials, Evangelia, for example, advocates using archives on the internet. As an alternative to having to remember to bring hard copies to meetings, she points out the ease with which materials could be posted on the site, and the potential to gather material: 'It's so simple. If everyone just sent one page - there are 80 teachers!'

In addition, to allow access to a wider-range of texts and other resources, Agni proposes the establishing of a small lending library for the teachers:

> ... the Institute [of Education] - they have a children's library. We could have something like that, with resources that could be used every year.

Teacher Produced Curriculum and Materials

Ascribing a high value to the use of a single textbook for the duration of a course is a powerful discourse in the Community Schools which seems to have been carried over from Greece (see 5 – 2.1.ii). Viki's comments indicate that pressure comes from the management. She speaks of:

> this restriction that you have to teach these books ... You have to write the reports, and they ask you why you didn't do this book.

She sees 'hav[ing] to' teach from these books as a 'restriction', and also notes the role of reports - for Foucault one of the key mechanisms of modern power - in ensuring their use. The textbook can lock the teacher into a rigid curriculum, with little room to set objectives, choose materials or methods (Shor & Freire, 1987; Popkewitz, 1991,1992).

By contrast, the *teachers' discourse* (see, e.g. the comments of Michalis or Evangelia, above) *resists* the inflexible privileging of a single, university-produced textbook: there is a wish to reclaim the autonomy to choose what and how to teach. Demitrius recommends:

> [leaving] outside all these textbooks that come from Greece. They don't have anything to do with the community: that's finished.

In this case we see that teachers move from *local knowledge* – the awareness of a problem – to *critique* of the dominant discourse. But in fact they move beyond simple resistance by *suggesting alternatives*, such as having access to a wider range of texts, and sharing their own materials. One influence is the practice in English mainstream schools of drawing on a wide range of texts (which of course also influences the children's learning style):

> [Costas] They work a lot with lots of different materials here – *the schools should have more resources for this.*

Demitrius argues for a radical alternative to set texts:

> The teachers must be able to write what they really think works. A framework [could be produced] that gives a number of activities ... And this could be enriched by contributions from every active teacher.

He further elaborates on the kind of freedom this curriculum would give the teachers:

> a set of activities and approaches [will be available] from which they can choose, and if they don't find them appropriate they can make their own according to the language level. And they can use different textbooks to have the ability to be flexible.

Implicit in his argument is the assertion that the heterogeneous nature of day-to-day classroom experience implies the need for more *local* control over which materials are used, when and how.

5 - 2.3.ii – *Decision-Making in the Schools*

The organisational structure of the schools, with power being exercised by committees, with heads being unresponsive to teachers' concerns, and with an interventionist role sometimes being played by the Church, has been explored above in section 1- 4, above. Here we can briefly examine how teachers respond to being positioned, as Costas puts it, as 'the last wheel of the carriage'.

There are essentially two concerns. One is that there should be more *communication*, or dialogue, between the teachers and these other parties. The other is that the *heads*, as professionals with pedagogic knowledge, *should be more firmly established to lead* the schools without undue influence from the committees or the Church.

The assertion of the teachers is that schools are better run with more democratic sets of relations, and that teachers work more productively in a well-organised setting. Under such conditions:

> teachers will be freer to address the purer problems of teaching, that is how to promote pupil learning of relevant and worthwhile skills and knowledge (Woods, 1991:1)

Agni points to the example of some of the well organised schools:

> You can see that the head co-operates with the teachers in these schools. Their efforts are concerted.

And for Jorgeos:

> When there are more organised school schemes you have a head who manages things ... [and] a better relationship [with the teachers]

For Costas, 'you need to have more communication between the committees and other people who are involved in the school'.

5 - 2.3.iii – *Re-Structuring the Schools*

When the teachers discuss possible forms of organisation for the Community Schools, their analysis brings in issues of power operating above and beyond the classroom (although of course affecting the classroom fundamentally). As they consider the best form of educational provision for the Greek Community in the UK, they engage with issues at the heart of the debate on multicultural education: issues such as the role the state should play in supporting minority cultures and languages, or the extent to which such matters are to be considered 'private'. At this point, therefore, the teachers' analysis links classroom concerns with the 'macro sociological' (Carspecken, op cit) or 'political' level:

- There are concerns over staffing policy: which classes are allocated to more or less qualified and/or experienced teachers (as not all staff are qualified).

- A more fundamental question is to what extent the schools should continue in a *supplementary* form (separate from the mainstream) or whether their functions should be *integrated* into the mainstream system, and in what form.

A Parallel or an Integrated System?

Problems of the 'Parallel' System

Because the existence of the supplementary schools does not seem to be recognised, no allowances are made for the students to fulfil the requirements of both schools. With a lack of serious concern on the part of the mainstream to take into account the role the Community Schools play in many pupils' lives, the experience of the Greek teachers is that of students limiting the time and energy they have to give to the Community School classes. Mainstream teachers seem not to be aware of the fact that their students may have *educational* commitments outside the requirements of the mainstream. For Costas:

> because of [this] the children don't take things so seriously. They always come late so you have difficulties organising your lesson ... I can't use the space to make it feel as though it's your classroom ... What are you going to do if you don't have co-operation?

Thus, there is insufficient understanding, communication and collaboration between the two sets of educators. As Eleni says, official support for multiculturalism is not matched by the reality on the ground.

A range of other problems arise from the way the Community School system is presently organised. For Agni, for example:

> There are a lot of small schools in every neighbourhood. A lot of [them] are the product of someone's ambition. They don't really think about the best interests of the children. There isn't any collaboration between schools.

The fact that there are so many small schools causes a range of problems. One is that the classes tend to be of mixed ability - whereas in the larger schools it is possible to have

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graded classes. Another is financial: there is not money to buy adequate equipment or materials. In addition, many schools are not able to afford to have their own premises and must rent rooms in mainstream schools (although some Church schools have the advantage of being able to use rooms on the Church site):

> [Costas] Using classrooms in the mainstream school is problematic; you can't make any changes in the classroom, can't display things or change the layout. You don't have a staff-room and so on ... You feel a bit of a stranger, alienated.

> [Demitrius] The only contact I had with the English teacher was when I found some messages on my desk with instructions: don't touch this, don't write on the board. Are we renting this space or not?

From my own experience I can confirm this feeling of *displacement*: when you are kept waiting for the building to be opened, told not to use the staff-room - you are made to feel a stranger, rather than a partner in the children's education.

Improving the Parallel System

The teachers' proposals for the improvement of the parallel system fall into two main categories:

- the idea of merging smaller schools into larger, more efficient units;
- and suggestions for improving communication between Community Schools and the mainstream.

Several teachers suggest merging smaller schools to create ones which are larger, more financially viable and more effective. For Costas 'if you had your own classrooms you could organise it as you want, and the children would feel more at home'. With more students they would be on a sounder financial footing, and thus perhaps able to afford their own premises (see, e.g. Michalis).

The validity of these comments is backed up by Pavlides' views. As Cypriot Coordinator he has been arguing for this reform for some time. He explains why:

> I don't like to see in a radius of one mile to have every Tuesday and Thursday three different schools in operation, breathing their last breath. If these three schools were one, there could be

better organisation of classes, better financial management, better access to resources, and a better use of the teaching staff. Plus, they wouldn't need to use the hourly-paid teachers anymore. And to pay triple rent! That's what I'm trying to do - to make them understand that this is the direction we have to go in.

We see here that financial difficulties lead to the employment of hourly-paid teachers (i.e. some post-graduate students from Greece and Cyprus, and some parents who have been trained by the *Apostoli*[32]). The problem is not so much the involvement of such teachers, but more about the degree of responsibility they are given: Evangelia, for example, feels that 'they can help in the system' in the role of teaching assistants.

Turning to the relationship between the mainstream and the Greek schools, Viki argues that it is both the responsibility of the Greek teachers, and the mainstream, to build understanding and to more effectively communicate. She herself researched the mainstream curriculum when she started working in the UK, in order to better understand the learning style of her students. Her comments on the mainstream both reinforce those of Eleni (above), and offer a solution:

> The [mainstream] teachers don't have a clue - they don't know what percentage of students speak other languages .... There should be files showing if the kids learn other languages; to have the phone number of the [Community School] teacher; to be in touch.

For Eleni and Viki the students' background should be used as a *resource* in education (e.g. Moll, 2000; Chamot & O'Malley, 1994): to increase mutual understanding within the class; to be a source of pride for minority students; to provide 'scaffolding' (Bruner, op cit) for the successful completion of tasks.

Viki further urges coordination and cooperation between the mainstream and the Community Schools: 'This [the Greek School] is part of the education of the student. *His education concerns both of us* ... We have to coexist in education too'. This is an important statement about what education should be in a *multicultural society*: she

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[32] Greek or Greek-Cypriot office responsible for the teachers in the Community Schools (see Appendix II: Glossary)

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asserts that these cannot be seen as separate activities - *the same child attends both schools: his or her education is a shared responsibility.*

Similarly, for Jorgeos, there is a vision of the child's education being a whole, with the two systems *sharing* this responsibility. He describes this shared activity as '[putting] together the pieces of this puzzle'. The metaphor is telling: one aspect of teaching multicultured children implies bringing together the disparate elements of their identities into a unified whole. While the schools may be separate, the objective is not.

We can recall at this point the words of the Swann Report, seen as a key statement of *cultural pluralism* in the UK:

> We would regard a democratic pluralist society as seeking to achieve balance between, on the one hand the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all the ethnic groups within it, and on the other the acceptance by all groups of the set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole. (DES, 1985: 6)

The point here is that multiculturalism should imply an *active* commitment from the state to support minority 'cultures and lifestyles'. If the state allows difference to be confined to the private sphere, and fails to recognise minority cultures in key public institutions (such as mainstream schools), then its stance is more accurately described as integrationalist. Thus in rejecting the confinement of 'difference' to the private sphere, the teachers demonstrate their commitment to a *strong version of multiculturalism in which* minority students' education is seen to requiring respect, understanding and *active cooperation* between the state (the wider society), and the minority group concerned.

Parallel or Integrated – A Flexible Approach

The teachers see advantages and disadvantages in both the present 'parallel' system, and in the possibility of greater integration with the mainstream system.

Eleni, who works in the Greek-Orthodox Faith School of St Cyprian, supports the integration of the Community Schools into the mainstream. She feels that St Cyprian itself is 'a good model'. However, she states that 'it's not exactly integrated'. It is

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limited in the amount of time which can be spent on Greek language (one hour of tuition per day) and culture by following the National Curriculum and due to conditions imposed by the LEA. The ideal integrated school, which seems to be implied in her comments, would probably resemble more the model of 'Maintenance Bilingual Education' (Baker, 1996: 184-193), in which equal time would be given to Greek language and culture and to English language and culture.

Viki, who has also worked at St Cyprian, says:

> I think that the schools have to be integrated or they have to cooperate ... To be included in the curriculum is important; to be involved in departmental meetings. To know what's happening so we could see how they operate, and they could see how we function.

And for Jorgeos:

> the integration of these classes in the English school [has to happen] ... But this requires convergence from both sides ... The Greek community has to have a say over the curriculum.

But integration would mean the danger of losing some of the freedoms and benefits the schools presently enjoy:

> [Costas] integration is better, because it's within the mainstream school environment and it's valued as one of the lessons. But the parallel system works more like a space where they can learn Greek and meet their friends. Of course it's fundamental to have infrastructure, to work at the same standards as the mainstream schools; to have books, a library, computers, etc; but also to have the kinds of freedoms the students now enjoy.

The teachers value some of the freedoms of the parallel system. Due to the assimilationist pressures operating at present in the mainstream there is the danger that in the mainstream the Greek content would be rigorously controlled. The Community Schools are seen as a space in which they can control the curriculum. For Eleni:

> because of this *lack of representation* in the English schools - *they can't just tear their own culture apart.*

For Agni the Community Schools operate as a meeting place for parents, while Demitrius thinks the parallel system is better as it is 'closer' to the culture and the community.

There is, then, a tension between the desire to create an autonomous space in order to maintain the Greek language and culture (the supplementary Community Schools), and the integrated model, which would provide recognition, resources, efficiency, effective communication with other teachers.

Ultimately *flexibility* characterises the teachers' approach. Rather than seeking one 'solution' they argue for a range of improvements to the present system. The teachers resist *closure* of this debate: the implicit assumption is that, at least at present, a pluralistic solution is both feasible and desirable. Pavlides again provides a form of perspective on this question. Having spent 18 years here, and having reflected on this issue, he concludes that *all* the different models (community schools, full-time Greek schools, the St Cyprian faith-school model, and the placing of Greek language teachers in mainstream schools) will play a part in a future strategy:

> They're useful in their own ways, the different models. Because I can't see any possibility,
> even if we make a lot of whole-day schools, for all the parents to want to go to the Greek,
> bilingual school. Some prefer to have it as something supplementary. The Community
> Schools are going to play a very important role in the future in the education of the community.

5 - 3 - Changing Beliefs about Multicultural Education in Greece

We now turn to an examination of the teachers' theories about multicultural education in Greece: their view on the present situation, and how they think it should change, given their experiences here. The interviews were done when the teachers were still in the UK. Most were conducted between 2003 and 2005, when the teachers involved had been here for between 2 and 5 years, and could all realistically contemplate their return to the Greek education system.

5 - 3.1 - Greece Now

Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism

Initially we look at the state of Greece at present. The teachers note the impact of the mass immigration into Greece since the collapse of the Soviet Union as a shock to a country which had previously seen itself as homogenous. Agni argues that in the past the approach of the Greek state had been to assimilate indigenous minorities and that the apparent success of such policies allowed the idea of an ethnically homogenous Greek nation to survive: the Greek *mythomoteur* (see Literature Review) has contained a strong notion of a unified people with a common racial, cultural and linguistic background.

However, since the arrival of the new immigrants the teachers note that the myth of homogeneity is starting to break down, due particularly to the presence of hundreds of thousands of Albanians (Nikolau, 2000) - in a country with only around 10 million people. While Jorgeos notes a new public recognition of the existence of 'historic' minorities, such as the Muslim minority in Thrace, the teachers argue that the state can still act in an ambivalent manner towards immigrants. Agni, discussing the setting up of community schools for Albanian children, says that the view of the elites is:

It's not in the interest of the Greek state - because they're Muslims.

And she goes on to link this with the idea of the 'Muslim Arrow' - a view held by nationalistic Greeks that, historically, the Turkish have attempted to move populations

into various Balkan countries in order to create alliances based on shared Islamic identity. That such a belief has any credibility among sections of the population is indicative of a widespread feeling that Greek autonomy is fragile: the Nineteenth Century saw the end of four hundred years of Turkish occupation, while the Twentieth Century saw the expulsion of one million Greeks from Turkey, as well as invasion by both the Italians and the Germans.

Thus, although at the official level, since the introduction of Law 2413/96 in 1996, intercultural education has been adopted as policy by the state, the teachers raise doubts about official commitment to that policy. For many of the teachers, the actual treatment of minority students seems closer to *assimilationism* than interculturalism: 'The Greek government wants to assimilate them' [Evangelia].

Assimilationist Pressures

Discussing the largest minority group, many of the teachers who have had experience with Albanian pupils in Greece note that they try to 'hide or refuse [to acknowledge] their own background' (Michalis), that they 'try to integrate [and] to become invisible' (Agni). The fact that such students focus on rapidly learning Greek, while not wanting to use Albanian in the school, together with the practice of taking of Greek Christian names (Evangelia), indicates that this is so.

One reason behind this is the perilous state of Albania itself. An article in the Observer (16/10/05) describes the reactions of an Albanian family deported from the UK after five years living in Glasgow. The village they return to is described as run-down, with no electricity or telephone lines, with malnourished children who do not attend school. On arrival the children say: 'Look, everything is broken ... I don't belong here' (Elvis, 17), and, referring to the estimated 10,000 Albanian girls who have been abducted to work in the sex trade overseas, Sadia (13) says, 'It's not safe for girls my age here. Some have just disappeared, and that could happen to me.'

Michalis offers an alternative explanation based on his understanding of the patterns of acculturation of *Greek Cypriot* children in the UK, while at the same time acknowledging the specificities in Greece: 'there is this word 'aftosynestima' [self image] - so the lower it is, the more you tend to want to assimilate into the new environment'. Minority children, if not helped to feel proud of their heritage culture and language in the school, will feel ambivalent and want to assimilate and to adopt the dominant language and culture. This form of assimilationist acculturation[33] corresponds to what Banks (1984) describes as 'psychological captivity' - the lowest level of 'ethnic identity development'. It is characterised by the individual having 'internalised the negative beliefs about her/his ethnic group that are institutionalised within society ... then [s/he feels] ... low self-esteem and is ashamed of his/her identity' (Mushi, 2004: 184).

Michalis' view is supported by Paleologou (2004: 322) who states that 'none of the governmental measures that have been implemented encourages the maintenance of ethnic identity.' For Agni:

> Until now we haven't respected their difference; it's been of more interest how they'll be absorbed, *not* how they'll keep their identity.

Pedagogy

There is an apparent discrepancy between this image and the aim of reforming the education system to conform to the intercultural model. The key policies in these reforms have been the introduction of Reception and Support classes. The *Reception* classes support the native language of the students, teach Greek, and prepare them to enter the mainstream class, while the *Support* classes provide them with some additional help (see Appendix VIII).

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[33] Andriessen and Phalet (2002) describe the process of adapting to the dominant culture as *acculturation*: 'integration' implies the desire to maintain the home culture as well as adapting to the dominant culture, while 'assimilation' is a rejection of ethnic cultural characteristics and an acceptance of the dominant culture (op cit: 25)

Several teachers note how quickly Albanian pupils acquire the Greek language. In fact many are successful in the education system: they often excel academically and go on to higher education. Agni, commenting on the Reception classes, says:

> I had a classroom with 18 children - 8 of them were from Albania. They went in the beginning to the reception class, were helped and after three months they were ready to come to my class.

But this kind of success can be at the price of a rejection of the home language and culture. While they receive support with the Greek language, how effectively do the schools support the *home* language and culture? Teachers are concerned that, in the long term, the Albanian's assimilationist stance towards acculturation will eventually lead to 'language shift' (Wiley, 1996: 122) - to the abandonment by the community of the Albanian language:

> [Evangelia] the first generation can't see the dangers of losing the language because they still speak it.

In sum, then, the teachers critique educational policy and practice in Greece as it relates to minority-community students. They note:

- A *discrepancy* between the official intercultural educational policy, and the reality in the classrooms.
- Acculturation of the largest minority group, the Albanians, taking an *assimilationist* form with the danger of *language shift*.

We now turn, therefore, to the ideas and theories of the teachers in this study as they relate to the *reform* of the system in Greece.

5 - 3.2 - Reforming the Greek System: Approaches to Culture & Identity

We will start by looking at the teachers proposals concerning *culture*:

Sensitivity and Acceptance

Recognising that minority students in Greece are marginalised in terms of their cultural identity (i.e. are subject to 'symbolic violence' in Bourdieu's terms), the teachers emphasise the importance of *sensitivity* to and *acceptance of* that cultural identity. For Evangelia, 'the education system has to support their identity', while for Demitrius teachers need to show minority students that:

> it's natural that they're in the class because we recognise that they have valid backgrounds - they are valuable.

In their discourse the notion of *sensitivity* is returned to frequently. Costas and Agni stress the importance of accepting the identities of minority students, and explicitly link this with their experiences in the community schools:

> [Agni] I believe I've been influenced. I believe that when I go back I'll be much more open - more sensitive

> [Costas] I think now I have more insight, because before I didn't know what they needed to face and what kind of situations they were in. I feel more sensitive; in fact because of the change in population in Greece we all need to be more sensitive and understanding

Costas talks of 'what they [need to] face', referring to the experience of marginalisation, where: 'they are living in a world that belongs to others, a world where they are ... strangers, intruders or pariahs' (Maalouf, 2000: 62).

The teachers argue for the importance of *recognition* of students' identities (c.f. Taylor, op cit). Strong versions of multicultural pedagogy require teachers to be open to, and have a personal understanding of, other forms of identity. Eleni sees this as a form of dialogue, or negotiation:

> In the Greek schools ... you make space for the Muslim pupils ... [Y]ou put on the table, 'this is what I am', you create a space for cooperation ... [and] start to communicate ... So you need teachers who are very sensitive to these issues - teachers like us who have had these kinds of experiences that enable them to understand the students. It can't just be put into the curriculum.

Eleni underlines the inadequacy of curricular change on its own - she places the teacher, and the teacher's knowledge, at the centre. She goes on to describe this kind of

knowledge as 'intercultural competence' – and the teachers as 'culturally literate, sensitive and responsive' (Muchi, 2004: 180). Cummins also stresses the *agency* of the teacher, who can promote 'collaborative relations of power' (2003: 52) within the classroom:

> the messages communicated to students regarding their identities - who they are and who they are capable of becoming .... [are] fundamental in determining student achievement (Cummins, 2003: 50)

In a manner similar to the critical pedagogy of Giroux (1998, the classroom becomes a 'space' for identity 'negotiation'. While this is Eleni's explicit argument ('you create a space for cooperation'), arguably this is *implicit* in all the teachers' calls for sensitivity, openness and recognition.

Following from this stress on recognition, the teachers advocate a form of pedagogy which *draws on students' existing knowledge and 'resources'*, and brings such knowledge and experience into the classroom. Students' cultures are not only publicly validated, but the teachers are also provided with material familiar to those students which can be used in a range of lessons. Demitrius discusses his approach:

> I try to give them motives to utilise their cultural capital so they don't lose it. So I'll try to bring out all their good skills and abilities, and all the cultural elements with paintings, with stories, [encouraging them] to talk about the family. To take them in.

For Evangelia:

> I'll ask them about their experiences, and memories about Albania. Helping them to draw on their own memories should make the whole [learning] process more creative.

While Jorgeos recalls his experiences in the Intercultural school in Athens:

> I wanted to use the different cultures that they brought with them. Some students were very defensive - some had experienced trauma ... [W]hen they started to feel more comfortable, and had overcome some emotional barriers ... I start[ed] to use these cultural resources.

The teachers' discourse is *constructivist* (Vygotsky, 1987): the role of the teacher is to bring in concepts which those students *are* familiar with as a form of 'scaffolding' (Bruner, op cit). Teachers also connect this with the discussion of 'deficit'. Where in

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the deficit discourse minority students 'fail' to adequately cope with the mainstream curriculum, due to their own 'problems', in this approach it is the school which 'fails' to understand the potential of minority pupils, and fails to meet their needs by using appropriate materials or techniques:

> [Viki] Of course she understands in another language, because she has already been in a school and already understands a lot of concepts. [The teachers] don't try to utilise the full extent of their abilities. We have to find a way to draw on all this knowledge they have already.

Inclusion & Equity

Teachers attempting to be 'sensitive' and 'accepting' is inadequate if the deep structures of education still act to marginalise minority students - and if they are less successful academically and in the labour market than those from the majority. When we focus on *identity* issues, a key objective is *inclusion*. Focusing on academic success implies a concern for *equity*.

The idea of 'inclusion' is one around which the teachers structure key elements of their discourse:

> [Demitrius] We have to have an inclusive policy. We have to take these kids into the classroom. We have to embrace them, and to try as much as we can to do the best for them.

Teachers support the *physical* inclusion of minority students inside the mainstream classroom - a rejection of 'pull out' policies, with minority students spending large amounts of time in Reception or Support classes (and with the dangers of negative labelling).

But as Moore (1999a) has pointed out, even when minority students are physically present in the classroom, they can still be 'invisible'. Jorgeos suggests this danger when he says that, as a teacher, you shouldn't tolerate having, 'invisible pupils who are just going to sit at the back desks'. But how can classrooms be made more inclusive? Costas highlights the role of the *curriculum*. Albanian history and geography should be part of the mainstream curriculum for all students, since 'knowledge is important for the understanding and acceptance of others'.

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We can see how seriously the teachers take this issue by the fact that they are almost unanimous in proposing such a change. Costas, Agni and Eleni suggest including Albanian history and geography on the curriculum. While Agni argues this should be 'optional' for non-Albanians, the others suggest it should be mandatory - 'so that everyone has a better attitude towards [the Albanian students]' [Costas]. Commenting on her experience in the Intercultural school in Athens, Viki says:

> Greek history - this was only part of the history. You can't go into a multicultural classroom and say 'now we'll do Byzantine history; the Greeks did this and this ..' That's irrational!

When discussing this issue Evangelia argues that 'the education system has to support [minority] identities', and mentions approvingly a friend who teaches 'all the different religions' in his religious studies class.

Thus the teachers take a critical position towards the dominant discourse in Greece, and towards textbooks, which are (especially in the case of history) highly ethnocentric. The textbooks prioritise the Christian faith, seen as providing 'the continuity ... from ancient to modern Greece, through Byzantium' (Zambeta, 2000: 148), while making only 'fleeting and eclectic references to [other] ancient civilisations' (150), leading to the 'systematic exclusion of otherness' (148). By supporting an inclusive approach to the curriculum, the teachers encourage students to develop a 'healthy sense of ethnic identity' (Mushi, op cit) and to accept other ethnic groups.

Turning to the notion of *equity* pedagogy, Evangelia explicitly addresses the issue of inequality in the multicultural classroom:

> they're in a subordinate position ... [so] you need to do work now to create the right conditions ... to show that [you] care.

She asserts that minority students have a 'natural right' to an education which supports their needs and which allows them to be successful. She locates the responsibility for minority students' success or failure with the education system and with the teachers: 'you need to support them to provide opportunities for them to succeed'. Evangelia's discourse corresponds with Banks' description of equity pedagogy as, 'teachers

[modifying] their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, ethnic and gender groups' (Banks, 2001: 13).

Interculturalism

Several teachers give clear support for the principles of *interculturalism* (see Chapter 2 for an outline of this approach). For Costas, 'interculturalism is something we have to pursue if we want to have a democratic society', while Jorgeos states, 'the direction must be interculturalism'.

Two key elements of the intercultural approach are:

1st - to help students to participate actively in society, while at the same time maintaining their own cultural identity

2nd - to promote exchange among students in order to bring to the surface the special and significant elements they carry with them and thus to enrich their knowledge and experience through a constant process of interaction (Halkiotis, 2000: 49-50).

As we have just seen, the teachers support this first goal through their advocacy of equity pedagogy: by ensuring that schooling is based on equity and inclusion, minority-community students have a better chance of staying at school and being successful there, and this could lead to improved life-chances and greater participation in society.

The second goal concerns the broadening of knowledge and experience of cultures through interaction. Support for these aims can be found in Viki's practice in the Intercultural school in Athens. She talks about a lesson, given once a week, called 'What the Africans (or Chinese, Japanese, etc) Did for Us', which was for the whole class, covering both historical and cultural features. Moreover 'we tried to make connections between different events around the world - to show some patterns and commonalties in history ... making [the students] better able to make links for themselves'.

Jorgeos says:

> I found it more important to use activities to bring students together - believe me, it's very difficult where homogeneity doesn't exist to build these relationships - there is a thin line, and racism can develop through the emphasis on difference ... Instead I promoted group work, to mix and break up the separate groups.

> It was as though I had a pot, and I had to stir things to make them move in the same direction. I had to be continually creative.

One striking metaphor is the 'pot'. This is not the assimilationist 'melting pot' (from Israel Zangwill's 1908 play), which has been used historically to 'melt' minority cultures *into* the dominant culture. The image resembles more a *soup*: there are distinct ingredients, but at the same time the teacher tries to create a sense of *connection* between those distinct elements.

Such an approach is very similar to *cultural pluralism* – with its aim of building tolerance and mutual respect. However, Jorgeos is not particularly interested in 'just insisting on [students] telling us about their food, dancing and so on'. He wants to move beyond stereotypical representations of minority cultures ('steel bands, saris and samosas' - Watson, 2000), or the presentation of the realities of particular groups as 'exotic, quaint or peculiar' (Marshall, 2002: 23). He does this by sensitively encouraging minority students themselves to bring their *unique* ('individual') cultural knowledge and experience into the class. Thus Jorgeos's 'version' of interculturalism can be seen in this respect as a 'strong' form of multiculturalism - one which refuses easy generalisations about culture.

Jorgeos also stresses the dangers of racism developing through an *'emphasis on difference'*, and a 'mindless cosmopolitanism' (Gundara, 2000: 71). He uses the metaphor of the 'thin line': he draws on students' cultural resources, but at the same time wants to fight *racism* on the part of majority students, and *separatism* on the part of minority-community students (thus also following the interculturalist principle of fighting racism (Solomon & Makrinioti, 2000: 5-10)).

His approach then is nearer to Gundara's advocacy of a form of interculturalism which *rejects* assimilationist pressures to conform to the majority culture, while arguing *for* a sense of common identity, formed through a more genuine dialogue between different groups. Jorgeos wants to 'bring students together'.

Other teachers support such aims. Evangelia says: 'Through interaction you can learn and exchange things with others'. Similarly Costas argues that, 'knowledge is important for the understanding and acceptance of others', while Demitrius encouraged minority students to bring their experiences into the class, and wanted them to understand that their cultural identities were seen as 'valid'.

Thus, in their approach to *culture* and *identity* in the Greek context, the teachers emphasise:

- *Sensitivity* and *inclusion*: teachers should help students to negotiate their identities within the class, and should draw on students' cultural resources; minority students should be physically and symbolically 'included' in the mainstream class, with their history, geography and so on included in the curriculum

- *Equity*: starting by recognising the unequal social status of many minority communities, and stressing the responsibility of Greek teachers to 'provide opportunities for them to succeed'.

- *Interculturalism*: the teachers support basic principles of intercultural education, including an emphasis on the facilitation of communication between students from different backgrounds, as well as making connections between their cultures and histories. The aim is to build mutual understanding and respect, whilst avoiding the dangers of separatism and racism. In sum, the teachers advocate a form of multiculturalism tailored to local conditions

5 - 3.3 - <u>Reforming the Greek System: Approaches to Language</u>

We turn now to *language*. We will examine teachers' views on teaching the *Greek* language, on provision for *community languages*, and on the form of school *organisation* they feel is most appropriate in term of language provision.

Teaching the Greek Language

All of the teachers identify the need to support immigrant students in acquiring the Greek language. Again, in this discussion, there is an overriding concern with *equity*. There is a concern that, if minority students fail adequately to acquire the dominant language, they will be disadvantaged in the education system, with the implication of an increase in the possibility of 'drop-out', and ultimately becoming second-class citizens.

One point that the teachers stress is the importance of correctly *understanding* the students' needs concerning the Greek language. The teachers note that minority students can be labelled as cognitively weak by teachers who do not understand that their problems are linguistic. Michalis gives an example:

> I had two [Albanian] children in one school who had Christianised their names to make them sound Greek. These were children I was paying a lot of attention to, trying to help. Because most of the time they couldn't understand Greek, they couldn't manage ... They knew 2 + 4. They knew 'lemon *and* orange juice', but couldn't understand 'plus'. They knew 'ti kanis' [how are you], but didn't understand 'poso kani' [*equals*] - not as 'equals' anyway. There is a difference between conversational and academic speech ... So we tried to simplify the facts of the problem to help them understand

And a similar quote comes from Viki:

> We have to find a way to draw on all this knowledge they have already. I knew from personal experience ... [s]ometimes, maybe they get mixed up, but it's not their first language. You can understand this, and you can't put the blame on the student.

What the teachers are indicating here is the need for teachers of immigrant children to recognise the effect of difficulties with language, and to clearly separate those difficulties

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from any judgements about underlying academic ability. Here we return again to the debates about 'deficit'. For teachers without knowledge of the problems encountered by bilingual pupils, it is easy to label such children as poor learners rather than seeing the problem as one of language use, *including the language used by the teacher*. Viki explicitly tackles this: 'you can't put the blame on the student'.

Additionally, Michalis explains the problem through a coda: 'There is a difference between conversational and academic speech'. This seems to be a clear reference to the work of Cummins, who has differentiated between 'conversational' and 'academic' proficiency[34] (Cummins, 2000a: 3 & 34), explaining the difficulty immigrant students have in acquiring the complex and often context-free language of 'academic' communication. This, he argues, can take up to seven years to adequately acquire. On the other hand, students can generally become conversationally proficient in about two years (Cummins, op cit; Thomas and Collier, op cit). Michalis points this up: they know 'kai' (and), but not 'sin' (plus) - while the words are close semantically, the former is 'conversational' and the latter is 'academic'.

This suggests that teachers need to continue supporting the acquisition of academic language well after the point at which conversational proficiency has been achieved. Viki and Michalis both point to the need to support, or *scaffold*, minority students' learning. For Michalis, it's necessary to 'simplify the facts of the problem to help them understand'. Support for such an approach comes from Gibbons, who thinks: 'one of the hardest listening tasks for [foreign] learners is to understand and remember a string of instructions ...' (Gibbons, 2002: 21). Viki talks of '[drawing] on all this knowledge they already have'. She is referring to informal knowledge, as well as the years of schooling in their home country, and this knowledge needing to be 'activated' by the teacher to bring out the pupil's full potential[35].

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[34] In the 1980s he used alternative terms: *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (BICS), and *cognitive academic language proficiency* (CALP)

[35] This activation of previous knowledge can also been described as 'conceptual transfer'

This leads to a question concerning the education, experience and background of those teaching. On the one hand Costas and Eleni argue that mainstream teachers in Greece should have training to understand better the nature of bilingualism and the most appropriate methods for teaching Greek as a second language. Eleni and Michalis also support the use of native-speakers as teaching assistants, thus opening the question of the role of community languages.

Bilingualism & Community Languages

The dominant discourse concerning bilingual students in the Greek mainstream school system is *subtractive*. Fillipardou's research (1997), found that the majority of primary-school teachers in Rhodes saw bilingualism as an obstacle to students' progress, with only a small number supporting an *additive* perspective. Paleologou's review of the research on language provision in Greek schools reveals a difference between the aims stated in the various directives establishing and regulating the Reception and Support classes (see discussion in 3.1, above), and the reality on the ground. Despite the implementation of bilingual programmes in a few experimental schools, for most immigrant students, the system 'ignores their linguistic background' (Paleologou, 2004: 324/327).

The teachers here oppose this dominant discourse and practice. They not only support the teaching of Greek as a second language, but also tend to hold an *additive* view of bilingualism (i.e. finding it a benefit, rather than a hindrance). Evangelia sees support for the community language as a 'right'. For Viki, the fact that many minority-community children are denied the possibility to maintain their mother tongue is unacceptable, unjust:

> they have roots as well - *it's not only us who have roots!* For all these kids their language has to have official recognition - fair is fair!

Viki also points out a contradiction in the dominant Greek discourse on bilingualism: while the support of the community language is promoted by the Greek state for members of the Diaspora, in practice the same is not true for minority students and their languages within Greece.

The points in support of bilingual education from the teachers include:

- Firstly, that the *community language is an essential component of minority student's identities.* The teachers' support for this has been well established above (see sections 5-2.1): Evangelia, Viki, Costas and Agni all see a positive link between the home language and a rounded sense of personal identity, and the link has also been made between language-shift and cultural assimilation (5-3.1 above).

- Secondly, that *without their home language immigrant students will miss out on curricular content, and will therefore fall behind their peers.* Costas, concerned about the danger of older students missing out on some of the curriculum due to poor Greek-language skills, advocates lessons in the native language, 'to help them understand the different subjects' and argues that in this way the home language can help to 'fill the gaps' in curricular knowledge. For Michalis, using the first language can 'bridge the gap between what the children know and what they have to learn.'

- Thirdly, that *bilingualism has cognitive advantages.* Viki discusses this in relation to Greece and the Albanian pupils.

    > They need to improve both Greek and Albanian. Linguists say that you can't learn the
    > second language if you stop providing the first. The first language needs to develop.

This additive view (as opposed to notions of 'negative transference') reminds us of Cummins' theory of Common Underlying Proficiency (2000a: 38): that cognitive development achieved through using the first language at a high level transfers to academic tasks attempted in L2 (see also: Moore, 1999a; Rossell and Baker, 1996; Fitzgerald, 1995).

For Evangelia, bilingualism is partly an issue of *equity.* The various advantages of bilingualism and bilingual education combine to improve the chances of students to succeed academically. She says:

> There are two things you need ... *to provide opportunities for them to succeed* ... You
> have to provide them with the Greek language [and] ... their own language.

In terms of practical approaches to supporting the community language we have seen the suggestion of having some course content in L1. Other ideas include: the use of native-speakers as teachers or teaching assistants; close cooperation and information-sharing between teachers working with bilingual students; and the use of bilingual materials. Michalis suggests that: 'the reception classes, [when] you have intensive language lessons, need to be bilingual ... [so] you can have bilingual teachers.' The idea that bilingual teachers or teaching assistants can help to 'bridge the gap' between curricular content and minority students' understandings can be supported by considering the problems which often arise with monolingual mainstream teachers who 'do not take sufficient account of the possibility that people do – and perceive – things differently from people brought up within other cultures' (Moore, 1999: 58). This 'bridging' role, therefore, is particularly important when concepts do not have an exact correspondence between languages, calling for the skills of *translation* and *interpretation* to facilitate understanding[36]. To make this work, teachers believe that the bilingual teacher 'has to understand the Greek educational system', while the mainstream teacher 'has to be informed about bilingual issues' [Costas].

As Michalis is concerned that the support of L1 faces practical problems where there are schools with only a few bilingual students from varied backgrounds: affording bilingual teachers for just a few students is too expensive for a small, not very wealthy state such as Greece; geographical factors increase the difficulty – with the immigrant population dispersed across numerous remote islands as well as the mainland. As Jorgeos says it is 'an expensive model'. One of his suggestions is the use of bilingual *materials* which can be produced in a wide range of languages, and can be used to support teaching in the mainstream class. Jorgeos himself has been involved in the production a history book with an intercultural perspective, with a companion book explaining the core text in the community language: 'We have a Russian one and an Albanian one now. And more translations can be produced on demand in the future.' Michalis, Evangelia and Viki also

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[36] 'using [a] concept in an additional language might involve not just a simple matter of acquiring a new signifier, but gaining familiarity with a new 'signified' – that is, a matter of *conceptual* rather than merely *linguistic* extension and exchange' (Moore, 1999: 58)

mention the benefits of bilingual materials, with Viki noting the importance translated materials have in the Intercultural School.

The teachers' attitudes towards language issues in the Greek context, therefore, link closely with those on culture and identity:

- *Sensitivity* is again emphasised; in this case it is linked to an awareness of difficulties facing second-language learners in the mainstream classroom, and the need to scaffold learning by grading their language and drawing on students' previous knowledge.

- *Equity* is stressed: teachers note the importance of supporting both the minority language and acquisition of Greek as, when combined, this gives students the best chance to catch up with their peers in academic achievement, and therefore helps equalise life-chances.

- These assertions are based on *additive* understandings of bilingualism, emphasising the cognitive advantages of bilingualism, as well as its positive role in identity formation.

- *Bilingual teachers and teaching assistants* are seen as being able to play a valuable pedagogic role, as are *bilingual materials.*

Models of Community Language Provision: Integrated or Parallel

In a similar way to the discussion of which model was most appropriate for the Greek minority in the UK, the next issue is whether teachers support the *integration* of community-language education in the mainstream in Greece, or through *parallel* Community Schools.

The picture that emerges is of the teachers supporting a *range of different models* for the organisation of bilingual education in Greece:

- A number of teachers support some form of *integrated schools.* Agni, for example, believes that parallel Community Schools are not taken seriously by the state. Thus 'if we really want to help [the minority students] maybe we have to integrate [the language] into the Greek schools'.

- Others argue for *partial integration of community languages into mainstream schools,* while *also supporting parallel Community Schools* (e.g. Costas).

- Finally, some are *against integration of community languages, and strongly support parallel Community Schools.*

There are different possible models of the *integration* of some or all of the functions of the Community Schools into the mainstream. There is a model which supports the community language(s) being 'integrated' through the use of bilingual teachers or teaching assistants, either in the Reception and Support classes, or in both those classes and the regular lessons. Viki says:

> I think [their languages] have to be integrated in to the mainstream schools. That's what I prefer. I believe that the students can go to these classes during school hours, but not at the expense of other lessons. The others can do something similar or extra [so] the student doesn't 'lose' something ...

Viki shows a concern for minority students not falling behind their peers. She suggests elsewhere that these lessons could be in the form of a 'literature hour'. The minority students could study a text in their own language, while the others read it in Greek. Afterwards they can discuss it together. Thus, despite being 'pulled out', the L1 language input is not exclusionary, but is part of the work of the whole school: 'it doesn't work as a punishment'.

Another *'integrated'* model would be a bilingual/bicultural school (Baker, 1996), focused on a particular community (e.g. Turkish, Albanian, Polish), but also drawing in majority-community students and others, using the Greek language, but also having a significant focus on the language of the particular community. Both Evangelia and Michalis mention St Cyprian as a model of this kind of school:

> [Evangelia] They could establish bilingual schools like St Cyprian, which is part of the state system ... They could teach in Albanian for 20% of the subjects, or teach it as one of the modern ... languages.

> [Michalis] If the majority of students in a school are of a specific minority group it would be good to provide this language with the possibility for the Greek students to learn it. I would

personally feel very happy if my son was going to a school and he could learn Turkish. It's like St. Cyprian here: all children can participate in the Greek lessons.

In fact the Intercultural Law of 1996 allows the establishment of Intercultural schools which could take different forms according to the particular needs of the students (Hellenic Pedagogic Institute, 1999). So the legal framework exists for the formation of these kinds of bilingual schools.

Finally there is the model of schools exclusively devoted to a particular community, like the Polish or Armenian schools in Athens. But this model poses the problem of *segregation*: if minority communities have their own schools, the students will not mix with those of different backgrounds and so achieve common understandings. But such a criticism is also applied to schools using Reception and Supplementary classes to support community languages - if this involved minority students spending a lot of time outside the regular classes 'basically they're going to be isolated' [Agni]. As Michalis says: 'the issue is not to create a *ghetto* inside the school.'

Some argue for a parallel system of Community Schools providing the home language ('it's difficult to accommodate for each language [in the mainstream] knowing that you have about 34 different ethnic groups' [Jorgeos]), while the development of intercultural understanding can take place within the mainstream: 'so the Greek students can learn about and get closer to students from other communities'.

5 - 4 - Conclusion

We have seen that the teachers' theories develop as they shift position from working in the Greek mainstream to the British community schools. We have been concerned with the '*what*' of the teachers' theories – *what* they change to (*the process* of change will be examined in the next section).

So *what position* do the teachers shift to in terms of their attitude and approach to *language, culture* and *identity*?

In terms of *language* the teachers develop a broadly *communicative* methodology: there is an emphasis on meaningful dialogue, and teachers draw on students' 'funds of knowledge' in order to increase motivation. They are aware of differences in *learning style* between students in the UK and those in Greece and alter their approach accordingly: the teachers move towards activities with a strong *communicative* dimension, rejecting the more didactic approaches typical in Greece; and they incorporate movement, visual stimulation and music into their lessons. They provide *scaffolding* for the learning of the students, for example by allowing a certain amount of English to be used in the class, through inclusion of Cypriot dialect, or by grading the teaching of grammar.

This much is at the level of *practice* (i.e. teachers' 'theories-in-use'). However, at a more *abstract* theoretical level (that of 'espoused' theory) the teachers see learning the community language as a *resource*: they believe it helps students in terms of healthy identity formation and that it can improve their understanding of the dominant language, as well as having positive effects on their academic progress in general. At a *normative* level, they see the learning of minority-community languages as a *right*.

The *discourse* which the teachers develop concerning language, then, emphasises a broadly *communicative* approach, but one which – in line with *postmodern / post-structuralist* concerns – is sensitive to local variation (in learning style, in terms of the use of dialect, etc (Hornberger, 1996; Ball, 1996)). Furthermore, by arguing for the benefits of supporting the minority language, the teachers adopt an *additive* view of bilingualism. The teachers, then, support a *'strong' version of bilingual pedagogy* (Baker, 1996) of a type associated with *'strong' versions of multiculturalism* (Watson, 2000). This strong support for bilingualism extends to their discussion of *Greece*, with the teachers advocating state support for minority languages (either through their inclusion in the mainstream, or through funding for community schools).

The teachers' discourse on language should be seen in the context of other powerful discourses which they encounter. On the one hand, the dominant pedagogic model in Greece emphasises *transmission* and the adherence to *set texts*. This model is carried over into the British community schools by administrators and parents. But *the teachers' reject this discourse* by moving to a communicative methodology and by adopting a more flexible approach to materials. Moreover, despite the rhetoric of *interculturalism* in Greece, and *cultural pluralism* in the British mainstream, research shows that in practice in Greece there is little interest in minority students' linguistic backgrounds (Paleologou, 2004), while the teachers' discussions with their students in the UK reveal that there is strong *assimilationist* pressure in the mainstream, rendering minority languages largely invisible. So there is a *critical* dimension to the teachers' discourse, as it is partly formed *in opposition* to the more traditional pedagogic model found in Greece, and the *weaker understandings of multicultural pedagogy* found in the Greek and British mainstream systems.

To turn to _culture_ and _identity_, the approach to Greek culture the teachers take in the community schools can be seen as *constructivist*: lessons proceed in a dialogic manner, and the classroom in seen as a space for exploring students' sense of identity and increasing their self-awareness. Teachers *recognise the dynamic nature of culture*, and thus *emphasise the contemporary*. They attempt to *move beyond stereotypes* by bringing in their personal knowledge of contemporary Greek culture, as well as by drawing on and valuing students' own experiences.

In terms of their approach in Greece, they emphasise building *mutual understanding* between members of minority communities and members of the dominant community, for example by educating the majority about the multicultural nature of their own society. There is also a commitment to *making the curriculum more inclusive*. A number of the teachers note its ethnocentric bias, and support including the history, geography, etc, of a range of minority communities.

Thus, the *teachers' discourse* concerning *culture and identity* is built on a sensitivity to the *hybrid* nature of minority cultures, and includes a commitment to give students spaces within which to *negotiate* their identities. From this point of view, the teachers' approach coincides with a number of *strong* (Watson, 2000) understandings of multicultural pedagogy. Their sensitivity to hybridity mirrors that of *postmodernism*, while a concern for the negotiation of identity, building mutual understanding, and on making the curriculum more inclusive is found in *critical*[37] and *intercultural* discourses. This position is again constructed in opposition to other powerful discourses: in the UK mainstream a 'weak' form of cultural pluralism is viewed as essentially rhetorical, with the reality being an invisibility of minority cultures and a pressure on students to assimilate. Both in the UK mainstream and in the community schools the teachers note ethnocentric discourses concerning culture and history. Finally, the teachers wish to translate the rhetoric of interculturalism *into* reality in Greece: they feel that its fundamental principles, if applied, could successfully build mutual understanding in a society which is still coming to terms with its heterogeneous nature.

The critical dimension to the teachers' discourse can additionally be seen in their discussion of *organisational* issues: the teachers are actively critical of textbooks produced in Greece, of the hierarchy in the community schools, of the British state's lack of support for the community schools, for minority languages and cultures, and of the Greek system's failure to draw on teachers' knowledge in the policy process.

We have seen, then, that the movement of the teachers' theories has been towards stronger versions of multicultural pedagogy. A coherent voice emerges, formed in opposition to a range of other powerful discourses: they reject assimilationism, both in Greece and in the UK, and oppose aspects of the (implicit) curriculum in the community schools (where it is a poor fit with the students' needs, or is ethnocentric). Their discourse has elements of *critical, postmodernist* and *intercultural* approaches.
The teachers' journey has been a movement from using transmission models and materials, towards a more dialogic and critical approach. Their practical theories-in-use,

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[37] 'transformative' would be a near synonym for 'critical' here

and their more abstract espoused theories reveal a deepening understanding of key issues in multicultural pedagogy. For their return to Greece they are ready to bring this understanding to bear, primarily by attempting to make the promise of interculturalism a reality.

Chapter 6   Reflective Process and the Development of Teachers' Theories

We turn now from *what* the teachers' theories and practices are, to *how* they *develop*. This means exploring how the teachers *reflect* - a complex matter, which will be subdivided as follows:

6.1   - teachers' reflections on classroom practice

6.2   - the role of teachers' biographies in the development of their theories

6.3   - conditions which facilitate or inhibit reflection

6.4   - dialogue and collective reflection

6.5   - the development of the reflective teacher from 'competent' to 'critical'

Firstly, in order to analyse the teachers' reflective practice it will be necessary to delineate a number of levels at which reflection may take place: the *technical, practical* and *critical* (Van Manen, 1977) (see 3.2 – 3.4 above).

'Technical' reflection addresses questions such as 'Am I moving through the curriculum in a timely fashion?' (Valli, 1993: 12). Teachers monitor themselves to determine how well they match 'teaching behaviour to ... established codes' (op cit: 13). In the *'practical'* form of reflection the teacher focuses on classroom practice and how to improve it. This involves 'interpretative understanding of the meanings of educational experiences and choices of action within a particular social and institutional context' (Lee, 2005: 703). The *'critical'* form moves beyond the classroom context to take into account the impact of macro-sociological factors, whilst foregrounding issues of equity and social justice. Critical reflection (and to some extent 'practical' reflection) can involve a *reflexive* dimension (Moore, 2000) where the teacher interrogates her assumptions at a deeper level (see 3.4.2).

We will not consider the mastery or application of *technical* skills for achieving given educational aims to be *reflection*[38], but instead we will focus on the *practical* and *critical* dimensions.

6 - 1 - Reflecting on Classroom Practice

6 - 1.1 - Shifting Position

Initially we can examine the teachers' more 'practical' mode of reflection. As we have seen, by coming to work in the Community Schools the teachers radically *shift* their position and their role. They move from the position of member of the majority community in Greece to being part of, and working with, a minority here in a parallel system of Community Schools.

But what significance does this shift in position have on the teachers' theories? Does it provoke reflection? Arguably, a precondition for reflection is *openness*. The teachers *chose* to leave Greece, and so to put themselves into a vulnerable position. Working in a foreign country, dealing intensively with a bilingual minority community, working outside the mainstream, the teachers face a lot of uncertainty - a lot of disruption to their normal expectations and practices. This corresponds to the state of 'open-mindedness' in which we are '[willing to] recognise the possibility of error even in the beliefs which are dearest to us' (Dewey, 1933: 29). Jorgeos contrasts this state with that of teachers who 'get into routines, so they don't have to deal with these things'. The teachers in this study, however, have precisely *broken* their routines, opening themselves to contingency.

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[38] As noted in 3 – 3.3, above, this 'technical' notion of reflection actually fits with a 'competence' model of the teacher: she or he is positioned as a consumer of pedagogic theory from the academy and as an instrument of educational policy; 'reflection' becomes the effective self-monitoring of the teacher to ensure that she/he conforms efficiently to such top-down pressures. However, in this thesis reflection will be understood as a process which draws on teachers' own experiences, and which goes beyond notions of 'efficiency' by engaging with broader issues, including the aims of education, its real-world effects, and its socio-economic and political context

6 - 1.2 - The Role of Critical Incidents

We have noted in the previous chapter that the teachers are *prompted into reflection* by encountering *'dilemmas'* and *'critical incidents'*. A dilemma is a problematic situation which arises for the teacher (Osterman and Kottcamp, 2004: 27; Pollard, 2002: 5), while a critical incident is something more dramatic: a shock, possibly a turning point in one's personal biography (Brookfield, 1990; Tripp, 1993; Sikes, Measor & Woods, 2001). For these teachers the possibility of such experiences is increased by coming to work in the Community Schools.

The teachers, as we have seen, have had a range of experiences prompting such reactions. Examples include:

- students' low-level of competence in the Greek language
- students' lack of motivation and their poor behaviour
- teachers' frustration with set-texts, which they perceive as poorly matched to students' level, learning-style or interests

The teachers' reactions are reflected in their language:

- Michalis talks of his *'first shock'* when he started in the Community Schools and encountered students writing sentences containing a mixture of demotic Greek, Cypriot dialect and English
- Agni reports that, when she first entered the classroom, she *'panicked'* - wondering if *her* English level would be sufficient, as she would need to speak English 'all the time'
- Demitrius says that 'a problem with one kid' led him to thoughts of returning to Greece in his first year

We can understand the dynamic of these events as a *disjuncture* between, on the one hand teachers' underlying *assumptions and expectations* - embedded in their 'theories-in-use' - and on the other the perceived *reality* in front of them. Under such conditions

underlying assumptions not only become explicit, but can also be *challenged*, and may 'give way to a new and different perspective' (Osterman & Kotcamp, 2004: 14)[39]:

[Evangelia] When I came I took some classes and I thought I'd do it as I did in Greece. I didn't have any previous training in how we deal with all this ... And now I know, I've realised, that this doesn't work. There are children that have been in the [Community] schools for 10 years and they have a very basic linguistic knowledge, so that means for me that the methodology that they followed in the schools up to that moment was wrong. So I started to use a method that worked in the university I'm studying in.

[Demitrius] The first year when I was trying to exhaust the whole book, the kids didn't want to follow. In the beginning I tried to do everything - in the ways we do it in Greece, in a systematic way. I had a fierce reaction. There was a very negative atmosphere ... They didn't want to work this way for anything. I was expecting different things and they were expecting different things

6 - 1.3 - The Reflective Process

Stages of the Reflective Cycle

The reports from the teachers follow a similar pattern, as was illustrated in the previous chapter. There was an underlying assumption which was contradicted by reality: the assumption was revealed and shown to be false. The teachers, then, had to alter their vision of the teaching situation and adopt a new, more appropriate approach. As we saw in the previous chapter, these assumptions had essentially been 'imported' from Greece: that children in the Greek Diaspora speak Greek at home and are highly motivated; that it is appropriate to work systematically through a set textbook; that languages at a 'higher' level are taught mainly through a focus on reading, writing and grammar.

These assumptions were thrown into doubt through the teachers' *experiences*. This provoked them into 'researching' the problem - and thus into building up *local*

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[39] There is a question over the when theories become 'explicit' or 'espoused'. The process of explicit theory building may begin through dialogue - in the interview, for example.

knowledge. The teachers gained knowledge of the students' learning style, the prevailing methodology in the Community Schools, the teaching style in mainstream schools in the UK, the patterns of language use of the students. Teachers 'expand their interpretative frameworks and ideas about where and what to look for in order to understand' (Little & Cochran-Smith, 1994: 31) and come to a clearer understanding of the issues. Again their language reveals this: 'now I know - I've realised'; 'now I understand'. In Kolb's terms (Kolb, 1984), this is the stage of *(re)conceptualisation*.

This is followed by *'experimentation'*. The teachers find a new, more suitable, approach. In Evangelia's case the solution was to identify a number of key problems the students were having with the Greek language, and then to tackle them, using a diverse range of strategies on each, by developing a range of projects, and by utilising IT in the class. Demitrius developed his teaching methods and started a Masters degree.

These four stages of the reflective cycle can be summarised in the following way:
1. Initial Experience & Critical Incidents Prompt Questions
2. Research and Reflection
3. New Understanding
4. Experiment with New Practices

The process is clearly not linear. In the movement towards improved practice, teachers repeatedly 'test out' different approaches, and adjust both their assumptions and practices accordingly. Thus the *cyclical* representation, below:

| Reflective Cycle |

First Stage: *initial experience prompts questions*

Forth Stage:
'experiment' with new practices

Second Stage:
'research' & reflection

Third Stage:
new understanding
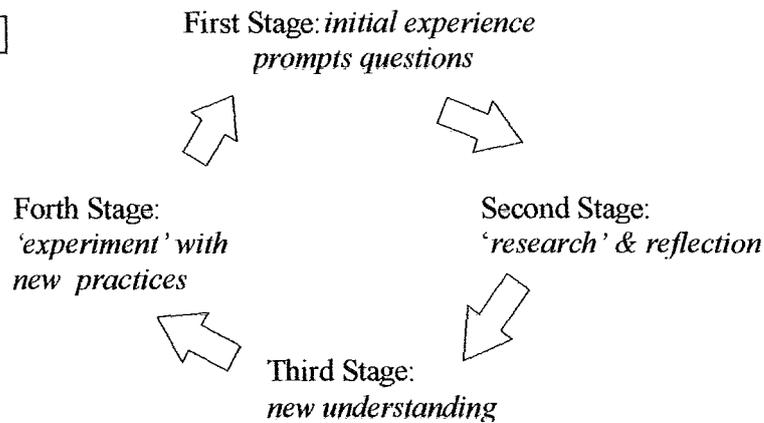
Reflective Cycle, or Reflective Spiral?

We can focus here on the *time-frame* within which the process takes place. For Jorgeos:

> Every day is different. Every day you face something, and every day you learn. These five years is a big enough period to offer you an opportunity to change and to improve.

Two time-frames seem to be operating here: on the one hand 'everyday you learn', on the other, over five years you can 'change and improve'. This process, starting from their early experiences ('when I came', 'the first year', 'in the beginning', etc), to their *current* understandings ('*now* I understand', etc), takes time.

One aspect of the literature on reflection is the distinction between 'reflection-in-action' and 'reflection-on-action' (Schön, 1983) / 'reflection-post-action' (Stones, 1992): where the former (*in* action) refers to insight gained while teaching, and the latter (*on / post* action) to more considered reflection after the lesson. The interview data provides some evidence for reflection-in-action, as well as post-action. I asked Michalis, for example, whether he felt there was any mismatch between his teaching style and the students' learning style. He replies:

> Yes. There are differences, but for me it's a continuous adjustment. You say something, and you try to see what they understand. I don't wait to give them the homework to see whether they understand. I use different methods, and I weave between different models of teaching within the same two-hour period.

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This suggests that he undertakes a process of reflection-in-action in order to judge the response of the students, and to adjust his teaching style within the same lesson.

An extract from Agni appears to suggest reflection 'in' and 'post' action:

> In the beginning I couldn't understand how someone can understand you [in Greek] and reply in English ...*I couldn't be sure if they could understand me.* The older teachers, who lived here, said: 'They understand you - talk to them in Greek'. So I asked myself: 'How will I know the level?'; 'What do they understand from what I say?'

Although here Agni appears to be asking herself certain questions during the lesson, she has not changed her teaching approach immediately on the basis of these questions. She takes the time to ask more experienced teachers their opinion (see the role of dialogue, below), and appears to be engaged in reflection *after* the lesson too: 'So I asked myself ...'. In general, the interview material suggests that experiences in the classroom raise questions for the teachers, or provide insights, but the process of reflecting on these, and the stages of reconceptualisation and of trying new approaches tend to be spread over a longer period.

Thus we can reconstruct the reflective *circle* posited above, for a reflective *spiral*. In the Community Schools teachers *pose questions* (1), *research and reflect* (2), *reach new understandings* (3), and *experiment with new practices* (4). Furthermore, the teachers are also able to utilise these new understandings in the Greek setting.

In this case the understandings they have gained from the Community Schools will serve as pre-assumptions in Greece. If these are contradicted by *experience* there, another cycle will begin, of *question (1), reflection (2), new understanding (3)* and *new practice (4).*

Reflective Spiral
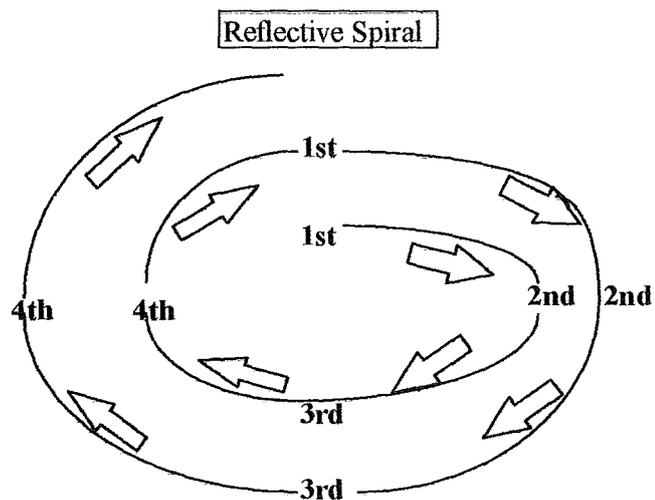
6 - 1.4 - How their Theories Change: Practical Reflection

When these teachers leave the Community Schools, therefore, their theories have changed. But what aspects of their theories have changed? I will consider three aspects of teachers more 'practical' reflection: those concerned with *student needs, subject matter*, and *teaching strategies*[40].

There is a focus on teaching which is *sensitive to students' needs: their interests, thinking and patterns of developmental growth*. The teachers develop an appreciation of the difference between *learning styles* and forms of motivation held by Greek-community students in the UK and students in the Greek mainstream, and that effective pedagogy in a multicultural environment may require the teacher to *tailor* his pedagogic approach to the needs of particular students.

The teachers draw on this *local knowledge* concerning students' learning style, language use, cultural identity and so on. They *move away from dependence on a single textbook*, partly because they realise that students are used to having a wide range of material in their mainstream classes; similarly, as the teachers come to understand the hybrid reality of students' cultural identity, they try to present students with *a picture of Greek culture which is more relevant* to their own lives than the more static and ethnocentric version found in some textbooks or in the local discourse.

Their reflection involves thoughtfully applying *teaching strategies* suggested either by experience or by research. They evolve a range of strategies for *effectively teaching the language*. They shift towards an increased emphasis on *strategies facilitating communication*, for example. This process took place as the teachers became increasingly aware of, in Woods' terms, 'what works, in what circumstances' (1990: 194). Through- experimentation with *approaches such as project work* (Evangelia), or the *use of drama* (Viki), students became more motivated. The teachers use a range of

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[40] In this I draw on Zeichner and Tabachnick's (2001) typology of (respectively) 'developmentalist', 'academic', and 'social efficiency' as forms of reflection.

'scaffolding' strategies to make the language more accessible and to encourage engagement.

This results in teachers having greater *flexibility* through being able to draw on a *wider range of strategies*. Asked how their approach to teaching will differ on their return to Greece, Eleni says, 'I'll be more flexible in the methods I use, and in terms of my aims I'll adapt it more to the different students', while for Costas:

> I'm more flexible now ... I'm better able to adjust to different situations. I'm more resourceful, producing my own materials and so on. Now I combine a lot of different teaching styles and strategies, and I try to avoid more conservative approaches.

6 - 2 - The Role of Biography

So far we have established that there is a broadly common pattern in the teachers' 'practical' reflections. One aspect of this pattern is the role of teachers' existing assumptions and expectations, and how these conflict with certain realities of the classroom.

Clearly, however, these initial assumptions will not be exactly the same for all teachers - they will be conditioned by their unique *biographies*. Thus reaching a satisfactory understanding of the process of reflection requires looking at the influence of the teachers' life-history, in both its professional and personal aspects. Teachers cannot be understood as 'timeless and interchangeable role incumbents' (Goodson, 2005: 224). Rather it is inevitable that teachers' practice will be shaped by the teachers' *sense of self*, which in turn is shaped by their life experiences and backgrounds (op cit: 236).

Teachers' actions are influenced by a range of factors, both conscious and unconscious. Where reflective practice can involve the exploration of assumptions underlying action, *reflexivity* pushes this process back in time, uncovering events which helped to *form* such assumptions. Reflexivity involves exploring areas such as life-history to examine *how* we

are influenced by past events (Moore, 2000). There is an *idiosyncratic, personal* dimension to reflective practice.

One clear difference in the biographical profiles of the teachers in this study is that some have had intensive *previous experience with minority-community students*, while others have not. Viki and Jorgeos both worked in the experimental Intercultural School in Athens and Costas was head of a Community School in Switzerland. On the other hand, Agni, Michalis and Demitrius had taught only a small number of minority students in Greek mainstream classrooms, while Eleni had no experience teaching in the Greek mainstream before coming to the UK. Another factor is *personal experience* of *growing up as a member of a minority* - the case with Viki, born a member of the Greek community in New York.

Thirdly, there are those for whom the experience of teaching in the Community Schools in the UK becomes a *life-changing* event. These teachers come to feel that the story of their life has changed course, and there can be a strong connection between changes in 'professional' and in 'personal' identity (Richie & Wilson, 2000: 1).

In order to explore how teachers differ or resemble each other in terms of these different aspects, I will examine the biographies of four of the teachers: Jorgeos, Viki, Evangelia and Eleni.

6 - 2.1 - <u>Jorgeos</u>

In brief, Jorgeos's previous experience included around 15 years teaching in Greece, the last 10 years of which was in the Intercultural School in Athens. He was also involved in producing history materials aimed at minority-community students in Greece. In the UK he worked in a number of Community Schools and eventually rose to the position of Head of the full-time Greek Primary School in Acton, West London.

At one point in the interview I ask whether he has changed since coming to the UK:

> No, because I was already in this kind of 'field'. I was moving, searching, looking,
> investigating, aware. I just continued here.

> Effie: Has your approach to teaching changed at all - because [of] ... differences between the
> populations you taught in Greece and here?

> It has changed, but not in a different direction. Slowly, slowly with the years, as your
> knowledge gets deeper, this translates into your pedagogic style. And if I had, in the beginning
> of my career, a kind of inhibition, or if I had some stereotypes, these have been dispersed ....
> Of course, how you are as a person plays a role: how open you are in your ideas and way of
> living life, and the people you have contact with. With this, through work, the whole thing
> comes together. And of course through 'trial and error'.

The key point here is the *continuity* with the pedagogic approach he had before. This
leads us back to a previous experience in Jorgeos's life to which he makes frequent
reference: *working in the Intercultural School.* He says he was prepared to work in the
Community Schools, 'exactly because I was working for 10 years in a school which had
children coming from different cultures and backgrounds', and for this reason 'I tried to
continue with the methods I used to apply'. We can understand that the kinds of
dilemmas and critical incidents reported by other teachers, Jorgeos had *already
encountered* in the Intercultural School.

When discussing a successful lesson in the Community Schools (in which he encouraged
students to talk about 'My friend in the mainstream school'), he suddenly refers to the
Athens school:

> And in the Intercultural School, this was our everyday reality. We were learning things from
> the children when they narrated their own stories.

It is important to mention here that this lesson drew on principles of *interculturalism.*
Despite the apparent homogeneity of the group the lesson brings out the fact that their
friends in the mainstream are of many different ethnicities, and explores students'
experience of, and feelings about, diversity. By immediately referring to his similar
experience in Athens, Jorgeos underlines the causal link: without the previous experience
the present lesson would not have had the same qualities. In a similar way the other

teachers might reflect on a lesson and say 'in the Community Schools, this was what we did every day.' Indeed, this was confirmed to me recently when Agni told me she had returned briefly to Athens, and when teaching Albanian students in mainstream classes she had 'flashes' back to experiences in the Community Schools here.

In sum, then, Jorgeos is an example of a teacher who went through significant experiences of multicultural education before coming to the UK. He frequently draws on an interpretive framework which has been partially formed through these experiences and reflections to deepen his practice and teaching theories in the UK. Finally, Jorgeos demonstrates a reflexive self awareness in that he can offer a detailed account of his own influences.

6 - 2.2 - Viki

Viki's biography, and her process of reflection, have both similarities and significant differences from that of Jorgeos. Viki was born in the USA, and so can draw on the experience of *being* part of a minority group: it goes to the heart of her own sense of *identity*. She grew up in New York, learning Greek, English *and* Spanish. She visited Greece frequently, eventually coming to study and to work. Her work there included a time at the Intercultural School. Her rich biography has elements of *struggle* in the face of prejudice, particularly as a child and as a student, as well as having taught in widely different contexts. Her *awareness* of issues facing minority-community students is therefore deeply rooted in personal experience.

In her case there can be no question of separating her personal from her professional beliefs. When I mention to her the then Home Secretary's (David Blunkett's) remarks about minorities having to speak English at home:

> The [immigrants], they are influenced by that. And especially when they don't have very strong bonds: when they're alone they feel powerless. The academics we had in Boston, they supported the advantages of bilingualism. The family environment is Greek. Outside is

English, so automatically your brain 'adjusts' to speak English. We are bilingual, we're not confused! We can function in two languages ... [We] develop metacognitive abilities. We have positive attitudes! ... A lot of Greek Cypriots here ... don't learn the language ready with a positive attitude; they're ambivalent.

Viki can understand issues related to bilingualism and multiculturalism *from the inside*. In the context of our discussion of the Community Schools in the UK, Viki is able to draw on her own experiences as a bilingual learner, on academic opinion, and to report on the attitudes of Greek Cypriots in the UK. Her biography, therefore, equips her with a range of different resources. She can empathise, drawing on her childhood; she can analyse, drawing on her academic knowledge; and she can additionally draw on local knowledge of the Greek community in the UK, built up while she has been teaching here. As we saw in the previous chapter, these kinds of multiple perspectives have given her insight into the nature of bilingualism and the existence of strong assimilationist pressures in Britain.

Throughout the interview there are references to her life-history. In particular, referring to her upbringing in New York, she argues that it is the felt need to use the language in the community which ensures its survival: the Greek community was 'alive' in New York, and Greek was necessary for social contact. Returning to the present, she contrasts this situation with that in London today: for the Greek community there is no strong social need to use Greek, and therefore the language is under threat ('language shift' (Paulston, 1977)). In the same way that Jorgeos drew on an 'interpretative framework' built on his experience and intellectual interests, Viki takes her childhood experiences as a part of her model for understanding multicultural realities.

Addressing the question of the extent to which Greek-community students in the UK have a genuine interest in their heritage culture (since many appear disinterested), she says:

Maybe they don't want to show it, but it's inside them. It's difficult when you feel a minority, you just hide it inside and refuse to show it.

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In this excerpt Viki shows an *empathetic* understanding of the internal conflict over identity felt by many Greek-Cypriot students: they 'don't want to show it', but there *is* an identification with 'Greekness' within them. Despite students giving the appearance of rejecting a Greek identification, Viki is able to go below this surface appearance. Viki's *interpretation* of minority students' thoughts and feelings is guided by her own experiences. She has an 'emotional understanding' (Denzin, 1984; Hargreaves, 2005) of these students that can be contrasted to a 'technical' stance, informed by the findings of formal research.

There is also a notable degree of *consistency* across Viki's comments and recommendations for practice in Greece and the UK. She has an *additive* view of bilingualism: she talks of the benefits it has brought to her personally, supports the maintenance of Greek language among the community in the UK, and also advocates supporting the languages of minority students in the mainstream in Greece.

A final point here concerns her relation to *theory*. Viki references a number of key theoretical arguments in the course of the interview, however, there is a sense in which in her theorising there is a very close link with experience and practice.

In brief, then, there are similarities and differences between the processes of reflection for Viki and Jorgeos, but for both there is a strong degree of continuity between their attitudes and approaches before coming to the UK, and while working in the Community Schools: Viki's understanding of issues related to multicultural pedagogy draws heavily on direct experience of growing up bilingual and part of a minority.

6 - 2.3 - Eleni & Evangelia

Unlike Viki and Jorgeos, neither Evangelia nor Eleni had extensive experience with minority students before coming to the UK. Furthermore, they both appear to have experienced their time here as a profound life-change.

Eleni experienced a profound change in her teaching theories through an intense process of study, teaching-practice and reflection. She studied Music Education here and taught in some mainstream schools before starting to work both a St Cyprian (the Greek state-school in Croydon) and in St Sophia (the Community School attached to the Cathedral).

She started a PhD, and wished to focus on two musicians based in Greece[41] and their approach to music and *culture*. She explains:

> *X* was influenced by the soviet model (and the Philosophes of the Enlightenment): the intelligencia there in Russia ... wanted to make the masses cultured. For *Y* the question is: what's wrong with *their* culture anyway, with popular music?

She wanted to draw an analogy between these approaches to *music* and culture, with *pedagogic* approaches to culture. Her main interest was actually in how *she herself* had been influenced by these theories and how her ideas about education and music translated into practice.

For Eleni, her experience in the UK has been one of profound personal and professional change. She came to realise that:

> [music] is a cross between different influences: you don't have pedigrees ... That Greek art is not the most unique and important, the most original and the greatest. You're not necessarily going to make this great plan ... to change the people - but in your little field you can bring your understanding to bear, to utilise it in your classroom.

She has developed a methodology, in which she tries to use authentic forms of ethnic music as an entrance point for discovery activities relating to the cultures these forms of music come from. She is a strong advocate of bilingual and bicultural education. Being aware of the limitations placed on the Greek faith school St Cyprian by the LEA, and of the need to meet the standards set by that authority, she follows a 'transformative' orientation (Cummins, 2000a – see Chapter 2).

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[41] Referred to here as X and Y

She claims that a number of experiences here contributed to the process of reflective development. One was getting her first job in a school in the UK: 'I came to understand what it is to be a foreigner; to be an immigrant; what it means to have an accent; and to feel that you don't really know your new context'. Thus she had first-hand experience of being a member of a minority. Secondly, by working in a range of schools she gained a lot of knowledge, but also had the freedom to experiment pedagogically:

> I came into contact here with a multicultural environment, and through the schools with different curricula, practices and ideas.

One of the key elements in Eleni's 'story' is that she has worked in both the UK mainstream and in the Community Schools (and she is able to understand them from the inside). This experience in both systems has been useful:

> I could work with similar students, but in two different schools. With one I could work systematically, day in, day out - I could see what worked in the different contexts.

She gives the example of group-work: she finds this technique useful in the Community Schools since there are a range of levels in the same class and students can learn from each other. However 'you have to use other methods as well ... Because we have only one day, it's more difficult ... to have feedback and so on'.

When she came to work in the full-time faith school of St Cyprian, she was able to draw on the experience of the mainstream schools and the Community Schools:

> I had an advantage because I knew both environments. I knew the community schools, so I knew about building a bilingual school; and I knew the English schools, so I understood about how to fit the needs of this kind of pedagogy into the National Curriculum and so on.

For Eleni, then, the experience of working in the UK has been one which has afforded rich opportunities for reflection. She has encountered a range of multicultural teaching environments, has been able to compare them, and to experiment with a range of different techniques in these varying contexts. At the same time she has gone through a process of reflexive self-examination while undertaking her PhD study. Her *development* in this period, therefore, has been profound, both in terms of her most

personal commitments, and in terms of her approach to teaching in multicultural settings. Her story shows the diversity of influences which can shape teachers' theories, as 'personal lives and professional contexts are a complex changing mosaic [in which] political, private and public issues impinge upon everything we do' (Soler, Craft & Burgess, 2001: 70).

To turn to *Evangelia*, in many ways her experience is similar to that of Eleni. Evangelia too came to understand the experience of being a member of a minority from the inside:

> here it's more apparent that, *as we are here*, the Iranians and the Albanians are in Greece ... Of course you don't come to survive, like the minorities here, but at the same time you live near them and with them ... I came to appreciate the other side

Thus, through the intense experience of shifting position from Greece to the UK, Evangelia has come to an 'emotional understanding': living closely with, and developing empathy for, the Greek minority in the UK, allows her to place herself more in the position of members of minorities in Greece.

Unlike Eleni, however, Evangelia did have extensive teaching experience in Greece, and had some experience working with minority students there. Nevertheless, through her experiences in the UK, Evangelia went through a dramatic shift in perspective towards teaching minority students. What explains this shift? Evangelia, like many of the other teachers found her expectations and previous assumptions unsettled in the Community Schools, and encountered a series of dilemmas and critical incidents.

At this point, Evangelia began to experiment with new approaches. This is another commonality with Eleni: 'open mindedness'. While in Greece she had not felt able to experiment, in the Community Schools she found a certain freedom. Discussing her approach to teaching she says:

> It's changed a lot. [Now] I work with projects and computers. I make materials with the children and work co-operatively with them. I feel open to take ideas from the kids. ... And I think for me it helped that I couldn't work with what I knew, and there wasn't a fixed

curriculum, because I could make something from the beginning. It's a matter of personality. Others could be discouraged in that kind of situation - things don't work how they're used to. Others take it as a opportunity.

Discussing her approach to the projects she's done, she says:

It was this kind of action research process that I based my own projects on - that's how I knew what worked and I developed it.

In sum, a range of factors combined to facilitate Evangelia's reflection: the shift in position enabled insight and emotional understanding of minority students, while critical incidents challenged existing assumptions. But at the same time, the environment of the Community Schools gave her the *freedom* to experiment: she had been challenged, but then she had the *opportunity* to follow this through as a cycle of reflection.

6 - 2.4 - Biography and Patterns of Reflection

In this section we have shifted focus towards the particular: by viewing reflective practice in the context of the teacher's *life history* and *personal concerns* we reach a more satisfying understanding of the reflective dynamic.

Through examining the biographical context it becomes clear that some of the teachers experience the Community Schools more in terms of *continuity*, others in terms of *rupture*. For those teachers who experienced working in the Community Schools as a *transformation*, there were several conditions which combined to provoke and facilitate reflection: the shift in position had profound effects on teachers' self-understanding - on their sense of identity; the Community Schools provided a kind of freedom to experiment; for some there was the opportunity to gain insights into the British mainstream and into the Community Schools.

What generalisations can we make on the basis of these biographical details? Firstly, that the reflective process can stretch back over a long period of time, even back to childhood. Second, there is a *personal* dimension to reflective practice: these teachers

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change profoundly because they have *commitment* to the job and the children. Viewing teachers' reflective practice through a 'biographical lens', we become aware of this intense degree of commitment. This prompts the question of whether meaningful reflective practice is possible without the condition of 'commitment'[42]. Finally, a biographical analysis suggests the importance of *external* conditions which facilitate or inhibit reflection. For Evangelia, for example, the *freedom* to experiment in the Community Schools was one factor contributing to the process of reflection, while for Eleni, the fact that she was working in both St Cyprion and a Community School gave her the chance to get more new ideas as well as more opportunities to try them out.

6 - 3 - Conditions which facilitate or inhibit reflection

A number of *prompts* to reflection have been described, including a shift in position, encountering dilemmas or critical incidents. But under what *conditions* is this process of reflection *sustained* or *inhibited*[43]?

6 - 3.1 – Time & Teaching Conditions

One of the key factors in facilitating reflection is *time*. But for the Community School teachers this is in short supply. They point to the fact that the students only study for a few hours per week (see Chapter 2). The teachers want to make progress with their students, and hence to use their time as productively as possible. Considering whether she is correct or not to allow switching between Greek and English in the classroom Agni comments:

> Sometimes I wonder if they 'stick' on the English. Maybe, if I wrote the Greek only they would remember more. But you don't have time.

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[42] Nias (1989), studying 54 primary school teachers over a 20-year period, claims that 'commitment' is the term they use to identify teachers who 'take the job seriously', as opposed to those who 'put their own interests first'; see also Day, et al (2005)

[43] The 'opportunity' to *teach* is conditioned by factors such as: government and school policy, organisational structures, school 'culture', resources available, teacher and student interests (Woods, 1990: 126). As there are 'opportunities to *teach*' and corresponding 'constraints', there are also factors which facilitate or inhibit *reflection*.

Here we see the generation of a hypothesis, but the 'reflective cycle' cannot be followed through for fear of wasting time.

Demitrius identified the need to find out more about the mainstream school experience of his students. He had visited some schools and came into contact with the teachers and felt it was 'very positive', but:

> I found it very difficult because there isn't any time. We teach in so many schools: in three schools with different classes.

Again a potential reflective cycle has been blocked - this time at the 'research' stage, because the teachers rush between several schools in their teaching week, and find it impossible to meet the mainstream teachers of all the schools their various students attend.

Here we have seen that the *organisation* of the Community Schools, with the relatively short time students have to learn in, and the movement of teachers between schools, results in a pressing sense of time-restriction on the teachers, inhibiting the 'research' and 'experimentation' stages of the reflective process. A similar problem is reported in a range of studies on reflection. In the Ford Teaching Project, led by John Elliot and Clem Adelman in the early 1970s, they found that even the teachers who they considered 'properly motivated' to adopt a reflective stance 'found pressures of time and work load overriding their commitment to the enterprise' (Elliott, 1976-7: 5). The pressure to attain teaching objectives (such as predetermined syllabi) can limit time for reflection (Diaz-Greenberg and Nevin, 2004).

6 - 3.2 - Organisational Structure

A similar point can be made concerning the *organisational structure* of the schools. In the preceding chapter it was argued that the schools are characterised by an undemocratic style of leadership, excluding teacher-input. We will turn later to *critical* forms of reflection, but we can mention now that while teachers identify organisational

problems, and formulate possible solutions, their lack of input into the decision-making process means that they are ultimately frustrated. Costas, for example, wants constructive dialogue with head teachers:

> We try to discuss with the head teachers ... You try to discuss it as professionals ... [but] the situation is just perpetuated.

The view that a cooperative and collaborative school culture promotes reflection, while a competitive, or over-pressurised one inhibits reflection, is supported by a number of theorists (e.g. Cooper and McIntyre: 1996; Rosenholtz, 1989).

6 - 3.3 - Opportunities for Reflection in the Community Schools & in Greece

Woods (1990: 179) argues that, due to teaching conditions being 'most alien to self-reflection', because of over-work, lack of in-service training or sabbaticals, teachers find that: *'the pressures and constraints of work either anchor them to current views, attitudes and practices or to very limited reforms.'* But does this point hold true for the Community School teachers? In fact we have seen that the teachers *do* change their views and practices: reflection does take place. How can this be explained? One point, as mentioned in *6 - 1.1* above, is that through *shifting position* the teachers are brought into a new teaching situation, with all the *prompts to reflection* given in *6 - 1.2*. There is a break in routine. But in addition to this, the teachers report that they have a greater degree of *freedom* in the Community Schools than they have been used to in Greece.

In Greece 'there is central state control over the curriculum and school textbooks' (Zambeta, 2000: 153 f), in fact of most aspects of education, with teachers seen as competent *deliverers* of policy. By contrast, in the Community Schools, the teachers find that they have space to take the initiative: Jorgeos says 'here they're more relaxed about the curriculum'; according to Agni 'I have freedom in the classroom'. For Evangelia this freedom represents an opportunity – she has used this space to experiment:

> I think it helped me [that] it wasn't a fixed curriculum, because I could make something from the beginning.

Thus in the Community Schools the teachers have a degree of *freedom* and *flexibility* to choose how they teach. While there are clearly constraints on the teachers, they have nevertheless been able to try out a range of approaches in the classroom (project-work, drama, communicative approaches to language-teaching, the use of visual stimuli, emphasis on drawing on students' own knowledge or interests, etc). This *freedom* to reflect and to experiment, therefore, represents one of the necessary conditions of reflection (Soin & Flynn, 2005: 77). Finally, another opportunity for reflection comes when a third party (myself as interviewer) *'gives them permission'* to discuss their views (Richie & Wilson, 2000: 25). This role of the interviewer, and of *dialogue* more generally, will now be examined in more depth.

6 - 4 - The Role of Dialogue

To understand the process of reflection we must also contextualise it *socially*. That means we must take into account the role of *dialogue*. Arguably all speech, even all thought, is either explicitly or implicitly dialogic: even internal 'discussions' involve some form of dialogue with the other (Danow, 1991: 26-33).

Thus, there are a number of ways in which dialogue is important to the discussion of reflection in this study:

- Firstly, a dialogue takes place between myself and each individual teacher - there is potential for *reflection in the interview*. This notion links to the idea of the role of 'mentors' or 'critical friends' in helping to promote reflection (Achinstein & Barrett, 2004).

- Secondly, there can be a *collective aspect to the reflective process* between members of this speech community: what they say can be seen as part of an ongoing 'progressive discourse' (Bereiter, 1994: 6) among the Community School teachers. As interviewer I am in a position to see in the interviews this 'dialogue' existing in a potential form. But importantly the teachers repeatedly express the desire to *create* spaces for dialogue - they want more opportunities for discussion as part of the pre-

service and in-service training. Therefore the teachers are aware of the benefits to be gained from *realising* this potential for collective dialogue.

- Third, the teachers express the desire to extend this dialogue. They feel that their knowledge could be fed-back into debates on multicultural education in Greece, and they want to contribute to discussions concerning policy in the Community Schools.

6 - 4.1 - Reflection and the Interview Process

This study acknowledges that the researcher can play a *facilitating* role in the development of a reflective process: the interview can give *space* for reflection. The chance to *speak* about one's thoughts, feelings, actions can play a part in the creation of new insights (Ritchie & Wilson, 2000: 172). The teachers have the opportunity to *articulate* their thoughts, which can then be *developed*.

This is seen in two excerpts from Evangelia's interview:

> I've opened as a person over these years, and I've changed a lot. I've learned to listen very carefully. You're in a different environment, in a different culture. But at the same time I've seen many negative things in the education of children. *Now that you've put this question to me I'm thinking about it and I realise how much I've changed and how it's happened.* And how from there I started all these projects.

Evangelia is reflecting *during* the interview itself. She considers what has influenced her teaching style while she has been in the UK, and what kinds of changes have taken place. In the interview she has been given the time, and in a sense the 'permission', to reflect on such questions. And indeed she comes to a *reflexive* self-understanding: a piece in puzzle of her biography is constructed and put into place. It was at this moment that she put them together into a coherent narrative. Later she says '... you've helped me to understand this difference', again indicating that through the process of interview she has been able to deepen her self-understanding.

In *collaborative meaning-making* (Vygotsky, 1987):

both individual and collective understandings are enhanced through the successive contributions of individuals that are both responsive to the contributions of others and oriented to their further responses (Wells, 2000: 58)

We can see this kind of dialogic building of understanding in the following excerpt from the interview with Agni. I ask about the prospect of Community Schools in Greece. Agni replies with a question:

Agni: Are they going to be integrated or separate? If they're integrated [the minority students] are going to be isolated.

Effie: It's different if it's provided by the mainstream school.

Agni: Yes, maybe they'll take it more seriously if it's an obligation of the school.

Here the dynamic of the 'interview' resembles more a conversation: with the interviewee posing questions, and the interviewer contributing her own views. In the last two turns, we can see the *co-construction* of understanding: I suggest that minority education is 'different' if provided by mainstream schools, and Agni *extends* this observation into a more substantive point: that it might be more successful through the mainstream as part of a mandatory curriculum. This process is reminiscent of descriptions of collaborative meaning making.

It is relevant here to remember that, as mentioned in chapter 4 (methodology), my *position* as a *participant-observer* (I also taught in the Community Schools), and the fact that I have a similar background to the teachers (I am also a qualified teacher from Greece), means that there is a *lack of status difference* between us, leading to greater rapport. Under these conditions there is more chance of the interview taking on characteristics of a conversation. This was also Elliot's experience in the Ford Teaching Project: as teachers became more 'open', 'we were able to exchange views frankly with them ... The interview situation *became transformed into one of conversation*' (Elliot, 1976-77: 11).

Agni, discussing the kinds of 'problems' speakers of Greek as a second language have, and the provision which mainstream schools can make for them, says:

Of course, now with the first generation you have these problems; after you're not going to have any of these problems ... [pause] but you're going to have the problems we have here. Here we see the system - if we follow this parallel schools system, maybe they're going to lose one language. Maybe we could integrate the language?

Again we can see reflection taking place in the interview itself. Here Agni grapples with two contradictory discourses: on the one hand, second-language speakers have 'problems', but we expect that from the second-generation onwards they will speak Greek well (there will no longer be a 'problem'); on the other, in the context of the Greek Community Schools in the UK, the Greek language is in danger of dying out among the second and third generations, and *this is a problem* which the Community Schools are fighting against.

The interview gives Agni the opportunity to think these issues through aloud, and through the process of reflection she becomes 'acutely aware of certain *old voices* within ... that [need] interrogation again' (McKnight, 2004: 299). Here Agni is able to discuss previous assumptions, to integrate understandings derived from these different environments and experiences, and to reach a new conclusion: that perhaps second languages should be supported through the mainstream in Greece.

We can also note a certain difference between the structure of reflection in interviews with male and with female teachers. The female teachers in this study seem more prone to reflecting *during* the interview: they show more hesitations, more rethinking and reformulation: there are 28 occurrences of the word 'maybe' in one of the women's interviews, for example, compared to 3 in one of the men's. Men prefer to present a more rational image, and to present accounts of their development in terms of definitive statements. By contrast women may be prepared to appear more emotional, and less certain in their accounts of their development (Freese, 2006).

Finally, we see that the teachers' reflections in the interview tend to take a pattern of *articulation* followed by *development*. Some or all of the following elements may be present: making assertions, giving explanations, examples or supporting arguments, and finally drawing conclusions. When I ask Michalis about the motivation of students to

learn Greek, he spends some time exploring different forms of motivation, to do with: 1) a strong sense of Greek identity; 2) being instrumentally motivated to pass exams, and 3) wanting a sense of pride, in a society characterised by assimilationist pressures. These bare assertions are extended through explanations and examples. Finally he synthesises all of these observations into coherent conclusion (with the addition of some extra forms of motivation, but in a succinct form):

> *So* the motives are ... if they see [language] as part of the culture and tradition, the language as an instrument and as a tool to do better in the school; and there is a percentage, especially for the bigger classes, that it's not their choice - the motivation comes from the parents. Or because they want to make some friends, and that's a motive for the parents as well, to keep the community together.

Thus, through the interview process, teachers can come to articulate and *synthesise* their theories.

6 - 4.2 - Dialogue Between Teachers

Evidence for a 'Progressive Discourse'

In the interview dialogue can help to bring to light new insights - there is an important sense in which knowledge is co-constructed through speech. But beyond such face-to-face discussions, there is a sense in which *every* utterance can be understood as 'a link in a very complexly organised chain of other utterances' (Bakhtin, 1986: 69).

Using the notion of *polyphony* Bakhtin (1986) saw each utterance attempting to assert a meaning in the context of a range of discourses (or 'voices'). Thus if a teacher says, 'We are *bilingual*, we are not *confused*' [Viki], this can be understood as an assertion of an additive view of bilingualism - as opposed to a subtractive view, which would precisely assert that bilingualism *does* lead to linguistic and/or cognitive confusion: thus her utterance can only really be understood in the context of the debate on bilingualism in the wider society.

An interesting question is *who* one's utterances are addressed to. We can think in terms of 'local' and 'wider' (societal) discourses (Bereiter, 1994: 9). Thus, if the teachers complain about the top-down organisational structure of the Community Schools in the UK, then this forms part of a local 'discussion'. Viki's assertion about bilingualism, however, can be seen as contributing to a wider debate. One way of seeing teachers' comments about the Community Schools, about multicultural pedagogy in Greece, or about multiculturalism in general, is as contributions to ongoing 'conversations' being held with different audiences. If these 'conversations' take the form a process of sharing and revising opinions, and that leads to 'a new understanding that ... is superior to their own previous understanding', then this process can be described as a *'progressive discourse'* (Bereiter, 1994: 6)[44].

The interviews provide a strong basis to support these assertions. There is a great *potential* for the sharing of experience and ideas. For example, there are a number of cases in which one teacher has expressed doubt or confusion over a particular issue, while another teacher has suggested an appropriate solution: if the teachers had the time and opportunity to meet and discuss, they could help to answer some of each-other's questions. According to Viki:

> Here the teachers in the beginning don't understand the needs of the students, the environment, the fact that the kids don't speak any Greek. In the first year they 'fight with the waves' - they don't have any help. And they don't know that there is this material around ... *There is a need for someone to give them a helping hand* - and the same in Greece.

Teachers Advocate Dialogue

Not only is there evidence for the potential of collective reflection in the interview data, but the teachers themselves recognise this potential. On the one hand they note the value of conversation with colleagues, and on the other they make proposals to introduce structured opportunities for dialogue (in in-service training, etc).

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[44] Similar to Habermas' notion of the 'ideal speech situation'

Jorgeos notes that the teaching approach in the Intercultural School was developed collectively:

> With every problem we tried to solve it together. We had long discussions. I found it very important.

Viki too notes the importance of discussions between teachers: 'The teacher becomes better through exchange and discussion.' However, she goes on to point out that does not happen frequently enough. As we have seen there is inadequate time to discuss with colleagues. The problem is increased by a certain 'isolation' (Jorgeos) due to teaching at a number of different schools and the lack of access to facilities such as staff rooms.

Michalis extends this into a discussion of *training*, criticising the irrelevance of 'seminars' (actually given as lectures):

> you listen to all these things about different forms of language, or Greek as a Second Language, but it's organised in such a way [that] I see it as a waste of time - something which is superficial

He argues for a more democratic form of in-service training, offering spaces for unconstrained, teacher-directed dialogue:

> I find it more interesting when we *discuss* what teachers do with such and such a book, what kind of things they use from it, what they leave out, why they use it, and so on.

Jorgeos too criticises the in-service training, led by 'external trainers' who 'don't open up discussions'. He supports '*inter*-service training' which emphasises 'the idea of *exchange*' between teachers

Observation & Dialogue

Jorgeos brings out the role of observation and discussion in a *reflective* process:

> It helped me a lot to change some things. I saw what I was doing in a different way. Mostly, it's the discussion - through the discussion you evolve new forms of teaching. You form something from you, something from the other. Through discussion you put these elements together, and build something.

Eleni too links peer observation with 'discussions with colleagues'. Jorgeos's experiences can be understood within the framework of the reflective cycle: it involves

moving from *initial experiences*, which prompt questions, to a second stage of *'research' and reflection*. This stage can also include 'observation and reflection' (Kolb, 1984). However, through *conversation* with others, this 'observation' takes on a more critical edge:

> Through conversations they make their tacit knowledge more visible, call into question assumptions about common practice and generate data that make possible the consideration of alternatives (Little & Cochran-Smith, 1994: 43)

In fact, Jorgeos's comment seems to take in the third stage too (reaching new understandings), as 'new forms of teaching' 'evolve'. Thus, 'given the opportunity to talk about an experience, to process it verbally, people often find they easily discover solutions to situations that had previously overwhelmed them' (Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004: 37).

It is clear, therefore, that the teachers *value* the opportunity for dialogue with colleagues, but also note a lack of opportunity for such discussions, linking this to outmoded models of teacher-training / teacher-development. There is also evidence in the data of the *potential* for the development of a progressive discourse between the Community School teachers, in that some teachers have answers to questions about practice raised by others. Thus *dialogue* is seen to be a key component in reflective practice: it is a *necessary condition* in the process of teachers clarifying and testing the theories implicit in their practice. This may lead to the development of new theories (Elliott, 1976/77: 14).

6 - 4.3 - Teachers' Theory-Building: The Two Worlds of Educational Knowledge

In the interviews, at a number of points, there is the assertion that teachers could be part of a more democratic 'conversation' on policy and research. This is another example of the advocacy of dialogue. Michalis outlines the position of the teacher as he sees it: as a teacher you are considered to have control over subject knowledge, but not to be able to contribute anything else. Further:

> I can see within the framework that exists already that they don't ask for any contributions from a teacher in any seminars or conferences if they can't put it in a scientific framework, with special references or can't arrange their conclusions in a scientific format. I know about phenomena about language, but because I'm not a linguist I can't contribute to a conference, because a linguist is going to come up with five theories and tell me X, Y and Z.

Michalis portrays academia as a particular speech community, access to which depends on mastery of the specific language, mastery of written and spoken genres particular to each specialism, and knowledge of a wide range of formal theories within the field. Academics being able to use this 'appropriate' language, have a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Although Michalis may have valid insights into teaching Greek as a Second Language, without this symbolic capital he is barred from entering the discussion.

Jorgeos argues that while teachers are starting to be consulted in academic research, this is not done systematically, or the teachers may not be given any credit for their input. Teachers need to be assertive, confident in the value of their expertise to acquire mastery of this kind of language when presenting their views:

> You need to approach teachers' knowledge in a systematic way. When we say we want change at this level, and they say: 'what do you know?', we have to say: we have evidence, we have [a depth of] knowledge.

Jorgeos is in a position to know this as he has participated in conferences and worked in Greece on a history book aimed at minority students.

In the previous analysis chapter we saw that the teachers built up detailed knowledge, and developed methods appropriate to the needs of Greek students in the UK. It is a

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logical step, then, when considering the issue of training, for the teachers to suggest that they themselves should be involved. Eleni points out that they are well-qualified to contribute to training seminars for teachers coming to the British community schools because they have relevant *local knowledge*: 'it's a specific environment - it's different to Germany for example'.

Equally, in the case of research on the Community Schools, or the development of curricula or new textbooks, many of the teachers assert their right to be included in the discussion, based on what they see as the *validity* of their local knowledge and their expertise. Discussing curricula development, for example, Demitrius says: 'It would be much better if you created a working group with fifteen colleagues here, and not in Athens: *they don't know what is going on here*'.

The teachers' position is echoed by Hammersley's image of 'two worlds' of educational knowledge: the 'everyday' teachers' knowledge, and researchers' 'scientific' knowledge (Hammersley, 2002: 59-82), where teachers' voices 'have to be heard across the academy' for their 'practical wisdom' and their understanding of the 'reality of students and schools' (Hollingsworth & Sockett, 1994: 17).

Pavlides agrees:

> Research has to be based on parameters which reflect reality here. You have some research which doesn't have anything to do with the current situation. I can't hide the fact that some professors who came to give lectures were talking in abstractions. There was only one who admitted that what he was saying wasn't relevant; that his theory didn't reflect the real issues.

And he also draws a similar conclusion - that teachers should be more involved. Thus the Cypriot *Apostoli* has this year organised a group of teachers to meet regularly to work on a new curriculum.

6 - 5 - The Model of the Teacher: from Competent to Critical

What kind of *model of the teacher* emerges from this analysis of teachers' reflective practice and development? Do these teachers fit the discourse of the teacher as 'competent', 'reflective' or 'critical'? What effect has the experience of working in the Community Schools had on the *identity* and *practices* of these teachers?

As we have seen in Chapter 3, there are different versions of the competence model, ranging from the teacher seen as commanding a sound *knowledge* of both pedagogic theory, as well as an expert understanding of her subject area (closer to the Greek model), to one in which the teacher is seen more as having a command of sound in-class *skills* (closer to the model recently promoted in the UK). The understanding of 'professionalism' encoded in this discourse is 'technical' and severely delimited (Goodson, 2005: 241).

The Greek educational system rigidly positions the teacher as a *deliverer* of centrally-determined policy (Zambeta, 2000: 153) – which fits with the competence discourse (Stephens & Crawley, 1994; Moore, 1999b, 2000). This is a powerful discourse among teachers in Greece: they are 'hailed' (Althusser, 1971) as, and recognise themselves as, *receivers* of policies and initiatives, rather than as potential instigators. Michalis recognises, but contests, this positioning:

> teachers' interventions are missing from the school structure. There is a respect for the teacher
> ... based on the fact that he knows things. But the teacher can tell you *how* to learn something:
> you don't need a moving encyclopaedia.

This study has described a journey undertaken by a group of teachers, the outline of which has the form of an arc: they start in Greece; they shift in position to the UK; after five years they return to Greece. As the teachers traverse this arc, they also move into a new understanding of what it means to be a professional. The descriptions they give of their practices in the Community Schools, and the understandings we gain of their theories from this, do not conform to the 'competent' model. But what is this new

model of the teacher which describes their practice in the UK; and what kind of teachers will they be on their return to Greece?

6 - 5.1 - Teacher as Thinker

There are a number of elements of the model which emerges in this study. One could be described as the *teacher as a thinker*. Instead of acquiring theoretical knowledge in a top-down fashion, these teachers are engaged in knowledge building.

Through reflective practice they develop an understanding of the specific environment, learning style and motivation of their students, they come to understand language use in the community and so on. Beyond this, the teachers *develop practices based on such insights*, as we have seen in the previous chapter. They evolve practices which build communicative competence, and scaffold the teaching of grammar; they create lessons which draw on the students' own 'funds of knowledge', as well as introducing elements of modern Greek culture.

Moreover, the practices which are developed by the teachers are embedded in more abstract, and more value-laden theorisations. For example, the teachers theorise about the advantages of bilingualism, about the links between the community language and identity. In the case of culture, the teachers interrogate the nature of culture itself: what is 'high' or 'low' culture?, what is 'Greek' culture?; and they take the position that Greek culture needs to be presented as *dynamic, contemporary* and *relevant* to the community here. The teachers do read up on pedagogy, they are aware of academic theories on language and culture, but they question them in the light of their own experience and understandings. The picture which emerges is more one in which knowledge is *constructed* rather than acquired. According to Michalis:

> I've changed a lot of things, mostly based on my empirical knowledge ... You can say 'I don't think this theory is correct, because I don't see it happening'. Theories sensitise you: they've made me more flexible in my teaching - but it's not so much that the theories taught me how to teach.

6 - 5.2 - Taking Responsibility, Becoming 'Active'

We can describe the teachers in this study as *active*, as opposed to the *passive* positioning in Greece. When they encounter problems in the classroom the teachers often look for creative solutions to those problems - evidence of a degree of personal commitment to their job. Instead of viewing teaching as 'a job where, like others, he/she is managed and directed and delivers what is asked' (Goodson, 2005: 241), they actually *question* what is asked of them (official policy, the methods they were taught in Greece).

Teachers first arriving in the UK expect to teach in much the same way as they were trained to in Greece. The curriculum of the schools is implicitly delivered via textbooks created in Greece, and which Heads and the committees in the schools expect teachers to work with. Very soon however, as we have seen, the new teachers realise there is a huge mismatch between the expectations encoded within the locally dominant discourse, and the reality of the students' actual linguistic ability, motivation and cultural identity. In order to create change here the teachers have to challenge established attitudes, which demands personal commitment. According to Viki, such change requires 'personal responsibility, art, expression and giving', while for Evangelia an effort is required to move out of passivity:

> Where there is an established situation you have to make a huge effort to change it ... you have to step out of this if you want to bring some change.

Teachers do not consider their responsibilities and concerns to begin and end at the classroom door. They show a desire to actively engage with the education process at all levels: the curriculum, the quality and production of textbooks, the link between research and policy, training, and the organisation of the Community Schools and mainstream schools in Greece.

This kind of reflective practice, therefore, can be described as *transformative*. It is characterised by 'genuine intellectual engagement', an awareness that 'practice is embedded in a larger social context where power, dominance, social injustice exist', and

'a sense of *moral obligation* to right [the] wrongs [of the school and curriculum]'
(Soltis, 1994: 248 - emphasis added). Their practice not only consists of '*doing*'
education, but also of '*learning* about it and ... *changing teachers' roles* within the
institution' (Hollingsworth & Sockett, 1994: 8 - emphasis added). Ultimately, what
emerges from this research, therefore, is a fundamental connection between the *practical*
and the *theoretical*, and between the *personal* and the *political*:

Critical / Reflective Model of the Teacher

personal

theoretical / practical   *political / critical*
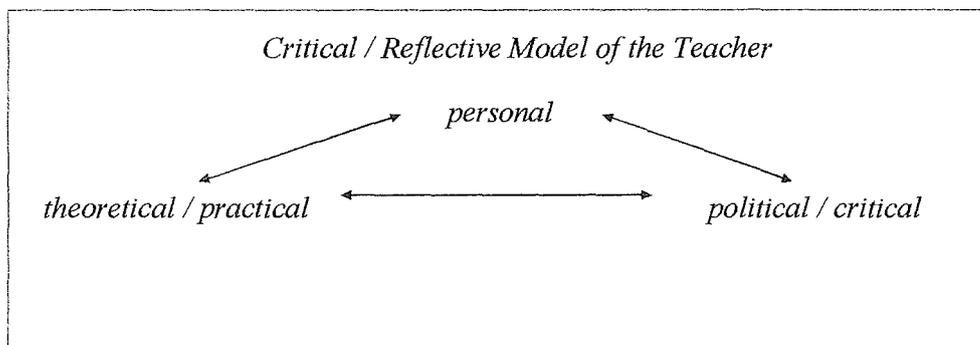
6 - 6 - Conclusion: from Competence & Weak Multicultural Pedagogy to Reflection & Critical Multicultural Pedagogy

The teachers' experience in the UK has marked a turning point in their biographies in terms of their attitudes to multicultural pedagogy, with the exceptions of Jorgeos and Viki, who had gone through intense reflective processes connected with multicultural pedagogy before coming to the UK.

The teachers move towards *strong* theories of multicultural pedagogy during this period. And as we have noted, there is a parallel shift in teacher-identities towards a *reflective* model: *there is a clear connection between the two.* As the teachers shift position from Greece to the UK they come into intimate contact with the Greek minority. Through processes already explained they *reflect* on how to teach these students and come to a deeper understanding of problems facing, and issues relating to minority communities in general. The teachers begin to understand the *assimilationist pressures* they face, their need for recognition, the *value of language-maintenance* for academic success, the *complexity of minority-community identities*.

This process takes place *across the whole group.* They all report a radical shift in their theories and practices towards stronger forms of multicultural pedagogy. For the two 'deviant cases' (Silverman, 2000: 180/181), Jorgeos and Viki there are manifest explanatory factors: they began to reflect on these issues earlier in their lives (as revealed through bibliographical analysis). The commonality is that the opportunity to reflect allowed the development of transformative pedagogic approaches.

The teachers develop a pedagogy in which there is a *coherence* between *theories-in-use* (determining practice) and *espoused theories* (abstract beliefs). In this environment, challenged to solve real problems in the class, the teachers expose and interrogate the assumptions which lie at the heart of their theories-in-use. By moving through a reflective cycle there is a development both at the tacit and the explicit level: their beliefs are grounded in the empirical evidence of their practice. As noted above, Michalis

argues that theories 'sensitise' teachers and allow greater flexibility, but change is based mostly on *experience* ('empirical knowledge') – and this experience also provides a point of reference to critique theories.

The process of reflection, as we have said, has facilitated a movement to stronger forms of multicultural pedagogy. Teachers bring issues of *power* into their teaching, helping students to interrogate dominant discourses of culture and identity, and to critically examine dominant discourses of national identity. Additionally, the teachers open spaces for the students themselves to reflect on their cultural identities. They develop a pedagogy that:

> redefines national identity not through a primordial notion of ethnicity or a monolithic conception of culture, but ... in which identities are constantly being negotiated and reinvented within complex and contradictory notions of national belonging. (Giroux, 1998: 189)

Equally, the teachers support *strong forms of bilingual education*. They view the learning of Greek as something which should be supported by the British state, either through inclusion in the mainstream, or through support for, and recognition of, the Community Schools.

As these teachers are concerned with developing approaches which meet the needs of the Greek-community students in their classes, they also discuss *how effective change can come about*, both in the UK and in Greece. This means an engagement with power and the political, at all levels. As we have seen, the teachers advocate democratising relations within the Community Schools between teachers and administrators; they critique state educational policy in both settings, addressing the 'macro' issues which block change; they position themselves as potential contributors to the policy process, both in the UK and in Greece.

We have seen that not only do teachers in this setting *reflect,* but they also develop theories and practices for *strong* or *transformative* forms of multicultural pedagogy. I argue that the former facilitates the latter. The diagram below lays out key elements in this connection.
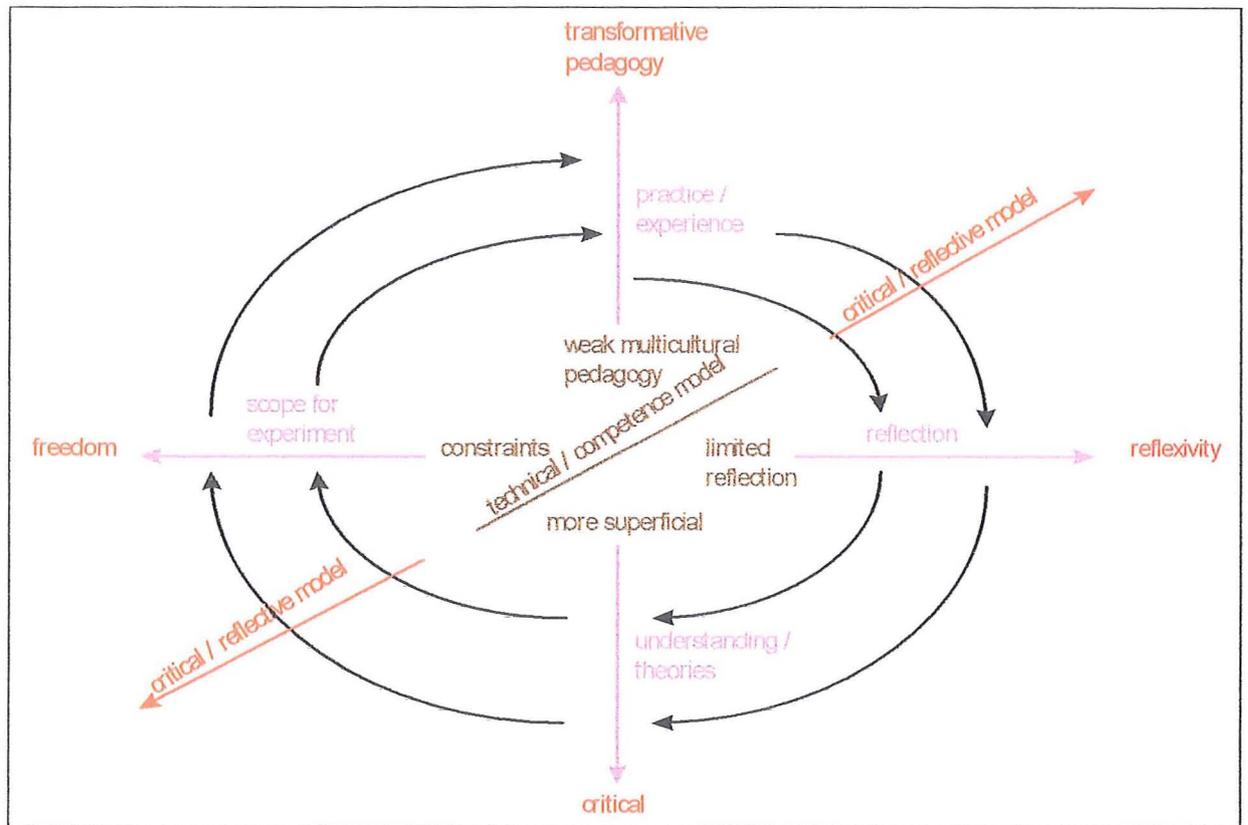
The development of their practice requires *openness*: reflection on assumptions, and results in a *deepening* of teachers' theories towards more critical understandings. New understandings find expression in *experimentation* with alternative practices; however, this depends on a school culture and organisational structure which gives *freedom* to experiment. This process builds new, more transformative practice, and has the potential for ongoing development (i.e. to become a reflective *spiral*).

With greater experience of different approaches, and/or with experience of students from different minority-communities, more problems are encountered, more questions are raised, and the reflective process is renewed.

Conversely, teachers operating in the technical/competence model (represented by the centre of the diagram), *do not have the possibility* to move towards *stronger, transformative forms of multicultural pedagogy.* In this model teachers lack the basic prerequisites to move beyond *weak* models of multicultural pedagogy. Under conditions which do not encourage or facilitate *reflection,* which limit the scope for *experiment,* how can teachers' theories develop? If teachers' theories do not develop through reflection and experiment, how can their practice improve? If there is no new practice, there is clearly no new experience to learn from – there is no basis for an ongoing spiral of reflection. We can see that, ultimately, to move towards *stronger,* more *transformative* forms of multicultural pedagogy, *teachers themselves* need to be *empowered.* The conditions need to be in place to facilitate their development in terms of *theory* and *practice*: they need *the opportunity to experiment*; they need *the space to reflect.*

Chapter 7   Conclusions & Implications

7 - 1 – Introduction

At a seminar, after introducing some of the key ideas from this thesis, I was struck by the response by one member of the group. He was a Greek teacher, presently studying in London, who argued that there was little point in looking to teachers as engines of progressive change in Greece. In his view teachers there were effectively powerless: they could neither challenge prevailing discourses concerning multicultural pedagogy, nor hope to alter state policy.

After asking him why he had such a negative view, he began to reveal aspects of his own biography: he himself had tried to innovate and suggest new forms of practice when teaching in Greece, but had found that his efforts were either ignored or suppressed. Consequently he had become disillusioned, and apparently embittered. His case is illustrative of what can happen when conditions appear suppressive, and the reflective, active approach to teaching can no longer be sustained.

The reality is, therefore, that no matter how innovative the teachers in this study are while in the British Community Schools, when they return to Greece they will be faced with similar structural limitations to those which defeated this now-disillusioned teacher. We must thus bear in mind that if Greece is to benefit from the insights and expertise of teachers returning from Community Schools in the Diaspora, then certain *conditions* must be in place which will *support* their attempts to reflect and to innovate.

I want to suggest here that the absence of such conditions puts the idea of the implementation of a genuine Intercultural programme in Greece in danger. I believe its *effective* functioning is endangered by the top-down organisational style of the Greek system. Various commentators have noted the tendency of reform programmes to fail to make substantive, lasting changes to classroom practice. An OECD review of educational innovation (Black & Atkin, 1996), consisting of 23 case studies in 13

countries, found that the least effective programmes were those which took less account of the views of teachers or other interested parties (Black, 1997: 59/60). The lead author of the report concludes, in terms which are particularly relevant to the attempt to create successful reform for *multicultural* classrooms:

> Where matters are interlinked in complex ways, and where one has to be sensitive to the local context in which this complex is situated, then only those who have the freedom of manoeuvre can then turn a good idea into a really effective innovation (Black, 1997: 60).

As recently as 2004, despite a decade of the Intercultural policy, it has been said that educational practice in Greece 'treats the diversity of 'other' pupils as a type of deficiency that has to be 'treated' quickly so that these children can be assimilated' (Angelides et al, 2004: 312). In fact there is a very great irony here. Greece is committed to the support of the Greek language and culture across the Diaspora – communities as far a field as Australia, Argentina, the US, Germany and the UK. And since teachers sent to the Diaspora return to Greece after five years, there is a continuous influx of teachers with a rich experience of multicultural pedagogy, suggesting that they could usefully feed back some of this knowledge into the community schools of the Diaspora. Furthermore, they could be a potential resource in shaping Intercultural policy in Greece. Instead, they are thrown randomly into the educational system in Greece, without consideration of their knowledge, experience or skills. There is an example of this kind of disregard for teachers' contributions. At the Intercultural school, Viki tackled the problem of minority students not understanding set texts, by translating them herself!

> We used to do it all by ourselves! I translated at least fifteen school books ...
>
> - This is a lot of work! Is there ... some kind of resource centre?
>
> We asked [the school] if they wanted any of this, but they said they weren't interested.
>
> - So all this work was wasted?
>
> Everything wasted!!

This study has shown that teachers working in the Greek Community Schools in the UK gain a rich understanding of multicultural pedagogy and moreover shift towards an active, reflective approach to teaching. Below I will outline *the implications of the findings of this study for the Community Schools in the UK, as well as for education and for teachers in the British mainstream, and for the educational system in Greece.* But there are also some more general conclusions to be drawn from this study. We have seen that the teachers' knowledge and practice developed hand-in-hand in a reflective, and at times critical manner, under certain conditions. This can lead us to ask: what forms of *teacher education,* and what kinds of *conditions in schools, will foster effective reflective practice* in general?

7 - 2 – Key Findings of this Study

The study has shown that these teachers build up a 'knowledge base' – an aggregation of knowledge, understanding, skill and disposition – finely tailored to their local environment. Their knowledge develops at a number of different levels, including:

- *local knowledge* of the Greek community in the UK and the Community Schools, closely interconnected with

- an evolving *pedagogic approach* to teaching these particular students in this specific location. But in addition to these locally grounded theories and practices, the teachers develop

- *theories of a more general and critical nature,* addressing more *normative* and *abstract* issues in multicultural pedagogy, *organisational* and *macro-sociological* issues (seeing multicultural education in a broader social context) both for the UK and Greece. Connecting these different levels is the practice of *reflection.*

reflection

macro issues

evolving pedagogic approach
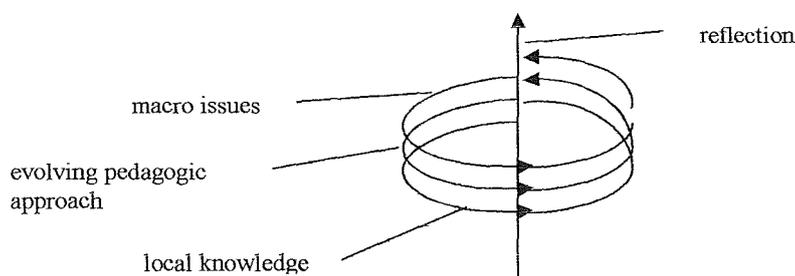
local knowledge

7 - 2.1 – Theorising the Community Schools:
Local Knowledge & Developing Pedagogic Approach

We have seen that the teachers develop a pedagogic approach which fits closely to the needs of Greek-community students in the UK. This takes place through a reflective process in which their pedagogy is 'grounded' in their experience, their local knowledge (Tripp, 1993: 148).

Features of this *local knowledge* include an understanding of language-use within the community, and an awareness of cultural heterogeneity within the community. Students have hybrid identities, combining Cypriot, Greek and British elements to a greater or lesser extent. This is complicated by socio-economic factors, with the Cypriot community having faced economic hardship and thus related assimilationist pressures.

Both of these aspects contradict prevailing assumptions held by the teachers on their arrival in the UK: that they would encounter a largely homogenous community, relatively secure in its Greek identity, and within which Greek was effectively a first language. Thus a feature of the development of the teachers' theories is the *challenging* of a powerful *discourse* from Greece, and the construction of a *local discourse* in opposition. Clearly the discourse contains a more nuanced understanding of local realities and of realities of minority-community experience *in general*.

Following from this the teachers come to understand that the set texts produced in Greece, but intended for use in the Diaspora, are a poor fit for these students, misjudging their learning style, linguistic level and the nature of their cultural identity.

From this set of understandings there follows the construction of a *pedagogy* which:

- In terms of *language*, takes into account the actual linguistic ability of the students in Greek, as well as their learning style and main forms of motivation.
    - o The teachers move towards a *communicative approach* to language teaching, with an emphasis on meaningful dialogue, better suited to students'

more field dependent learning style. Motivation is also enhanced by *drawing on local funds of knowledge,* and including activities with a strong *affective dimension,* such as music or drama.

    o They take a more *flexible approach to textbooks and materials,* and often creating their own materials.

- In terms of *culture,* this pedagogy builds on the teachers' understanding of the hybrid nature of students' identities. It emphasises the *contemporary,* and the *avoidance of stereotypes.* A broadly constructivist approach is taken, drawing on students' experiences and backgrounds, and encouraging dialogue. Thus the students are given the opportunity to *negotiate* their cultural identities, outside of the monocultural pressures of the mainstream school, but also at a critical distance from more traditional and conservative discourses concerning Greek identity emanating from the local community and the textbooks.

7-2.2 - Towards more Critical Forms of Reflection: Towards a Critical Pedagogy

In the environment of the Community Schools we have seen that the teachers' *pedagogical approach* is characterised by *reflective development* towards a more active/reflective model of teaching. The competence model, which positions teachers as technicians, is concerned with the effective implementation of official policy - where initiative and knowledge are supposed to pass from academics and policy-makers, *down* to the teacher. But this breaks up: the teachers realise that the materials and pedagogic approaches imported from Greece simply do not work in the Community Schools, and moreover, the teachers' *personal commitment* to the students impels them to try to find new and effective approaches from their *own* resources.

Their pedagogic approach is *developed from the bottom-up* by the teachers themselves. This kind of reflective practice is at a *practical* level, focussed on the 'what' and 'how' of teaching this group. As explained in *Chapter 6,* it moves through the experience of

critical incidents or teaching dilemmas which raise questions, involves 'research', the development of new theories, and the 'testing' of these ideas in practice.

But their reflection and theorising is not limited to the 'practical' level. They engage with notions, such as the nature of bilingualism and diversity. They are committed to positions relating to the issues of *identity, language, culture, school organisation* and *societal power* which cohere into a form of *critical pedagogy*:

- they show awareness of *assimilationist pressures* throughout society, including mainstream schooling
- they see a necessity for the majority community to *build understanding* of minority cultures, something best achieved through the fostering of *dialogue*
- they argue that within mainstream schools *curricula* and *textbooks need to change* for there to be greater *recognition* of minority community cultures and languages
- they see bilingualism as *additive* rather than *subtractive*
- they support minority-community students *learning their community language* and *learning about their heritage culture* as a *right*; minority languages and cultures are seen as *resources*
- they understand *recognition* of minorities as needing to be at a *societal level*: the state needs to actively signal this acceptance of the multicultural nature of society by giving financial support to Community Schools, and/or integrating the functions of the Community Schools into the mainstream

We can note here that these key elements for a critical multicultural pedagogy – developed by the teachers – do not just have relevance to the community schools in the UK, but could usefully form part of teacher education for the mainstream in the UK, in Greece, or elsewhere. These are also the kinds of critical understandings that educational policy makers across a range of multicultural countries – if they listened to teachers with experience in such settings – could and should be taking into account.

In addition, we can see that the *reflective* process has been at work in the development of these theories. One effect of their own shift in position is that their discourse is

particularly marked by a concern to tackle marginalisation in an *effective* manner. While the teachers emphasise the importance of dialogue and mutual understanding, and *explicitly* connect this to *interculturalism*, on the other hand they show a commitment to redressing imbalances in *power* which is not foregrounded in the Interculturalist discourse. By suggesting that the state actively supports the rights of minority groups to have their languages and cultures taught and recognised, the teachers break with forms of weak, superficial multicultural pedagogy. They move to a more *critical* position, emphasising the 'socially and politically situated' nature of teaching (Calderhead & Gates, 1993: 2)

Another dimension to the teachers' reflective practice is that it involves reflection on the *role* of the teacher her/himself. They build an understanding of the teacher as an *active professional*. Their critique of the organisation of the Community Schools and the Greek mainstream to an extent focuses on the *lack* of an effective voice for the teacher in decision-making, materials writing, research, in policy-making, and in pre and in-service training for the Community Schools, both in the UK and in Greece. Naturally, such a criticism applies more widely too: this study has shown that teachers who have experience in multicultural settings are likely to be a powerful resource for academics and policy makers to draw on if they wish to create a more effective form of multicultural practice.

7 - 2.3 – <u>Conditions for the Development of the Active/Reflective Teacher</u>

The teachers engage in a *reflexive* process of challenging some of their deepest pedagogic assumptions – a process involving effort and the potential psychological discomfort of dislodging old certainties. There is evidence of *personal commitment* which is incompatible with a technical model in which teaching is seen as 'just a job'. In this process significant change occurs as the teachers work on the level of their implicit 'theories-in-use' – which determine practice.

A range of conditions account for the development of their reflective thinking:

- One is the disjuncture with their previous experience - *critical incidents* - prompting questions leading into a reflective cycle (see Chapter 6).

- Another factor is *open-mindedness*: being prepared to experiment and to question their own assumptions.

- Other important conditions include having the *freedom to experiment*, and *time* to reflect.

- Finally, the teachers value *dialogue* with colleagues to further reflection; they would prefer pre and in-service training to be characterised more by dialogic methods; and it is clear that the *interview process* prompted teachers towards deeper and more critical forms of reflection.

7 - 3 – From Findings to Recommendations

The study shows that there is an important connection between *reflection* and the development of *multicultural pedagogy*: in teaching environments characterised by diversity, heterogeneity and singularity (with widely varying language needs, particular hybrid cultural identities, and varied learning styles), reflection has an *epistemological* advantage in that teacher-learning occurs close to the ground, and new practices are based on local knowledge.

This *knowledge base* of experienced teachers working in this setting can be utilised by teachers in these schools, by materials writers, by researchers, by policy-makers, or by other interested parties, such as mainstream teachers in the British educational system with Greek or Greek Cypriot students in their classes. It is also a potential resource for the increasingly diverse Greek mainstream schools.

Given the value of teachers' theories concerning multicultural pedagogy, and the importance of reflection for the development of such theories, what changes could take place in teacher education, and in the broader organisation of schooling – in the UK, in Greece, or elsewhere – to encourage reflection?

7 - 3.1 – In-Service Training: Creating Learning Communities

The teachers themselves advocate a more participatory form of in-service training for teachers in the Community Schools. But this could also be a tool for using the knowledge and insights of teachers returning from the Diaspora in Greece.

Experienced teachers returning from the Diaspora could play the role of *mentors* to newly qualified teachers, helping them to *reflect* on their evolving substantive understandings. Acting as 'critical friends', through dialogue they can encourage them to reframe their experiences, moving towards deeper, more critical forms of reflection. Indeed, the notion of teachers with in-depth experience of multicultural settings mentoring teachers with less experience has a very broad applicability (such a system is used in California, for example – see Achinstein & Barrett (2004)).

In addition, teachers with significant experience of multicultural pedagogy could participate in training seminars. A criticism in this research has been that such seminars are often delivered in lecture style by academics. Under such conditions, the teachers have complained of a *gap* between abstract theory and actual practice. However, if teachers lead the meetings:

> One cannot [say] that, 'It's all very well in theory but it will not work in practice' when the theory is an attempt to explain what is working in practice. How can there be a theory-practice gap when one is constructing theory of the practice?' (Tripp,1993: 146)

Another suggestion is that there should be more opportunity for *dialogue* between teachers, in order to exchange ideas and compare experiences. Thus, if such seminars take forms which permit dialogue – between the seminar facilitator and participants, and between participants – there is more potential for genuine learning. There is an interesting parallel here with social constructivist learning theory. In this view, through discussion of questions and problems that arise from the field, teachers can 'construct knowledge *as* they inquire, reflect and collaborate with peers' (Freese, 2006: 101). As we saw in Chapter 7, there is an important *social* aspect to reflection: such seminars then

can provide a space for teachers to move their own reflective process forward. There could be a move towards creating a 'culture of consultation' among teachers (Tuomi, 2004: 298), emphasising collaborative reflection on common problems faced in multicultural classrooms.

For mainstream teachers there should be in-service training focussing on the community school sector. This would help to overcome the typical problem that mainstream teachers are often simply unaware of the existence of such schools, or that their own pupils may participate in them. Opening mainstream teachers' minds to this 'unknown' aspect of their students' lives – of their identities – could help in the process of forging closer links between the two sectors (an objective the importance of which is increasingly being recognised by British Local Education Authorities (see, e.g.: Education Bradford, 2006[45]; Lambeth Education, 2005).

7 - 3.2 – Pre-Service Teacher Education

A typical complaint of new teachers concerns the *disparity* between their initial teaching experiences and the knowledge conveyed at university (Peeler & Jane, 2005: 331). This can be made more severe by the unpredictable conditions of culturally diverse classrooms.

For the teachers in this study, this disparity was bridged mainly through reflection on critical incidents. Their changes in explicit theories were accompanied by profound changes to their underlying *assumptions* – their 'theories in use'. And it is this *combination* of change to theory at both the abstract level and the personal level which explains why effective and lasting change to *practice* was made by these teachers.

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[45] 'Developing greater partnership with mainstream schools ... will continue to be one of our priorities.'

A Grounding in Multicultural Pedagogy

What, then, are the implications of this for teacher education – in Greece, in the UK, and elsewhere? If new teachers are to be effectively prepared for work in multicultural classrooms, courses in multicultural pedagogy should be a requirement of all teacher-education programmes. So how should this be done?

- Teachers should receive an overview of *key pedagogic approaches for*, and *key issues in*, multicultural education, covering areas such as language, culture, identity and equity. Although it is difficult to generalise about which approaches are most effective in most multicultural settings, such training would provide student teachers with a useful framework for their practice, and a basis from which to begin the process of reflection:

    o *Internet resources*, such as the British 'Multiverse' website (http://www.multiverse.ac.uk), can be useful sources of information (with Multiverse discussing minority-community languages and cultures, and including information on community schools, aimed primarily at student-teachers and newly-qualified teachers).

    o Engagement with such issues could also be encouraged through working on *case studies* derived from real teaching situations, drawing on the knowledge of experienced teachers (see 'Teacher Participation', below).

    o In addition, *visits* could be arranged. In the UK context, these could be visits to community schools. The physical experience of such visits may increase student-teachers' *empathetic* understanding of the needs of minority-community students (for McLaren and Torres, 'students' – in this case student-teachers – 'need to move beyond simply knowing *about* ... multiculturalist practice ... [but] need to take the required steps towards an *embodied* and *corporeal* understanding of such practice and an *affective* investment in such practice at the level of everyday life ...' (1999: 71, emphases added)).

- Teachers need to *examine their existing beliefs and underlying assumptions*, especially in relation to assumptions about appropriate forms of pedagogy for minority-community pupils, or, more generally about key issues related to

multicultural pedagogy (e.g. the nature of bilingualism, or issues around equity). To this end there should be encouragement of *reflexive* and *deconstructive* forms of self-analysis of their biographies and contextual influences.

- We should also see teacher education as part of a broader process of learning and development which takes place during a teachers' life, and to *give teachers the skills and attitudes which will facilitate their development as reflective practitioners*. We need to decide what is best dealt with in pre-service programmes, what is more suited to in-service education, and how a continuity in training can be ensured (Calderhead & Gates, 1993: 5). Thus in pre-service education critical reflection can be introduced, as well as the notion that they can and should become active and reflective teachers.

Teacher Participation

In the context of the Greek educational system, with its dual concerns with its own mainstream, and the network of Community Schools around the world, a potential synergy arises by drawing on the expertise of teachers returning from the Diaspora who could feed their expertise into the system. There are a range of ways in which the knowledge base of teachers with experience in multicultural education can be drawn on in this regard. One could be for such teachers to lead seminars for student-teachers, another could be for them to act in the role of mentors – to work with them during their teaching practice. This 'professional sharing between longer-serving teachers and newcomers', can serve as a 'positive step towards ... enhancing students' learning' (Peeler & Jane, 2005: 334). In the Greek context, teachers returning from the Diaspora could have input into the seminars for teachers who are about to go to teach in the Community Schools abroad, to provide local knowledge about the new context the teachers will be working in and the needs of the schools there.

We can envisage, therefore, in a range of settings (in Greece, the UK, or elsewhere) teachers with experience in environments such as community schools, or having worked intensively with minority-community students in mainstream schools, contributing to seminars for new teachers who do not have enough experience to have provoked a deep

process of reflection on how to teach in diverse classrooms. There are a number of ways for them to practise the kinds of reflective, problem-solving processes which experienced teachers employ in the field. One approach is to *work on case-studies*, based on the kinds of issues faced in diverse settings (for example how to make a class more inclusive of the culture and language of its minority-community members). The knowledge of experienced teachers can be used in the development of these case-studies. Through working on such cases in groups over a reasonably long period, by connecting the cases with theoretical issues, the new teacher can reach a more profound understanding of the issues involved. They also develop key research and problem-solving skills, enhance their ability to think critically, and improve their communication and team-working skills (Murray-Harvey, et al, 2005: 260).

Training for Reflection

Another important function which teacher-education programmes can serve is to *initiate student teachers into using key reflective strategies and skills*. This study has shown that, in diverse classrooms, the problems which teachers face do not succumb to 'off the shelf' solutions in the manner envisaged in the technical/competence paradigm. One key strategy which teachers can apply when facing such problems is 'framing and reframing' the problem, implying 'openness' about what possible solutions might be (Schön, 1983: 130; Dewey, 1991: 75). When considering a problem, teachers need to be aware that different 'frames' can be applied to its interpretation – for example, a minority-community child who has difficulty answering a particular maths problem may be having academic difficulties *or* linguistic ones; the teacher should be careful not to jump to conclusions. Similarly, a range of possible solutions may be available to any given problem: depending how the problem is framed different solutions may suggest themselves.

To an extent these kinds of strategies can be practised in pre-service education to provide a 'cognitive apprenticeship' in critical reflection (Yusko, 2004: 366/7). In a seminar student-teachers can bring up problems they encounter in teaching practice, and the whole group (facilitated by a teacher-educator) can suggest possible causes of, and

solutions to, each-others difficulties. It has been my experience that through the interview process teachers have been helped to reflect in a more critical manner. There is thus an important *dialogic* dimension to the reflective process. The educators can prompt students to think more critically, and in a more open-minded fashion, about the problems considered. Over time this function can be taken on more by members of the group, as through talking together the student-teachers can open up a spectrum of possible interpretations or possible solutions unimagined originally by the teacher concerned.

There is a danger, however, if such a methodology is applied superficially. Group discussions may lead to the premature 'fixing' (rather than framing and reframing) of a problem, and/or generate agreement on a particular solution without sufficient consideration of other possibilities. A solution is for the facilitator to establish certain approaches for the sessions. For example, one approach is when one student teacher outlines a particular problem, and then the group spends a defined time simply focussing on framing and reframing the *problem*, without offering a *solution* for a set period, allowing for suspension of judgement (op cit: 370).

We can note here that training in the skills of *reflection* dovetails well with the aspiration of having *effective* forms of multicultural pedagogy in a range of settings. By its very nature multicultural pedagogy involves dealing with *difference*, and as post-structuralist and post-modernists critics have highlighted, this difference manifests itself in highly complex formations ('hybrid' cultures form when groups migrate to new countries (Bhabah, 1998), while a wide range of factors will determine what form of bilingualism develops in a given setting (Hornberger, 2002)). Thus no standard 'blueprints' of multicultural pedagogy will be applicable in all settings; and in many modern cities we might argue that *each classroom* is likely to represent a uniquely complex, and often changing, multicultural setting. We can see, therefore, that training in the skills of reflection will empower teachers to formulate and deliver an appropriate form of pedagogy for their particular students.

Examining Existing Assumptions

We have seen in this study that through shifting position from Greece to the UK the teachers have gone through a profound change in outlook. They have come to understand the experience of minority-communities, and in the process have had to reassess a lot of their previous assumptions about ethnicity, culture, language and so on – they have developed more *critical* understandings of multiculturalism and multicultural pedagogy. Correspondingly, without having had such experiences, or without having had the biographical experience of *being* a member of a minority group (Viki's example), student teachers from the majority community are more likely to have 'weak' or 'superficial' understandings of multiculturalism. Studies of *pre-service* teachers conducted in the USA (Davis, 1995) and Australia (Santoro & Allard, 2005), for example, show exactly this. Australian trainees had commitments to superficial understandings of difference (focussing on food, dress, etc); little or no awareness of their own majority identity as a *cultural* identity and of its therefore partial character; and support for a 'naïve egalitarianism' (Santoro & Allard, 2005: 868), which underestimated the power of structural determinants of disadvantage for minority groups. Such findings correspond with research by Askouni and Androusou (1998) into the attitudes of primary teachers across Greece, which concluded that most see cultural differences in terms of deficiency. Furthermore, new teachers are often unreflective and tend to 'teach as they were taught' (Sim, 2006: 79) – i.e. their model of what teaching is is often based their own experiences as students.

We are talking here at the level of teachers' unexamined assumptions – their theories-in-use. As we have seen, for student-teachers (in Greece, in the US, in Australia – and by implication in the UK and elsewhere) there is a danger that *superficial* understandings of issues surrounding multiculturalism will not be sufficiently challenged, and may feed into impoverished forms of multicultural pedagogy. Not yet having had the benefit of critical incidents to prompt a reflective re-examination of their theories, such teachers could benefit from pre-service education courses which focus on *reflexive* and *deconstructive* self-examination. Trainees' self-understanding could be encouraged through the practice of writing reflexive essays, bringing in details of their own biographies (Moore &

Atkinson, 1998). As they attempt to make a coherent narrative of their own lives as students and as prospective teachers they may come to understand more clearly what the key influences have been on the construction of their present theories: they can trace the roots of their knowing-in-practice to earlier experiences. They can look to their own biographies, to question from where their own identities as teachers have arisen.

It would be essential to introduce key concepts from critical, post-modernist or post-structuralist theories, in order to encourage students to re-assess some of their beliefs concerning multicultural pedagogy[46]. Student-teachers are to gain a deeper understanding of *difference* than that encrypted in discourses of weak multiculturalism, through encountering such theories (for example Foucault on micropractices, Lyotard on the *differend*, Deleuze on repetition and difference). This can start to undermine easy certainties, such as the 'neutrality' of the dominant culture, superficial understandings of equality or of cultural difference, understandings of disadvantage constructed around notions of 'deficit', etc. Through encountering the more *critical* insights of post-structuralism they can understand how *unequal power relations* are perpetuated through the use of language and seemingly neutral cultural practices (for example through the educational practice of setting exams).

If opportunities are created for discussion, student-teachers can explore how such perspectives on diversity and power illuminate their own society. An example could be the critical examination of the myth of homogeneity[47] in Greece through exploring the history of its native minorities. Equally, a group of student-teachers in London might examine what kinds of 'border guards' (Armstrong, 1982) construct notions of Englishness or Britishness (e.g. according to markers such as skin colour, language, religion, diet, dress, sporting allegiance, etc). While examining such theories may unsettle their certainties, at the same time it has the potential to raise a wide range of questions. Ultimately, this can enable them to see the teacher not as an 'all knowing

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[46] Such theories emphasise the historical situatedness of 'the subject' (Peters, 2003: 62/80) – i.e. the power of factors such as language, history, culture and economics to shape our identities.
[47] As we saw in *Chapter 2*, a central element of national culture is the *'mythomoteur'* of the dominant ethnic group (Smith, 1986): the constitutive myth describing how and why the collectivity was formed,

expert', but as a reflective and *potentially* committed practitioner: 'knowing how to live contingently ... without the certainty of knowing the truth, yet at the same time, with the courage to take a stand on issues of human suffering, domination and oppression' (McLaren, 1995: 15).

7 - 3.3 – Supporting Reflection in Practice

I have argued that changes should be made to pre-service and in-service education in order to better support teachers working in multicultural settings. But when teacher development is regarded as complex ongoing process, involving formal training as well as the teacher's own reflective practice, then we need to ensure that the conditions are in place *within the school* for teachers to continue to develop their theories and practice.

As outlined in Chapter 6, the key conditions in this respect are: sufficient time, freedom to experiment, the existence of a collaborative school culture, and the opportunity to discuss with colleagues. In Greece, as in the UK, the curriculum is centrally controlled and highly prescriptive. Greek teachers have little choice over which books to use, and there is very little local autonomy in organisational terms. In fact, I have argued that it was precisely the fact of being released from this prescriptivism, into the relative freedom of the Community School system, which allowed to teachers so much scope for experimentation and reflection. One key to promoting reflection, then, would be to allow teachers more choice over which materials to use and how to work with the curriculum (in Italy, for example, the teacher has the officially recognised right to choose her own textbooks (Portera, 2004: 283)).

Another move could be for schools to facilitate the establishment of groups of reflective teachers– for example by making time and space available for them to meet on a regular basis. According to Tuomi (2004: 298):

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and therefore what its 'purpose' is. The Greek *mythomoteur* contains a strong notion of a unified people with a common racial, cultural and linguistic background, despite the historical *reality* of diversity.

> The point with the greatest potential for promoting significant sustainable development in education is [that concerning] ... the skills needed to collaborate with other teachers to *create a culture of consultation*

The bringing into being of a 'culture of consultation' would provide teachers with valuable opportunities to share both their questions and expertise – to explore theoretical frameworks, normative issues and pedagogic methods. One of the findings of this research has been that, while many of the teachers had found similar solutions to similar problems, some teachers have questions to which others have found an answer: the opportunity to create a *culture of collaboration* is one of the 'missing parts of the jigsaw', as one of the main demands of the teachers was precisely for more opportunities for *dialogue*.

This kind of collaboration between teachers could be ongoing in schools, providing opportunities for collective reflection, as colleagues work together to find solutions to the problems they encounter. In this research my presence as a 'critical friend' often encouraged the teachers to move towards a more critical analysis. A similar effect could be expected with the development of communities of teachers – which could be organised both within schools and across them. Another advantage of this would be to increase their confidence in, articulating their theories – a skill which would allow teachers to more easily disseminate their views at in-service training sessions or in other settings.

7 - 3.4 – **Contributing to Research**

We have seen that teachers are able to develop progressive discourses, tailored to the local needs of the students they teach. This grounded, bottom-up approach to the development of pedagogic knowledge is particularly suited to dealing with the complex, changing picture of diverse classrooms in today's multicultural societies.

But what impact can this 'teachers' knowledge' have on research, and on educational policy? One issue is that of status. Where the top-down model of pedagogic knowledge and practice is dominant, teachers are positioned as *deliverers*, and their professional judgement is devalued and goes unrecognised (Tripp, 1993: 148). The teachers in this study report how difficult this is: academics and policy-makers in Greece seem to be uninterested in teachers' views. Even when they are consulted there it seems to be in an 'exploitative' manner (Jorgeos): teachers' contributions to research or materials development are not fully acknowledged.

Thus, one problem is how to be 'heard' in academic and policy-making forums. The teachers in this study also suggest that they need to become more articulate - to 'enter and participate within the discourses of established fields of study' (Calderhead & Gates, 1993: 1). As noted above, one way for teachers (that is *all* teachers – in community schools, in mainstream schools, in the UK, in Greece, or elsewhere) to become more confident in expressing their views, and thus more articulate, is to build groups of reflective practitioners – to add a social element to their reflection which will call for a language of expression. Developing their own language, they can gain greater 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1991) to 'enter' the discussion.

What we have clearly seen in this research is that teachers have the capacity to become '[producers] of new pedagogic discourse' (Calderhead & Gates, 1993: 1) – that they can *contribute* – and that this capacity should be recognised as an aspect of their professional status. A number of possibilities flow from this understanding.

In terms of research, one conclusion to be drawn would be that teachers could write and publish their own research. This might be particularly appropriate where a specific group is concerned: in the local setting a 'Greek' community will take on its own specific characteristics, unlike those of another Greek group elsewhere, in terms of culture, language use, etc. There is scope then for a group of teachers to conduct research on an aspect of pedagogy appropriate to a particular group and then publish it for the use of other teachers (in the present or in future), in the same setting, or those teaching students

with similar profiles elsewhere. Such research could also be undertaken in collaboration with university-based researchers.

Clearly, teaching requires academic researchers: they cannot provide ready-made solutions, but their work can *inform* practice. And as research can inform practice, practical knowledge can also inform academic research: teachers' knowledge can serve as *feedback* to academic researchers. A 'collaborative resonance' (Cochran-Smith, 1994: 149) can be aimed for, in which there is a recognition that:

> there are many people who have developed incisive and articulate critiques of teaching and schooling based on years of professional work inside schools [and] ... these emic perspectives [should be] regarded as different from, but as important as, the etic critiques developed by people who have devoted their professional lives to work about, but outside of, schools (op cit: 151)

Academic research can be 'grounded' in the practical knowledge of teachers, who are close to the reality of diverse classrooms all around the world, and of all types, on a daily basis. But the *emic* terms used by the practitioner will likely be different from the *etic* classifications of the scholar (Alasuutari, 1995: 67). Thus to accurately and fully draw on the rich knowledge of the teachers depends on the sensitivity, interpretative skills, and perhaps first-hand experience, of the researcher: for example, if the researcher herself *has been* a teacher, and has taught in multicultural settings, this could help her be able to successfully interpret what the teachers are trying to articulate (to 'merge horizons' (Hammersley & Gomm, 2002: 68-71)).

7 - 3.5 – Contributing to Policy

The necessarily heterogeneous nature of multicultural pedagogy presents a problem for policy-makers – especially where policy is dictated nationally, as it is in Greece. However, those returning from the Diapora, especially when taken together, have a wide range of experience with different contexts. Many, like Eleni, will also have had some experience in mainstream schools in different countries. Their knowledge represents a

vast *potential resource* which state policy-makers, in collaboration with academics, could and *should* draw on if the Intercultural policy agenda is to work.

This research has demonstrated that teachers have the *capacity* for such work. In fact, in the Cypriot *Apostoli* in London, a group of teachers have started working on a curriculum for the Community Schools. Interventions such as that by the Cypriot *Apostoli* give hope that teachers' potential for contribution is being recognised. Teachers in both the Community Schools and in Greece could act as consultants in reforming the curriculum. Similarly, they could give feedback as to how well particular policies work. A new curriculum and set of textbooks are being written for the Diasporic schools in the University of Crete, but should take into account consultation with and feedback from teachers. Having said this, in the Greek mainstream at present, it seems almost impossible for teachers to be involved in writing curricula for local use. The only exception may be in the newly established Intercultural schools, which are being set up with a degree of autonomy according to the particular needs of the students (Hellenic Pedagogic Institute, 1999). There may then be some possibility for the involvement of teachers in the development of experimental curricula in such settings.

We have seen that with the development of their reflective practice, teachers in the Community Schools have tended to move towards a more *critical* or *transformative* approach to multicultural pedagogy, and have taken an active part in making practice a better fit with students' needs. Thus, not only do they have the *capacity* to contribute to policy-making, they also have a sense of *commitment - seeing critical engagement with policy as a part of their role*. But, while teachers have the intention and capacity to be active, reflective and critical, they are held back from influencing policy and local decision-making by a lack of democratic education.

If, in 1997, it was possible to say that multiculturalism was 'the true paradigm for a post-modern global age' (Sammad, 1997: 240), how much more is this true today: 2005, for example, revealed the disaffection of minorities with North-African background in France, who rioted for over a week. For Greece the demographic changes it has

experienced in recent years cannot be met with complacency. A first step has been taken with the adoption of an Interculturalist educational policy. But this now needs to be given substance, by emphasising recognition, but also by stressing genuine inclusion, so that minority-community students are able to succeed educationally and attain effective equality as adults.

The teachers in this study have come to recognise these imperatives. Through their experiences and through reflection, they have developed a more profound understanding of how multicultural pedagogy should develop. As bell hooks comments (1994: 44 – adapted), it is:

> 'by allowing our pedagogy to be radically changed by our recognition of a multicultural world, that we can give students the education they desire and deserve'

Teachers working in the Community Schools, and those returning from the Diaspora, go through such transformations - it is now time for policy-makers to listen to their voices.

7 - 4 – Limitations on the Study & Directions for Further Research

It is of the nature of doctoral theses to be limited in their ambition, partially because of the lack of resources available to the researcher. Working on my own, I have had to restrict the number of teachers I could work with, and the amount of time I could devote to each.

However, a number of directions for future research are evident, leading on from the findings of this present study. I have established that the Community School teachers' knowledge is *valid*, and that their practices are innovative and well tailored to the environment. One possibility would be an action-research project studying how the teaching approaches recommended in this study could be put into practice by another group of Community School teachers: group cooperation could be facilitated, with the study examining how successful these teaching approaches are, and what form of

reflective dynamic develops within the group. It would also be useful to extend the research to the Greek mainstream, working in depth with teachers who have returned from the Community Schools, to see in more detail what impacts their experiences have had on their teaching. Finally, I would like to conduct a broader study focussing on the theories and practices of a range of teachers working with minority-community students in Greece – looking at what kind of discourse of multicultural pedagogy is being developed in response to the particular issues they face.

Appendix I – Interview Questions

Language:

- How would you describe your approach to teaching Greek language?

- How do you feel about the use of English in the class?

- What kind of motivation do you think students have to learn Greek?

- What kind of value do you think they place of the language? And their parents?

- How much do you think they use Greek outside the classroom?

- How important do you think it is for ethnic-minority pupils in Greece to maintain
  their home language?

- Why do you think this is, or is not, important?

- What sort of language provisions should be available for ethnic minority students in
  Greece?

- If you imagine an Albanian pupil in a school in Greece, how do you
  think s/he could be supported in improving the Greek and Albanian languages?

- Do you think that it's better for younger minority-community students to stick to the
  dominant language (i.e. Greek in Greece) in the early stages; or do you think its
  better to be actively trying to improve the home language and the dominant
  language?

- In the Community Schools here history is taught through the medium of Greek; do
  you think minority-community students in Greece should learn any subjects in
  their own languages?

- Has the experience of living in an English-speaking country affected your approach
  to language teaching?

Cultural and Identity Issues:

- To what extent do you think students identify themselves as 'Greek', 'Greek-Cypriot', 'English' and/or something else?

- How do the Community Schools help students to reflect on who they are?; on their identities?

- Do you see it as part of your role to help students to do this?

- What kind of impression of Greek culture do you think students get at the Community Schools?

- Do you try to develop an appreciation of Greek culture among your students? Can you think of any ways you have tried to do this in past lessons?

- Would you voice any criticisms of Greek culture in the classroom? Do you think students would feel able to do so?

- What kind of differences in attitudes have you noticed between students in Greece, and the students in the Community Schools here (i.e. in behaviour, in learning style, in motivation, etc)?

- Has your teaching style changed to take account of these differences?

- Have you experienced any form of 'culture shock' here?

- Do you think this has changed the way you think about minority-community students here or in Greece?

Critical / Reflective Pedagogy:

- Can you remember a particularly successful lesson you've given recently?

- What elements do you think accounted for its success?

- Is there any way you could have improved on it?

- What kinds of factors generally go towards producing a successful lesson?

- And a not-so-successful lesson? Can you remember any examples?

- To what degree do you feel your teaching style has changed since you started working here?

- What kinds of factors have led you to change your approach?

- How will you be a different teacher when/if you return to Greece?

- How useful do you think your initial training was in preparing you to teach here?

- How do you think teacher-training in Greece could be modified to better prepare teachers to work with ethnic-minority students?

- Has the experience of being a member of a minority here in the UK and working with minority students in the Community Schools changed your attitude towards minority students in Greece?

- Are there any particular difficulties you experienced when you first started teaching here?

- What kinds of factors do you think facilitate teachers in improving their practice (e.g. peer observation, professional-development courses, discussions with colleagues, etc)?

- Do you think working here has provided you with these kinds of opportunities?

- Is there anything in the curriculum in the Community Schools that you think needs to change?

- If so, is there anything you think you could do to promote such changes?

- What kind of relationship do the schools/teachers have with parents?

- Do you think this is adequate?

- Should there be stronger links between the Community Schools and the students' mainstream schools? Why / Why not?

- What advantages and disadvantages does the supplementary school model have (e.g. motivation)?

- Do you think it is a useful model for minority-communities in Greece?

- How do you see the future of the Community Schools here? Are there any key changes you think they should make in what they do?

Additional Questions - Materials

- How appropriate are the materials available for use in your school(s)?

- What changes could be made to the materials?

Appendix II - Glossary

parikea	-	the Greek community
demotic	-	popular Greek tongue
katharevousa	-	purist' written language
Ayios	-	saint
Apostoli	-	Greek or Greek-Cypriot office responsible for the teachers in the Community Schools
Sintonistis	-	Coordinator of Education in the Greek Embassy
Ellinolatria	-	the idealised Greece

Appendix III – British National Identity

Britain has a long history of incursion and immigration, having been invaded by the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Vikings and the Normans, while significant numbers of French Huguenot, Jewish and Irish immigrants had arrived well before the term 'multicultural' had been coined. Arguably a sense of British national identity was strengthened by experiences such as the 'success' of imperialist adventures in the nineteenth century, combined with factors such as the consolidation of the industrial revolution and the influence of Protestantism (Watson, 2000: 91). It has also been claimed that British nationalism's strength was derived from a significant period without revolution, combined with a lack of devastating defeat in war or national humiliation (Nairn, 1977).

Appendix IV - Hornberger's Continua of Biliteracy

Hornberger (Hornberger, 2002: 39) distinguishes thirteen continua which, in innumerable permutations, could determine the particular character of a class (or the position particular students might find themselves in). For example, she highlights the fact that bilingual children may use languages with similar or divergent scripts (e.g. English and Spanish use similar scripts, while English and Greek have a different alphabet); the languages may have similar or dissimilar grammatical structures (thus English and Greek are both Indo-European languages, while Chinese is part of the Sino-Tibetan group); the context within which one lives and studies may be multilingual, bilingual or monolingual to a greater or lesser degree; language-learning may be heavily contextualised or less so; and so on and so forth.

Power Relations in the Continua of Biliteracy:
traditionally less powerful ←----------------→ traditionally more powerful

Contexts of biliteracy
micro ←--→ macro
oral ←--→ literate
bi(multi)lingual ←---------------------------→ monolingual

Development of biliteracy
reception ←----------------------------------→ production
oral ←---→ written
L1 ←---→ L2

Contents of biliteracy
minority ←-------------------------------------→ majority
vernacular ←----------------------------------→ literary
contextualised ←------------------------------→ decontextualised

Media of biliteracy
simultaneous exposure ←--------------------------→ successive exposure
dissimilar structures ←----------------------------→ similar structures
divergent scripts ←--------------------------------→ convergent scripts

Appendix V - Epistemology & 'Reality'

In the social sciences for most of the last two centuries 'valid' knowledge has been that derived from the positivist-empiricist methods imported from the natural sciences: 'methodological adequacy and validity were formulated and essentially 'owned' by positivism' (Altheide & Johnson, 1998: 296). Today, however, there are a range of opinions as to what form scientifically valid knowledge can take.

The dominant view is still a positivistic version of *realism*: the world consists of independently existing objects of which there *can only be one true description* - 'a description that is guaranteed by the elimination of research bias and the ambiguities of language' (Scott and Usher, 1999: 14). At the other extreme, there are versions of *relativism*, characterised by Derrida's assertion that 'there is nothing outside the text' (Derrida,` 1976: 158), or at least nothing can be *definitively* said about any 'external' reality. This is the position associated with some versions of postmodernism.

There are also a range of positions between these extremes, including more nuanced versions of realism, which accept that research bias and the ambiguities of language are real problems which cannot simply disappear, and more moderate versions of postmodernism, which accept 'the possibility of specific, local, personal, and community forms of truth with a focus on daily life and local narrative' (Ezzy, op cit: 18; see also Kvale, 1995: 21).

On the one hand then, the approach of *critical realism* (Bhaskar, 1989) is that research has to take seriously the practical problems of understanding via language – that there is a key role for *interpretation* to play in research, but this is coupled with the view that not only does an objective reality exist, but that attempts can be made to construct generalisable theories to describe 'laws' governing its operation:

> [For critical realists] social phenomena exist not only in the mind, but in the observable world as well, and .. there are some lawful, reasonably stable relationships to be found among them.
> (Huberman, & Miles, 1998: 182)

On the other hand *constructivism* (Kincheloe, 2003, Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, Guba, 1990, Lincoln, 1990), while agreeing with the critical realists that *interpretation is inescapable*, and that some kind of reality can be said to exist, draws back from confident assertions that there is a single reality about which 'laws' can be readily generated. While 'local realities' may be described, our ability to make generalisations about the social world will be limited.

In the case of this research, I am able to work more within the constructivist model, since my focus is on a *local* reality – that of a group of teachers in a particular setting. My primary focus is to accurately understand what their theories are. I do not deny that it is theoretically possible to make broad, law-like generalisations about teaching, but in a sense one key point arising from this research *is* an *epistemological* one: in order to understand local teaching conditions, and what forms pedagogy should take with particular groups of students, it is necessary to listen to *local, experienced teachers' own accounts*.

Appendix VI - Methods in Transformative Pedagogy

A number of methods for both attaining academic success, and to develop in students a more critical awareness of multicultural society, are suggested in the literature on transformative pedagogy.

One is the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994). This approach draws heavily on students' prior knowledge and pays close attention to their learning styles and language level. It emphasises the development of skills of inquiry and problem-solving, and encourages self-evaluation and collaboration. The New London Group's Pedagogy of Multiliteracies (1996) attempts to take into account the cultural and linguistic diversity of students in multicultural societies, familiarising students with a wide range of semiotic forms and equipping them with skills so that they can express themselves in a wide range of forms. The approach combines immersion in meaningful practice with the addressing of critical literacy and social action concerns through critical framing and transformed practice.

Appendix VII – Communicative Approaches to Language Teaching

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is not 'monolithic and uniform' (Ellis, 2003). It marks 'the beginning of a paradigm shift within language teaching in the twentieth century, one whose ramifications continue to be felt today' (Richards and Rodgers, 2001: 151). For Richards and Rodgers 'communicative' can apply to 'classical' CLT, to Krashen's Natural Approach, to Cooperative Language Learning, Content-Based Teaching and Task-Based Teaching (ibid). What a lot of these approaches have in common is the idea that *meaningful* communication in the target language is a key goal. To take the example of the Task-Based approach, if the task that students have to do is of intrinsic interest to them they are more likely to want to communicate about it.

Appendix VIII – The Intercultural Policy in Greece

The key policies in the Interculturalist reform agenda have been the introduction of Reception and Support classes which, although initiated in the 1980s, were significantly reformed by a Decision of the Ministry of Education in 1994 (Pedagogic Institute, 1999). The Reception classes are for new minority students, teach Greek and maths and are supposed to support the native language of the students. Their main aim is to provide initial education to new immigrant children - to prepare them to enter the mainstream class when they have acquired enough Greek. Gradually students should be able to attend some regular lessons. The Support (or 'Supplementary') classes run in addition to the mainstream, with immigrant students attending regular lessons but getting some additional help in the Support classes. According to the reform of 1994, both classes are supposed to have teachers who speak the mother tongue of the students and have had specialised training.

Arguably, however, by 'pulling out' minority students from the regular classes there is a danger of 'labelling' (Coate, Bignell & Maguire: 1997: 79) by their peers and/or by the regular-class teachers (Damanakis, 1997; Markou, 1995, 1997). Furthermore, as the aim of the classes is to adjust new immigrant students to the linguistic and cultural norms of the regular mainstream classroom, they operate to support the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1991) of the dominant group. Indeed, according to Drettakis (1997: 39), minority students in the Greek system have to abandon their diversity and adjust to dominant norms. Despite the apparent commitment to bilingualism built into the policy for the Support and Reception classes there is nothing in my interview data to suggest that teachers see home languages being supported in the mainstream system.

Appendix IX – Pilot

Broadly speaking this research is about multicultural pedagogy and bilingualism. More specifically it's about how teachers theorise about these issues, and, precisely, the setting is Greek Community Schools in the UK. My aim in this research is:

1: *To draw on teachers' grounded knowledge of teaching minority students to make recommendations for policy & practice in community schools & as input into the Intercultural policy agenda in Greece.* I see the school as a central site in research, since it is where policy and practice meet. Thus I want to privilege the perspective of the teacher. In teaching in multicultural classes the teacher is in close contact with the specific minority group(s) in question. Thus their knowledge is potentially invaluable as a corrective to that of distant academics, policy-makers and materials writers. I want to act as an advocate of the teachers as knowledgeable professionals whose voices should be listened to.

2: *To explore how teachers' theories change and develop over time when working with multicultured[48] students and having contact with a minority.* I want to explore if there is any shift in position during their stay in the Community Schools.

In this section of the study I will introduce the initial interview materials and analysis and show to what degree my original assumptions, hypotheses and theoretical orientations have been confirmed or modified by the interview process and the beginning of analysis. Initially, however, I want to give a brief summary of the field. This will show in more detail the kinds of questions I am interested in and what is at stake in the teachers replies.

2.1 - Culture and Identity

Central concerns in multicultural pedagogy are mostly related to the issues of culture, identity, language or some combination of these elements. This section will discuss issues in my study relating to culture and identity, while language will be dealt with separately below. Initially, however, we need to address what 'multiculturalism' itself is. The typology I will use draws on a number of analyses of the debate on multiculturalism,

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[48] The term 'multicultured' is taken from Moore, 1999

notably that of Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997). It distinguishes between: Assimilationism, Liberal Multiculturalism, Cultural Pluralism and Radical / Critical Multiculturalisms. The term is as Kincheloe and Steinberg admit, 'essentially contested'. Such a typology is necessary, however, in order to be able to broadly locate teachers and to see if they change views over time, as well as in analysing policy.

There are a number of central issues in multicultural pedagogy related to culture and identity. These include:

- The degree to which teachers can take a critical distance from ethnocentric cultural assumptions and include/recognise minority cultures in the class (Moodly, 1992; Taylor, 1992).

- The degree to which culture is understood as being dynamic; the hybrid nature of many ethnic minority-group identities (Bhabha, 1998), especially second or third generations

- The use of teaching-styles appropriate to students from different communities.

- Inclusion of the histories and funds of knowledge of minorities in the curriculum (thus increasing visibility, bolstering students' sense of identity).

- A range of issues relating culture and identity to *language* (which will be explored below).

One of the key issues for me is how teachers and policy-makers deal with the *specific needs* of particular minority students. As Bhabha, among others, has argued ethnic minority groups are far from homogenous, and it is especially dangerous to assume that the culture of the 'motherland' will be wholly shared by first, second or further generations of immigrants. Rather, a hybrid culture arises, drawing on both the culture of the homeland, as well as that of the place of settlement. Policy-makers and materials-writers, therefore, need to take care when making assumptions as to the cultural knowledge, aspirations, learning styles and linguistic knowledge of particular ethnic minority groups. To refer back to our typology:

- the *assimilationist* position would broadly speaking ignore the home culture, believing that immigrant children should be learning the dominant culture and language.

- A *liberal multiculturalist* position might believe either that the domestic (Western) culture is superior, that children should be inducted into a strong national identity but that some elements of minority culture should be tolerated, *or* that some 'worthy' elements of cultural traditions which have long histories and a large number of adherents '... are almost certain to have something that deserves our admiration and respect.' (Taylor, 1992: 66-7) and should be integrated into the dominant culture.

- *Cultural pluralism* advocates a public recognition of minority cultures and the encouragement of mutual respect. It is associated in the UK with the 1985 Swann Report, aiming to 'achieve balance between, on the one hand the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all the ethnic groups within [society], and on the other the acceptance by all groups of the set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole.' (DES, 1985: 6). Cultural pluralism has been criticised for reifying cultures, for '[trivializing] other cultures, rendering them entertaining, but superficial and peripheral' (Watson, 2000: 53), and for failing to come to terms with the 'real issues' of overcoming institutional disadvantage and structural change (Watson, 2000: 52).

- *Radical/critical multiculturalism*, taking a number of forms, would be concerned in its more poststructuralist form to eliminate Euro-centrism or racism from the curriculum, or to pay close attention to the reality of hybrid or diasporic cultures (Bhabha, 1998; Soysal, 2000), in its critical form to highlight power relations which maintain inequalities, to stress justice and equal opportunities, and to encourage a critical interrogation of identities (both dominant and minority) (Giroux, 1993).

- Finally, especially in the EU, there is the notion of *interculturalism*. This approach is official educational policy for the EU, and Greece was the first country to adopt it. The focus is on interaction and mutual understanding between members of different cultures. It aims to use the cultural resources of students to facilitate this understanding, but stresses the importance of avoiding stereotypical or patronising

depictions of minority cultures. There is also a concern with raising awareness of how inequality disproportionately affects minority groups.

In many senses, then, there is a connection between Critical Multiculturalism and interculturalism, and I would place myself within this kind of position, in that I would advocate a generation of dialogue between students from different cultures, paying close attention of the details of students' actual cultures, and encouraging questioning of the status quo.

Through studying teachers' theories I aim to examine how well policy matches reality in a number of different settings. Primarily my concern is the Community Schools; through a range of questions about culture, language and identity (see Questions in Appendix 1) my goal has been to explore through the teachers how relevant the curriculum, materials and approaches employed are to the schools' Greek and Greek-Cypriot students. From my experience working in the schools, I have felt that the Greek-Cypriot second and third generation students have a hybrid culture, massively influenced by local environment and are therefore unlikely to respond well to approaches designed in Greece.

Moreover, due to their unique position (coming from Greece, spending around 5 years here and then returning), the teachers are also able to comment on schools in Greece. All the teachers on this programme have teaching experience in Greece and are thus able to explore the Interculturalist policy in Greece, and what this personal experience tells them about its appropriacy. Since they were trained in Greece they can also comment on their initial teacher-training (i.e. how well they think it prepared them for dealing with diversity) and on the induction course held before coming to England. Finally the teachers also glean knowledge (largely from their students) about the situation in the mainstream schools in the UK: if there is a mismatch between official multicultural educational policy in UK mainstream schools, and actual student experience.

Another aspect of the local culture in the UK is the kind of teaching style typical in the mainstream schools, corresponding learning styles, and how it could affect students in

the Community Schools. Finally I have wanted to ask about the approach to Greek culture in Community Schools and schools in Greece: Is it (1) seen as *superior?*; are they (2) *open to the incorporation of other cultural elements*, and (3) *the critical investigation of the culture and exploration of other traditions and ways of life?*

2.2 - <u>Language</u>

Typologies of approaches taken to the *education of bilingual students* recognise a spectrum of aims, from monolingualism, to full bilingualism and biculturalism (e.g. Baker, 1996: 175). As with 'multiculturalism', the literature on bilingualism is immense. Some of the most influential theories are those suggesting beneficial effects of bilingualism for cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins, 1981). There are a spectrum of ideas on how languages are acquired, including those stressing meaningful input (i.e. listening, reading) (Krashen, 1982), as well as those recognising the additional importance of a focus on formal features of the target language, development of effective learning strategies, and actual use of the target language (Cummins, 2000: 46). There is also a significant 'socio-linguistic' literature, which stresses the centrality of language to identity and the negative effect of its suppression, the dangers of social exclusion which face bilingual students should they fail to develop their linguistic abilities so as to facilitate academic success (Cummins, 1984, and the role of the *dominant* language as a form of 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1991).

The role of the teacher is once more central to this question, since the kind of approach adopted must be closely tailored to the realities on the ground if it is to be successful. Baker (1996: 175) lists ten different forms of education for bilingualism, noting, however, that 'one of the intrinsic limitations of typologies is that not all real-life examples will fit easily into the classification' (op cit: 174), and further noting that Mackey (1970) was able to list 90 possible varieties of bilingual education! The nearest Baker comes to the Community Schools is his category 'Maintenance/Heritage Language' which, accurately, has 'language minority' children attending, and aims at 'bilingualism and biliteracy'. However, this occurs 'where language minority children use their native, ethnic [or] home ... language in the school as a medium of instruction'

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(Baker, 1996: 184). There is also ambiguity over the term 'home language'. In his typology, Baker has the language used in school, and taught as 'L1', i.e. the first language; so if the Community Schools teach Greek, then Greek is the home language in this model. However, for many students in the Community Schools, who are generally second or third generation, it is more likely to be the case that 'L1', strictly speaking the *language of the home,* is in fact English. The Community Schools were established mostly in the 1960s and 70s, to cater mainly for first generation immigrants from Cyprus. The materials mostly come from Greece. I think it is important, therefore, to question what kind of model of bilingual education the curriculums now in use were designed for, and similarly what kinds of students the materials are aimed at.

In this context, therefore, as with questions of cultural 'fit', teachers are well placed to comment on whether the curriculum, materials and approaches used are appropriate to the linguistic needs and abilities of their students. Again, teachers' knowledge can usefully be applied as feedback into the policy and material-making processes.

2.3 - The Reflective / Critical Teacher

In this study I examine the 'teachers' theories' of practitioners who have come from Greece, where they have knowledge adapted to the realities of that system and who have shifted to working in Community Schools in the UK, where they are faced with a new set of realities. To a greater or lesser degree these teachers may be familiar with teaching bilingual, minority community students. However, here in the UK their classes are exclusively with a minority community – the Greek-Cypriots; furthermore, they have themselves become part of that minority community.

- How does this experience affect how they think about education, both at the more abstract level, and in terms of more basic, day-to-day teaching practices?
- Do their teaching theories change significantly?
- Are they enriched as teachers by the experience?
- Do they become more flexible, with a wider teaching repertoire?

- To what degree do teachers diverge in their beliefs from official policy on multicultural education (in terms of the Community Schools, of Greece and also in terms of mainstream schools in the UK)?

- What kinds of insights do the teachers generate that could provide useful feedback to the Greek Community Schools, for policy-makers and materials-writers in Greece, for the British mainstream system, and for other teachers in all these settings?

- Drawing on my own roots in critical thinking, I refuse to see teachers as passive 'deliverers' of policy - as technicians. Such a view stems from a positivistic understanding of education (Kincheloe, 2003). Educational science produces a form of public knowledge organised as 'bodies of information, codified facts, theories and generalisations' (Berlack & Berlack, 1981:.147). 'Practice' becomes secondary in the face of this body of 'scientific' truth (Osterman & Kotcamp, 1993: 35). Rather I see teachers as *reflective* practitioners, engaged 'in a continuing process of self-education' (Schon, 1983: 299). This perspective stresses *personal* knowledge, and emphasises the relationship between knowledge and the actual practice of teaching (Osterman & Kotcamp: 37). It is an essentially democratic conceptualisation of the educational process.

As a teacher myself, when I came to the UK, I underwent a process of self-questioning. I assumed I knew how to approach teaching bilingual, bicultural students in the UK - I had had experience teaching Albanian pupils in Greece. However, working in the Community Schools in London made me rethink many of my previous assumptions; for example, what was my students' motivation for learning the language?; should I always use the target language as the medium of instruction?; how could I motivate them?; what exactly was their cultural identity? I became more aware of the specific realities of my students' lives and ways of thinking, and of the schools I was working in. The ways I thought about teaching in a multicultural context *broadened* and became *more complex*.

To conduct this research, therefore, I have tried to understand how teachers think about their experiences in the UK and in Greece, in relation to issues of multicultural

pedagogy. However, I believe there is a complex relationship between teachers' experiences, how they act, what they believe, and what they may say. I have initially hypothesised that by *shifting position*, from part of the majority community in Greece, to being part of and teaching the minority Greek community here, teachers would undergo shifts in their thinking about multicultural pedagogy. I also believe that the qualitative *interview* format that I am adopting can also be an important factor in change.

In examining this relationship between teachers' experiences, beliefs, words and actions, an important distinction can be made between 'teacher knowledge' and 'teacher beliefs'. The former can refer to *context-specific* practical knowledge 'encompassing firsthand experience of students' learning styles, interests, needs, strengths and difficulties, and a repertoire of instructional techniques and classroom management skills' (Elbaz, 1983: 5) (see also: Calderhead, 1996). Teacher beliefs are more abstract ideas, to do with learners and learning, teaching, subject matter, learning to teach, the self and the teaching role (Calderhead, 1996). Again, arguably, such beliefs are rooted in personal experience. They will be influenced both by training and by the teachers' own personal histories as learners. On the one hand this rooting in experience can mean that strongly-held beliefs are highly resistant to change (Block & Hazelip, 1995). On the other hand, it can mean that it is *experience* which can actually change beliefs (Thompson, 1992).

Cooper and McIntyre (1996), who invoke the concept of teachers' 'professional craft knowledge', argue that while such knowledge is idiosyncratic, 'it is none the less probable that some features will be common across teachers' (Cooper & McIntyre: 18). They emphasise that professional craft knowledge develops through the day-to-day experience of problem-solving in the class, and as teachers *reflect* on this experience (p.76). Thus it will be knowledge closely linked to personal biography – childhood experiences of schooling, where one has worked, what kinds of pupils one has taught, and so on. However pressures of workload and school culture (to be seen as performing effectively, for example) mean that there is little opportunity for such reflection in school, and 'The time that teachers do have for reflection and development outside the classroom is often insufficient for the kind of exploration that the uncovering of craft

knowledge requires' (op cit). In such circumstances, the presence of an interested researcher can actually work as a catalyst to the reflective process. The results of their own study of effective teaching among British secondary teachers, suggests 'that this process of articulation enables teachers to obtain deeper understandings of their own practice than would be possible without such articulation' (op cit).

This 'reflective' thinking can be understood, very broadly, as thinking through an action and assessing how one's initial assumptions need to be modified according to the experience (Stones, 1994). In the literature on reflective teaching, teachers 'action theories' fall into two categories: 'theories-in-use' (elusive, difficult to identify, powerful in influencing how we act, not easily changed, deeply ingrained, can't be easily articulated), and 'espoused theories', existing at a conscious level and which change with relative ease in response to new information or ideas (Osterman & Kotcamp, 1993: 9).

Sikes, Measor and Woods (2001) argue that 'critical incidents', turning points brought about by strain, surprise or shock, can act as a catalyst to 'crystallise ideas, attitudes and beliefs which are already being formed' (Soler, Craft & Burgess, 2001: 71). We can hypothesise, then, that the shift in position from Greece to the Greek Community Schools in the UK might act as such an 'incident' or event, combining, as it does, the processes of 'culture shock' with the move to a significantly different working environment.

Reflection can be a social process, as well as an individual one. Meaning can be 'grounded in and confirmed by' social relations in a particular social context (e.g. a school, an association for teachers working in similar conditions), and 'through shared experience and perspective ... teachers will come to understand the meanings of reflections and the action that is generated' (Soler, Craft & Burgess: 70). When engaged in sharing insights with colleagues, reflective teachers are likely to create a critical distance from official policies and 'conventional wisdom' in education. This kind of situation has been described as a manifestation of a 'social reconstructionist' conception of reflective teaching (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 2001: 74). This perspective: 'stresses

reflection about the social ... contexts of schooling and the assessment of classroom actions for their ability to contribute towards greater equity, social justice ... in schooling' (ibid), with teachers creating "communities of learning' where teachers can support and sustain each others' growth' (op cit: 80). One aspect of this research, therefore, will be to explore the degree to which these processes take place among the teachers in my study, and to give teachers the opportunity to engage in such reflective practices through the research process.

2.4 - Questions

The kinds of questions I explore in the research divide into the categories outlined above, i.e.: Culture and Identity, Language, and Critical/Reflective Pedagogy. I have focussed both on espoused theories as well as attempted to draw out the actual theories-in-use.

In terms of *culture and identity*, I have explored initially how teachers understand students' cultural and identity needs, both here and in Greece:

- how they approach Greek culture in the classroom
- teachers' understanding of learning styles, and extrinsic motivation of minority students here and in Greece
- the degree to which they have adapted their teaching styles to take these factors into account

Questions about *language* include:

- the degree to which teachers see the maintenance of Greek as important for students here and why
- what approaches to teaching language are being used here in the Community Schools, and teachers' rationalisations of the use of a particular approach
- what their attitude to the use of English in class here is
- what teachers understand of students' motivation to learn language, for example extrinsic motivation coming from parents
- what they see as the best model for language provision for ethnic minorities here and in Greece

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- their attitudes towards bilingualism (both for students here and in Greece)
- the degree to which working in Britain at the Community Schools has affected their approach to, and beliefs about, language teaching

Questions which explore *critical and reflective pedagogy* focus on how the shift in position of working in Britain with the Greek minority community has affected their views on multicultural pedagogy, including the degree to which they have become critical of schooling in the Community Schools, in Greece and also in British mainstream. In fact all the questions posed by this study are informed by notions of critical and reflective pedagogy in one way or another, since we are dealing with teachers' own understandings of what they do, their students and the educational systems they are involved with. However, questions which more directly address these issues include:

- teachers' views on the degree to which their teaching approach has changed since being in the UK, and how it will be different when they start working in Greece again
- what factors facilitate teacher development and whether these elements exist for teachers at the Community Schools
- their views on the curriculum in the Community Schools, the materials being used, the organisation of these schools, and the schools' relationships with the mainstream
- the degree to which they feel able to contributed to changing the curriculum, materials, organisation of the schools, etc
- the extent to which the supplementary-school model is a useful one for the Greek community here, or for minority communities in Greece
- what other kinds of models of bilingual, bicultural education could be suitable for the students here or in Greece

2.5 - Methodological Considerations

In conducting the pilot study I have taken an ethnographic approach. Since I am a teacher in the Community Schools, I am a *participant observer*. I use qualitative interviews, and in their analysis I am able to draw on my own experience. I also embed my analysis in an understanding of multicultural and reflective pedagogy based on the work of a wide range of theorists. Methodology will be treated fully in a separate

chapter below, but at this stage I want to make a few points about my overall approach. The aim is not to subject the teachers in the study to a reductionist categorisation of the state of their knowledge against an abstract, academically-derived norm of adequate/appropriate pedagogic standards for teaching bilingual and bicultural pupils. Rather, I work within the tradition of critical ethnography (Kincheloe, 2003, Carspeken, 1996): an approach which attempts to focus on the local and personal, in order to build up a detailed, deep understanding, but which does not ignore the wider world, in particular the power relations which structure that wider world. Thus, using *qualitative* methods, I want to attempt a *reconstruction* of the teachers' theories.

My choice of teachers (rather than pupils or policies, for example) as the focus of my research comes from an orientation which sees teachers' knowledge at the central point between policy and practice in education. While policy may be established at higher levels in the bureaucracy, teachers must implement it in the classroom. At this point they can see clearly how well it meets the needs of the pupils, how realistic its aims are, etc. Thus working with teachers will also provide a vantage point for a critical analysis of policy in multicultural education.

My main method will be the interview. An important aspect to this is the degree of openness and honesty I can expect from the teachers, and how this relates to 'rapport'. I believe there are a number of bases for rapport, and therefore trust and honesty, between the teachers and myself. We are in a similar position: we are all Greek, I also teach in the Community Schools, all the interviewees have, like me, done MAs and are interested in issues surrounding multiculturalism. The closeness in terms of values and assumptions that this implies should also mean that I am better able to enter their 'world', and to interpret what they say.

I have also been influenced by Cooper and McIntyre's approach to interviewing teachers, in which they tried to obtain 'authentic' memories and insights (1996: 39) by guiding teachers to reflect on particular experiences in the classroom, rather than talking more generally about their approach to teaching.

2.6 - Setting

This study is not set in one school, but rather is based on data from a number of teachers working in different schools in London. In fact the Greek (or Hellenic) Community schools are quite diverse, there being schools run by the Greek Orthodox Church, secular schools, as well as a full-time private school. Furthermore, the student population tends to differ according to geographical and socio-economic distribution. For example, there are richer families from Greece in central and West London, while in the East there tend to be less well-off Greek-Cypriots, and in the North of London more middle-class Cypriots. Not only do the teachers in my study work in different schools, they often teach at more than one school during the week, and have changed schools during their stays here. This range of experience of the teachers makes it possible to get a unique insight into the diversity of the Community Schools. But at the same time this provides the basis for an analysis which draws together the commonalties of the experience of teachers working in these schools.

The Community Schools teach Greek and Greek-Cypriot children mostly in evening and weekend classes. They are generally referred to as 'Hellenic Schools', as the term 'Greek' was imposed by the Ottomans and has a sense of subordinate status and can be resented by members of the Greek community. The main subjects are Greek language and history (which are taught up to A Level), although they sometimes offer music, dance classes and so on. There is generally a strong community atmosphere. There is often a fairly relaxed attitude to punctuality as evening classes are held after mainstream school and students are often tired. In the Church run classes in particular there may be little funding, and the materials and teaching conditions can reflect this. In addition to the type of teachers in my study (who are funded by the Greek government for a five-year stay), there are also a number of teachers from Greece or Cyprus who are completing academic qualifications in London, as well as some (female) members of the Cypriot community who have received short training courses to teach in the schools.

To put the schools in historical perspective, they may be seen as an element of the Greek government's policy in respect to the Greek diaspora. There has been a tradition, in a number of countries where there is a significant Greek population, of Greece sending teachers for a period of time to support the language and culture abroad, as well as distributing materials to these communities. In Germany, for example, there are agreements for Greek teachers to work in mainstream schools with Greek-minority students. There have been a number of schools in the UK since the 1950s, and by the 1970s they had multiplied and were thriving, due to the influx of immigrants from Cyprus before, and of refugees after, the Turkish invasion. Today the schools are still generally well-organised, but the rolls are falling, and the second and third generation pupils are often in need of motivation for something they may not see an immediate relevance to. There has been very little research conducted into the schools in Britain. In my view this presents a problem for the schools, and for the administration in Greece. There is a need now to gain information of the culture and needs of the present students at these schools (i.e. as second and third generation members of the community), so that the courses can become more relevant to them. This is particularly important as arguably these students are culturally 'invisible' at the mainstream school, meaning the Greek community here may face a loss of its culture and language.

2.7 - <u>The Teachers</u>

Initially I chose to interview three teachers in the middle, or near the end of their stays here (i.e. having already been teaching here for two to five years). Later I would also interview some teachers who had more recently arrived.

The three interviewees for the pilot study are Costas, Jorgeos and Agni, all originally qualified and experienced teachers in Greece:

- Costas, in his mid 40s, has been teaching in London for about four years. Before this he was the head of a Greek school in Switzerland. He also has a great deal of experience teaching in Greece, with some experience teaching bilingual Albanian and Russian community students in a school in Pireaus. He has studied to Masters level and displays a particular interest in Greek culture and the language. Since being in the

UK he has made efforts to learn about the Cypriot dialect, so that he can more effectively understand and communicate with Greek-Cypriot children. He has also tried to familiarise himself with the British mainstream system, to more fully understand the educational context of the students.

- Jorgeos, who is in his 40s, is the head of the full-time official Greek school in London. He has been teaching in London for three years, before which he was working in an experimental 'Intercultural' school in Athens. This school, set up before Greece's adoption of interculturalism as its official educational policy, allows teachers a great deal of freedom in working with pupils from a very wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. He has also worked on a project with the Catholic minority on the island of Syros, and has been involved in a project designing history material for minority-community students in Greece. As he is presently working on a Masters degree in Intercultural education he is clearly particularly well-informed on the issues central to this study.

- Agni is in her mid-30s and has been teaching in London for four years, but completed a Masters in Computer Programming for Education here before that. Thus she was already familiar with British culture when she arrived. Her husband also teaches in the Community Schools. Agni was a colleague of mine at the Orthodox Cathedral Church, although she also works in other schools. Like the other interviewees, she taught for some time Greece before coming here, and has experience with younger Albanian students there.

2.8 - The Pilot Interviews

The interviews were conducted around a set of semi-structured questions (see appendix) which were generally adhered too, but allowed for further probing of points of interest. Below, while there is close analysis of a few sections of the text, I attempt to outline, using quite broad strokes, some of the main points of convergence of their views.

2.8a - Language:

The main task of the schools is to teach the Greek language. All the interviews started with a range of questions on language, covering subjects such as the teachers' approach to teaching Greek, their views on the importance of the language to their students, the students' motivation and questions on issues around bilingual pedagogy in Greece. Although these questions were followed by a number on cultural issues, it can be seen that at many times these two areas intertwine.

a.i - Language & Culture

All the informants stated that they saw a direct connection between language and culture, or cultural identity:

> Of course it's their mother tongue ... Through the language you understand the way of thinking of a culture, and in this way you can enrich yourself, in terms of your thinking. (Costas)

> [If they lose the mother tongue] They lose something of themselves, of their character. They're not going to find these things from this environment ....
> They have to keep the community alive. (Agni)

> You can't conceive of civilisation without language. (Jorgeos) [n.b. there is an intimate, linguistic connection in Greek between the notions of 'civilisation' and 'culture']

All of the teachers, therefore, in these excerpts, support the close link between the continuity of culture and the preservation of the home language/mother tongue: that an ability to speak the home language allows access to the home culture, history and indeed sense of identity. Jorgeos reinforces this position *for* bilingualism, and *against* assimilation: 'I advocate difference. So I think it's very important to keep the language'.

a.ii - <u>Marginalisation of Minority Languages</u>

Another point made was that in a globalising world (Costas) some languages were hegemonic, notably English, while others were being marginalised – e.g. Greek and Albanian. Jorgeos and Agni noted the assimilationist pressure of English, which they saw as a threat to the survival of the Greek language among the Cypriots. This was also seen as placing a question-mark above the future of the Community Schools as a whole. It was suggested that there was a socio-economic dimension to this with the Cypriots forced to assimilate in order to survive economically. As Agni Says:

> You have a Greek-Cypriot community and a Greek community ... the Cypriots came as immigrants or refugees - they had to survive and to adjust - after being colonial subjects of the English . The Greeks, who maintain the language here ... don't feel any anxiety about survival

This suggests an analysis influenced by the socio-linguistic theories of writers such as Paulston (1975), looking at the connection between economic power and the survival of languages, as well as Bourdieu's work (1991) on language and power.

a.iii - <u>Student Motivation</u>

The question of the degree to which socio-economic forces determine whether the home-language will survive is linked with that of student motivation. There was agreement that the Cypriot community prioritised English. As Agni says: 'Sometimes the only visible motivation I can see is the A Level in Greek'.

While students may see the A Level as useful in instrumental terms - to further their educational progress, and thus eventually their career prospects - this may not be a strong enough reason for them to continue attending in the absence of other compelling reasons. For Agni, motivation comes from the parents, who see the schools:

> more as communities [parikea], as a space where they'll meet other Greek-Cypriot children - to meet, to socialise. They don't want to lose contact with the community

The picture is presented of a 'tension' (Agni) between the parents desire to integrate their children into the Greek community (and into its culture, via the language), as against the assimilationist pressures on the children to do well in the mainstream schools

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- implying a focus on English at the expense of Greek. Costas points out that: 'because students receive so much homework [from the mainstream schools], and ... have to do so many exams, you ask how long they can continue to give time to the Greek schools'.

a.iv - Learning Styles

Teachers noted a difference in learning style and behaviour between students here and in Greece. In Agni's words, simply: 'It's a completely different culture!' Both Agni and Costas noted rudeness and talking back - 'even in the first class' (Agni). Moreover, 'they don't learn grammar [in the mainstream schools] - it's what they learn from the text' (i.e. students are used to a more *inductive* rather than *deductive* approach - at least where language-learning is concerned).

a.v - Approaches to Language Teaching

In terms of the teaching of Greek in the Community Schools, there was advocacy of both communicative and 'traditional', grammar-based methods. Jorgeos was the strongest advocate of a communicative methodology, which he, like the other teachers, associated with a strong emphasis on the affective dimension Children had to enjoy the lessons, to be engaged, to genuinely want to communicate to progress, and to be motivated to learn at all:

> The approach is to make the material attractive to the students rather than using an approach based on discipline. For these students [second and third generation], who have difficulty with communication in Greek, the important point is to facilitate communication.

However, Jorgeos was pragmatic about the use of English in the classroom. In fact this was common to all the teachers - they said that English was necessary at the early stages, and you could only use mainly Greek at GCSE level and above. That is to say that nobody supported the kind of 'strong' communicative approach associated with the Canadian bilingual schools or with the work of Krashen. In fact Agni argued that a more realistic approach was to teach Greek as a second language, with second and third generation students, rather than as the home language. She also argued that a lot of emphasis had to be placed on learning basic grammar.

Both Agni and Costas argued that some of their best lessons involved inductive, student-centred approaches, drawing on texts. They stressed the affective dimension to lessons as being an important component of their success. They argued that this came from a difference in culture between the English and the Greeks, the latter being more tactile and placing more emphasis on close relationships.

From the above, then, we can see that there certainly seem to be common experiences between the teachers when it comes to successful approaches to language teaching in the community schools: there appears to be a need to accept to use of English in the classroom (especially with less-advanced students), and to strike a balance between grammar and lexis-based activities, and more communicative/affective activities. One of my aims in analysis of data, and in further interviews, is to explore what kind of approach teachers feel works with *these particular students* in the community schools (as well as what they feel is appropriate with bilingual pupils in Greece). If, as was said above, it is possible to identify 90 different models of bilingual education (Baker, 1996), and we can argue that different immigrant groups and generations create unique 'hybrid' cultures (Bhabha, 1998), then we can see that there is unlikely to be a blueprint for language-teaching which fits every situation. In this case it is useful to use teachers' knowledge as to what works with their particular students.

a. vi - Models for Bilingual Education

All of the interviewees supported the right of minorities to learn their home language in Greece. However, it seems that the individual experience of some of the teachers influences what they see as the main priorities in bilingual education. While Jorgeos recognised the value of the home language, he emphasised the importance of promoting intercultural understanding. He drew on his experience at the Intercultural school, where there was a diversity of backgrounds, with no one language dominating.

The other teachers supported the use of reception classes for students to acquire Greek as these were seen as particularly effective with younger students. There was support for

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the idea of the Albanian language being supported in mainstream schools where there was a large Albanian population, or through community schools - although there is a risk of 'losing' the language in the long term. In Agni's case this mirrors her experience of having classes in which the only minorities present were Albanians (who are the largest immigrant group in Greece), and it seeming quite possible to have special provision for this large group.

a.vii - Language: Provisional Conclusions

We see in the material above a clear linkage made between language and culture. The teachers believe that a sound knowledge of the community language provides a bridge into the culture. However, they suggest that both the Greek language here, and minority languages in Greece, are in a precarious position in a world in which fewer languages are gaining a hegemonic position. This kind of socio-linguistic understanding seems to underlie much of what they say: English is the hegemonic language *par excellance*, and Costas and Jorgeos see that the power English offers its proficient users, *especially for students living in the UK*, puts Greek here under threat. This is part of the explanation they offer for what the see as a lack of motivation on the part of many students at the community schools. However, they see this 'pull' factor as countered by a 'push' from the parents, who value the connection their children get with the Greek community. Interestingly, these findings correspond with an MA study conducted in the 1990s of *student* opinions concerning motivation to study in the community schools.

In terms of their views on appropriate approaches to language teaching, they link it with the specific needs of the students. Here their 'local knowledge' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 168) comes into its own: in close contact with the students, able to understand their particular culture and learning styles, they reflect on the differences with their previous experience in Greece and comment on how they have found successful strategies to meet their students needs.

2.8 b - Culture and Identity

b.i - Cultural Identity

On the question of the cultural identity of the students in the Community Schools, the teachers express concern about the danger of losing the language and culture. Costas sees them as caught between two cultures, having tried to assimilate, many now feel that they don't belong anywhere. Agni says she has started to see the Greek-Cypriot children as 'little English' (Anglakia), but then qualifies this: they are 'teratomorphie' - the Greek notion of a mythical being, half one kind of creature, half another. She says 'they're not English; they're not Greek' - they are *hybrids* (a Greek term which the teachers employ).

b.ii - The Role of the School and the Teacher

As to whether it is the teacher's role to try to promote Greek culture with their students, Jorgeos argues the school (i.e. Community School) has to take responsibility for carrying on the culture, and the family also has a responsibility. He sees the British state following the liberal multiculturalist model (they 'just recognise' the Community Schools), rather than actively supporting the maintenance of the culture (the cultural pluralist position associated with Swann). This provides an interesting contrast with Costas' discussion of Germany, where the Greek teachers work inside mainstream schools, Greek is on the curriculum and is 'valued' as one of the lessons.

But there is another layer to this question. Jorgeos points out that there can be a conflation of Cypriot and Greek culture:

> [The teachers] have to bring in the Cypriot culture, as well as the 'Greek' - the teacher has to learn about a lot of cultures - he has to interact with these cultures. If the teacher can't see beyond the nationalistic model [of culture] he 'takes' from Greece nothing is going to happen.

The idea of a 'nationalistic model' of Greek culture perhaps refers to an idea of the superiority of Greek culture - even the idea the Greek culture is synonymous with 'Culture' itself or with 'Civilisation' is *not evident in these interviews*.

b.iii - Minority Cultures in Greece

This discussion of the near-assimilation of Greek-Cypriot culture into the dominant culture in Britain leads into a discussion of the position of minority-culture groups in Greece (particularly the largest group - Albanians). Agni points to what she sees as the Albanians' desire to be 'invisible', but also to a kind of reticence about supporting their language and culture from the Greek state, i.e. she seems to draw on two discourses: one seeing the move towards assimilation as originating with the Albanian community (not wishing to draw attention to themselves); the other coming from the state.

It might be interesting to explore this issue of how the two discourses are linked together. Agni compared the position of the Albanians in Greece with that of the Greek-Cypriot community here. My own understanding of the trajectory of the *Greek-Cypriot* community is that there has been a desire to assimilate, for the kinds of reasons Agni notes above: 'they had to survive or adjust'. Thus the two apparently contradictory discourses explaining assimilation are connected by a focus on economic status. According to Paulston (1975), pressure to learn a language, or not, depends on the power-relations of the groups involved. Socio-economically weaker groups will want to learn the dominant language(s) of wherever they are, essentially for economic reasons. While this may explain much of what has happened with the Cypriots in Britain, we can see that they *do* still send their children to the schools, and that the teachers see what happens there as highly valuable. We explore this further below.

Jorgeos, considering the situation in Greece, comments that there is greater awareness now that it's not a homogenous society; that due to global dynamics there is increasing hybridity. This kind of discourse suggests that multiculturalism is starting to become 'the true paradigm for a post-modern global age' (Sammad, 1997: 240).

b.iv – Approaches to Multiculturalism in Greek Schools
Costas, Agni and Jorgeos see *interculturalism* as the appropriate educational response to this new situation. As mentioned above this term has been popularised by the EU. It differs from cultural pluralism in that it is not about the *presentation* of cultures, but about *interaction*: it is as important for the dominant group to learn about minorities and

to question their own stereotypes, as it is for minorities to receive support and recognition, and it is as important in schools and areas without significant numbers of ethnic minority students as it is for those with them. Costas argues for building intercultural understanding between majority and minority community pupils. Agni confirms the emphasis on interculturalism in Greece, but argues that there is not as yet a strong enough emphasis on social justice for the minority groups there.

Jorgeos draws on his own experience in the Intercultural School in Athens, when separate identities threatened to divide his class. He tried to build mutual trust and acceptance (which is one of the key aims of interculturalism as an educational policy). He uses the image of stirring the students around in a pot, having to keep them moving or they would separate. This striking image, of course, reminds us of the 'melting pot' - the key metaphor of American assimilationism - out of which would be formed the 'bright new alloy' of American identity (Watson, 2000: 4). But clearly this is not Jorgeos's agenda. Rather, he describes a delicate process of building a *sense of unity* within the class, but one based not on an overriding common national identity, but rather one based on *mutual understanding*:

> it's very difficult where homogeneity doesn't exist to build these relationships - there is a thin line, and racism can develop through the emphasis on difference ... Rather I promoted group work: mixing, breaking up the separate groups.

Jorgeos, then, see a 'thin line' between an overemphasis on difference - which would produce separatism and racism - and a failure to draw on students' own cultural resources. His insistence on '[seeing] the person as an individual case' agrees with radical critiques of both the reifying nature of cultural pluralism and the 'essentialist' idea of a 'static' culture.

b.v - Culture & Identity: Early Conclusions & Suggestions for Further Research
This section has focused on teachers' theories about cultural questions affecting students in the UK and in Greece. Teachers saw children from the Greek-Cypriot community as hybrids, 'between' cultures. They saw these students as located within a context of

assimilationist pressures, endangering their connection to the community culture. In this light teachers were seen as taking part of the responsibility for the promotion of that culture. This kind of socio-political contextualisation of the role of the teacher can be seen as an example of 'social reconstructionist' reflective practice (Zeichner & Tabachnick, op cit).

Turning to consider Greece, the pilot study has raised a number of questions about how schools there should approach culture and identity. There is a recognition of the increasingly multicultural nature of Greece, and the role of the teacher, as having 'to learn about a lot of cultures - he has to interact with these cultures'. The position advocated can be recognised as interculturalist, and has much in common with the kind of critical multiculturalism associated with writers such as Giroux: there is an opposition, for example, to the kind of easy celebration of 'folkloric' cultural identities associated with cultural pluralism.

This kind of position goes right to the heart of the debate on multiculturalism: how 'pluralist' do we want our societies to be?; to what extent is some sense of common identity desirable, or even necessary? The challenge for multicultural societies is how to reconcile 'our belonging to different communities of values, language, [and] culture ... with our common belonging to a political community' (Mouffe, 1995: 34).

The belief in encouraging this kind of 'common belonging' is important because it comes out of direct experience, rather than abstract academic theorising. Teachers' knowledge of the *specific conditions* in Greece, a country only recently recognising itself as multicultural, may lead to a better understanding of what kind of approach would be most suitable.

2.8 c - Reflective / Critical Pedagogy

c.i - Reflective Processes

Agni comments that when she started teaching in the Community Schools she had
expected to be able to conduct the classes almost exclusively in Greek (i.e. using a
communicative approach). However, she soon realised that this would not be the case:

> I panicked. I saw that I'd have to speak English all the time, and wondered if my English
> would be good enough, especially for the GSCE students.

This kind of reaction fits with Sikes, Measor and Woods (op cit) description of 'critical
incidents' which can promote shifts in teachers' thinking. There was a mismatch
between Agni's expectations and the reality she was faced with. She relates the process
her thinking took after this initial shock:

> In the beginning I couldn't understand how someone can understand you [in Greek] and reply
> in English ... I [wasn't] sure if they could understand me. The older teachers, who lived here
> [Cypriots], said: they understand you - talk to them in Greek. So I asked [myself] - how will I
> know the level?

A number of elements of reflective practice are indicated here: self-questioning ('I
couldn't understand', 'so I asked myself', 'what do they understand?') and discussions
with colleagues ('The older teachers ... said'). The cyclical process of experience, self-
questioning, reflective thought, further experience and so on described here fits with
Schon's (1983) classic description of reflective practice as a four-stage 'dialectical and
cyclical process'. Furthermore, Agni's consultation with the older Cypriot teachers
conforms to Soler, Craft & Burgess' (op cit) assertion of the role of discussions with
colleagues in pushing forward the reflective process.

The result of these kinds of processes is her present assessment:

> They're not bilingual ... There are some that speak Greek at home, sometimes one of the
> parents speaking Greek at home, one speaking English. In this case they don't speak in the
> school, but understand. And there are those who both speak and understand.

> All these groups could be in the same class, so that's why the use of English is sometimes
> necessary. In the older classes, because of all these years they have been attending, especially

at GCSE, I try to use more and more Greek. Of course, for some abstract concepts, with complex sentences, or when giving instructions you need to use English.

Agni here shows that she has come to fairly sophisticated conclusions about how to approach the question of the use of English in the Greek-language classroom. Her knowledge of the students (including their home circumstances) has provided a solid foundation to precisely justify when and why she uses English. This is the kind of 'action theory' described above: it is knowledge embedded in experience and refined through reflective thinking - it is rooted in practice, and the interview material clearly shows it to be the product of an on-going process.

In response to questioning about what they have learnt from being here both Costas and Agni mentioned having greater sensitivity and openness. Costas, as mentioned above, has made the effort to learn some of the Cypriot dialect and about English education system. He also feels he will be more tolerant, resourceful and confident about adopting more progressive, challenging methods. Agni says she will see the Albanian children in a different light now, as she knows more about the problems of having a different home language. Thus we can argue that the kinds of reflective practice discussed above have led to change in practice and belief across a range of areas for these teachers. They have learnt about their students' learning styles, their backgrounds, their needs in the classroom; they have tried new approaches and report changes in their general outlook and way of relating to minority-community students.

From the above I felt it was clear that there was a great deal of scope for me to analyse the development of teachers' theories as the study progressed. Initial interviews and analysis showed that teachers report the development of their thinking in ways which fit the literature on reflective thinking. My further aims have been to look at how the experience of working in the Community Schools and how the shift in position from working in Greece to experiencing at first hand the life of a minority community in the UK affect teachers' theories concerning multicultural pedagogy, and thus to reveal the range of the teachers' theories, their origins and development.

c.ii - Reflection as a Social Process

After discussing how he approached teaching in the Intercultural School (above), I asked Jorgeos whether these were the policies of the school:

> No. We discussed with colleagues. With every problem we tried to solve it together. We had long discussions. I found it very important.

Practice derived from *long* discussions *with colleagues* about *every* problem fits well with Soler, Craft & Burgess' (op cit) description of reflection as a process optimally taking place between colleagues, or Zeichner & Tabachnick's (op cit) notion of 'communities of learning'.

Jorgeos also says that you 'don't just do it because you've read it' and that his experience 'helped' his knowledge. This suggests that his experience and reflection were reinforcements or challenges to an already established body of theoretical knowledge. If taken together with other sections of Jorgeos's interview, where he easily uses academic language, this strongly suggests that he was fairly readily able to convert, in Osterman & Kotcamp's terms (op cit), 'theories in use' into 'espoused theories'.

Sections of Agni's interview suggest, in line with Cooper and McIntyre (above) that the interview itself can provide a space for reflective thinking. Agni showed signs - through pauses, 'hedging' language and by correcting and limiting her own assertions - that she was in the process of thinking through many of the issues as she was speaking

c.iii - Social-Reconstructivism / Critical Thinking

The 'social reconstructionist' conception of reflective teaching (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 2001) stresses 'reflection about the social and political contexts of schooling and the assessment of classroom actions for their ability to contribute towards greater equity, social justice and humane conditions in schooling and society'. There were a number of remarks in the interviews critical of the status quo in the Community Schools, the mainstream schools here, or the system in Greece.

One area of criticism is the *organisation* of the schools. There are problems related to *finance*, and to the *relationship with the mainstream*. Both Costas and Agni identified a range of problems associated with a lack of funding: they have to rent classrooms from the mainstream, and Costas reports experiences such as not being allowed to use the board. There is also a lack of materials, which can cause problems since students are used to having a wide range of texts in their mainstream classes. Agni suggests fees should be raised to tackle some of these issues.

They identify a lack of communication and cooperation with the mainstream schools. One issue is the lack of recognition of Greek history, culture and language there. Thus Costas and Agni suggest closer contact with the mainstream. The problem with materials is not only the lack of choice, but also the quality – they are seen as out-of-touch with students' needs.

Agni and Costas both felt that teachers should have more input into the decision-making process, and felt that their opinions were undervalued at present. They both criticised the training seminar organised for new Community School teachers held in Greece, where there was no specific information about local needs or culture. Costas suggested teachers with experience in the Community Schools could contribute to such training seminars.

In the above we can see, therefore, that the teachers do demonstrate a concern with a wider reality than just their immediate classroom environment. Moreover they make suggestions for change to a number of the bureaucratic arrangements, including looking for more input for the teachers into the decision-making process.

2.9 - Summary of Initial Findings and Future Aims in the Research

Essentially I have found that the pilot research has confirmed most of my initial assumptions. I think that this is largely because I am myself a Greek teacher in the Community Schools. The teachers showed signs of having reflected on their practice and on the policies here and in Greece. The interviews gave insight into their approaches to language teaching, and views on more abstract questions of language, culture and identity. I feel that the approach of using semi-structured interviews worked well, yielding a rich source of data which I have been able to use to relate the different teachers' opinions with some ease.

The teachers' views have shown a large degree of convergence around key issues (such as the best ways to approach teaching Greek language and culture, what they see as the role of the teacher, or some of the key changes they would like to see in the organisation of the schools). Furthermore, the teachers have shown interest in the research process itself and in taking seriously their own ability to make comments about what should be happening in the community schools, and concerning multicultural pedagogy more broadly. This reassured me that the idea of basing my research on notions of reflective and engaged practitioners was not a case of wishful thinking, but rather one based on an accurate reading of the nature and *potential* of teachers - i.e. that in giving teachers the opportunity to have their own say, researchers can actually contribute to the process of teachers thinking through and reflecting on their practice.

I also found that the pilot work gave me some new information, and suggested new directions in the research. This included the fact that I was informed of the recent production of bilingual history materials in Greece. Furthermore, I was also alerted through the interviews to the existence of an internet group for teachers in Greek Community Schools in the UK and was subsequently able to interview its co-ordinator. In a word, then, the pilot interviews not only confirmed for me the potential in my research aims, but actually opened up new avenues for that research.

Thus, from my initial concerns and questions, the pilot interviews had confirmed for me that teachers' theories were an appropriate object of study in relation to key issues in multicultural pedagogy. I had entered into a hermeneutic research cycle, in which many of my initial assumptions had been confirmed, while others had to be adjusted as new information came to light, and new questions arose. Through this initial research a link was suggested between teachers' developing reflective practice, and their deepening understanding of multicultural pedagogy: as these teachers became more reflective, they also adopted 'stronger' approaches to multicultural education. I also began to realise that by becoming more personally involved in the interview process – by challenging the teachers' views, by bringing in my own opinion – it was possible to help their reflective process. Finally, through these interviews I began to appreciate that in order to fully understand the teachers' theories, it was also necessary to take into account how their thinking had developed *before* arriving in the UK; I started to realise the importance of *biography* in creating full accounts of teachers' reflective development.

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