Promoting closer ties and cooperation between the school, the family and the community in the framework of intercultural education

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This paper describes the findings of a comparative study of rural and urban communities in Cyprus concerning the perceptions of primary school teachers and community stakeholders as regards school-community relations. The data were collected via a semi-structured interviewing technique amongst primary school teachers and community stakeholders. The analysis of the qualitative data demonstrates that both primary teachers and community stakeholders whether in a rural or an urban area consider school- community cooperation as a positive and important factor in their respective spheres of interest. However, teachers were found to maintain a more conservative stance towards relationships with the local community, believing that their professional autonomy is threatened by interferences of community stakeholders and agents. Furthermore, there was a divergence of perceptions between rural participants and their urban counterparts as regards to the extent to which such a cooperation should take place; both teachers and community stakeholders in rural areas seemed to be more willing to extend their communication and their relations in additional fields. On the contrary, teachers and community stakeholders in urban sites seemed more conservative towards such a situation; they regard that such a cooperation and such relations should be limited. The findings come to validate similar findings reported in the limited literature in Cyprus (Georgiou, 1998; Symeou, 2002) and indicate that there is a lot of ground to be covered towards extending and improving school-community relations for the benefit of all institutions concerned.

Introduction

All historical, demographic, cultural and socioeconomic characteristics are reflected in school life. During the last few decades the Cyprus community experiences great changes in the population due to the increased flaw of immigrants or repatriates and the partial lifting of the restrictions of crossing the demarcation line in April 2003. In addition, discussions on intercultural issues have increased lately not just because of the schools becoming multicultural but mainly because this multicultural character is broadly recognized and accepted.

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Aiming at intercultural education, schools may modify the curriculum content and the methodological practices, prioritise aims and objectives according to the values, beliefs, traditions, perceptions attitudes practices and activities that the teachers, pupils, parents, community stakeholders have in defining the situation and designing their action (Cordeiro et al, 1994; Planas, 2007) even in a highly centralised educational system as the one in Cyprus. Educational practices vary and differ due to differentiation of the aspects of school culture involved (Leithwood, 1992; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1999). It is actually suggested that school effectiveness in schools with culturally diverse pupils is particularly affected by the school climate and culture (Valverde, 1988).

The data on such issues in Cyprus is currently rather inadequate. Research in the area has focused on surveys and collection of demographic data regarding the "newcomers" in schools or attitudes about intercultural education (Martidou 2003; Oikonomidou, 2003) and in limited cases on deeper analysis of structures and strategies (Hadjitheodoulou, 2006).

The Context

On the 29th October of 2002, one of the longest circular letters ever sent to the public schools under the title "Intercultural Education" declared the main policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture on the issue. It focused mainly on the following: the growing number of non-Greek speakers in Greek-Cypriot schools; the aim of integrating smoothly these children in the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society, instead of assimilating them. The route suggested for achieving this aim was through supportive and differentiated programmes of Greek language learning;

The intention of the Ministry of Education and Culture to secure freedom and human rights of all members of the society and to prevent racism and social exclusion;

The reference to the General Attorney consultation of 2002 illuminates issues regarding the education of all non-Greek-Cypriot pupils. Based on this consultation the Ministry concluded that the right to education cannot be denied to any children living in the territories of the Republic of Cyprus regardless the circumstances under which the children find themselves in the country.

The appendix accompanying this directive presented the philosophy of teaching Greek as a second language. According to this, regardless of the level of the Greek language knowledge, all pupils should learn Greek in order to be able to attend school classes, to communicate with teachers, classmates and other people and become socialized. Actually the Ministry directive expressed the belief that to satisfy the needs of bilingual children it is not enough to enable them to learn to read or learn the grammar rules but in addition to promote and develop critical communicative abilities (Cummins, 1991; Gibbons, 2002; Gotovos, 2002).

A strong benefit of this model is that bilingual pupils by participating in the educational processes with the other pupils belonging in the classroom and the school at large. Additionally, they will have the chance to communicate with more adept language learners, in this case the native speakers, who have more linguistic resources in Greek, therefore enhancing their own acquisition of the Greek language.

addition to the mainstreaming programme, a flexible system of intervention within the ordinary timetable was suggested. This involves putting bilingual pupils in a separate class for some hours of the week, the number of which is decided by the Council of Ministers, for intensive learning of the Greek language and specialised assistance according to their specific needs1. Furthermore, in secondary school, bilingual pupils can attend classes as observers (no semester grades are given) and sit for written examinations in September, at the beginning of the school-year. At the same time they can attend language classes in the Governmental Institutes or attend afternoon classes for learning Greek as a second language at the Adult Education Centers.

In this context, trying to investigate how different axes in school life can be involved in education was a challenge. The aim of the study presented in this paper was to investigate the needs and attitudes of the pupils, the teachers and the parents of four schools with pupils of background, in order to propose suggestions on specific actions relating to teacher education and training and parent and community involvement that would enable the implementation of the directive presented above. A school culture that actively cultivates school-family collaboration fosters learning and high achievement scores (in particular through elementary school). In order to enhance the learning circumstances of all pupils however, and particularly those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, could be achieved only if schools maintain strong relationships with families (Tomlinson, 1991) through 'empowering' (O'Connor, parents 1994; Wolfendale 1997; Waller & Waller, 1998).

¹Since teaching bilingual student often requires the use of specialised material that accommodates their particular needs, teachers usually prepare their own or they can use material designed especially for the teaching of Greek as a second language (prepared by the Pedagogical Institute of Greece for the teaching of Greek as a second language to primary school children whose mother language is not Greek). This material has been sent to all primary schools and it includes books for the teaching of the Greek language, activity and exercise books, as well as teachers' books with methodological instructions and a variety of suggestions for activities, of mainly communicative character. In addition, the Department of Primary Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture has provided all schools with a curriculum designed for the needs of bilingual student who learn Greek in a Greek-speaking environment, as well as tests that assess their proficiency level in the Greek language (also prepared by the Pedagogical Institute of Greece).

The study involved the implementation of an intervention programme directed by the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus in two primary and two secondary schools with different student populations. In all schools there was high concentration of pupils from immigrant, low socioeconomic status families, and pupils whose language differed from the main language of instruction (Greek).

The Method

The expectation was to catch the complexity of each participating school, since in education each program or people in focus are similar to each other in many ways and unique in many others (Stake, 1996). The particular schools were interesting and challenging for both their uniqueness and commonality. It was interesting to hear stories, to learn how all the actors –pupils, parents, teachers, the community– function in their ordinary pursuits and milieus as well as to put aside many assumptions.

Data were collected through recorded field notes and informal interviews with teachers and pupils during visits to the schools. Extensive field notes were taken by recording details about teachers' and pupils' attitudes, opinions and interactions. In data analysis and interpretation categorical aggregation, searching for patterns and themes and direct interpretation was used (Falconer & Byrnes, 2003) forming four main categories: managing diversity, school context, home context, language issues. All four areas were examined through a complex interaction model of different factors where the headteachers' decisions and reactions to the children -curriculum and teacher-curriculum interaction- emerged as keystone.

All factors observed are presented in the diagram in the Appendix.

Findings

Coping with bureaucracy

All teachers, heads and pupils in the participating schools experienced work with culturally diverse pupils in a centralized educational system. All decisions and actions in the Greek-Cypriot educational system are promoted through the Departments of Primary and Secondary Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Over the last years the Departments of Primary and Secondary Education have adopted various support measures for language support, which refer to the learning of Greek as a second language and measures for facilitating the smooth integration of groups with different cultural identities.

More specifically, as it was mentioned in the directive presented earlier, the model used in all participating schools was the mainstreaming programme in which bilingual pupils participate in the class along with the native Greek-speaking pupils. In all schools there were discussions with the researchers on how to implement and use the material in the mainstream or the supportive class. It was interesting to find that in each school there were differentiations in the ways the measures were implemented. For example in School A, the Art teacher was also responsible for the supportive classes while in School D each teacher had supportive hours for pupils of his/her class.

The arrival of new pupils was a phenomenon observed throughout the year in all schools and was considered as an interrelated characteristic of the daily school routine (Reid & Young, 1992). Having accepted this, the teachers adapted their work to the above situation, sometimes with negative reactions, but most of the times with the intention to act in such a way that they could prevent it. The children were placed in the classes where they were better encouraged to see school as a friendly and beneficial environment. However, in the case of the two secondary schools things were rather difficult as structures available were not helpful. On the contrary in the primary schools how the headteachers handled the situation, the allocation of extra supportive hours, etc, seemed to be of crucial importance.

The distribution of school subjects and responsibilities considering the abilities and the disposition of each teacher was regarded as an effort to interrelate the teacher with the school aims so that the objectives of the intercultural education could be promoted (Neuharth-Pritchett et al, 2000). In this case as well, the headteacher's decisions and support proves to be the factor on which success depends. For example, in School B the deputy head who was responsible for dealing with issues relating to bilingualism had a positive approach that contributes a lot, whereas in School A, the supportive class for children with language difficulties is not dealt with great care. Special qualifications and real commitments in the job were not regarded as prerequisites, either were they encouraged by the headteacher or the Local Educational Authority.

You see, I'm not trained in that (teaching Greek as a second language)... new arrivals every week some are away for a fortnight and they suddenly come up... I don't know how to handle this... what to do in the supportive hours neither can the inspector or any colleague help me... I use these pictures and the stickers as reinforcement... I don't know... (Teacher, school A)

One of the very first activities was the collection of possible information about the school environment and the children. If the school culture is different from the home culture, the children feel isolated and distant from school, stressing in this way the existing phenomena of school failure (Marjoribanks, 1987, Martínez-González & Corral-Blanco, 1991; Paik, 2004; Symeou, 2007). It is important for teachers to be familiar with the different cultures, communicate with their pupils and form the school environment in such a way that this can be accepted by the pupils. In this context the teachers were encouraged to learn about the family status of their pupils and have a full picture of their living conditions. This was promoted by the researchers too, as the first stage of the intervention programme. In some cases teachers tried to learn basic phrases in first language in order to enable communication (Valverde, 1988).

The head's initiative

The heads, in cooperation with the researchers and staff, took certain decisions. However, in the very first meeting of headteachers for the implementation of the intervention programme different approaches emerged. Measures proposed referred to definition of the school and community profile, interaction with parents -both indigenous and non- indigenousteacher needs analysis and design of in-service training, use of mediators and translations in cooperation with parents, promotion of certain measures pedagogical (projects, activities. excursions etc). Each head reacted in different ways especially in relation to promoting cooperation and collegiality between the staff.

Evaluation of teachers' and pupils' opportunities – education staff as decision makers

In all schools teachers and headteachers had particular measures and possibilities in front of them that could be applied. However looking deeper in the school life, only in one case (School D), the headteacher tried to show that he was open to changes, eager to cooperate with the staff and find out better solutions to the problems that

arouse through participative models of decision-making procedure, so that the interaction of the teachers could lead to their development and to improvement of the teaching procedure (Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990)

Staff attitudes-Culture of collegiality

In all schools two different tendencies were identified among the teachers. Numbers of teachers in these two groups differed according to the heads' reactions: one group of teachers felt disappointed for being appointed to the schools. This affected of course the extend of making the best of the teacher and pupil capabilities and putting under scrutiny any effort for introducing in-service training. Some of the teachers in School A even thought that the solution for not being stigmatized (both the teachers and the pupils) was to spread around the children coming from different ethnic backgrounds in different schools. They even complained about children playing football as they regarded the game as a source for racist behaviour, language abuse and quarrel between children with diverse ethnic backgrounds.

On the other hand in all schools another group of teachers could be identified, namely the teachers who took the initiative, but sometimes in a rather provocative way, to show respect to human rights and at the same time to implement ideas that may work in favour of exclusion and inequality. For example, in School A suggestions for separate classes for particular pupils using their mother tongue as the means of instruction, for the sake of human rights, raised demands for changes in the structure and manipulation of certain bureaucratic characteristics. At the same time it created problems particularly separating tendencies in and outside the school in a period when unity, interaction, interculturalism, common goals were the predominant ideas.

The head's encouraging action -Readjustment of the school organization on language learning and managing diversity

In all cases, however the role of the headteachers was crucial in handling these two teacher attitude tendencies and using all bureaucratic characteristics and resources available. For example in School D the head and all teachers worked together to form a particular timetable for extra language classes, encouraged certain activities and participation of bilingual children in projects and whole-day activities.

In School B, due to being a secondary school, things were more tough as promotion of any activities was based on the deputy-heads' initiative, while the measures promoted by the Ministry proved to be rather inadequate. Both children themselves and teachers interviewed, identified success in previous experience in Greece

as well as in interaction with class mates during classes but not in the supportive measures:

They can attend the classes in the afternoon, but you know, there is no connection with what is going on in the morning—even for the pupils who are "observers" for a year- they learn, but not enough to participate in the lesson...just for communication... (School B)

I like computers, I am good at it. I don t like History... I like computers no need for so much Greek... but you speak with others would learn Greek... (School B)

I have many friends. I have no difficulty in Greek. I learned in Greece before coming here. (School B)

Children had formed their own views, which seemed to be expressing a solution for the language curriculum and the school impact in general. Children themselves discovered the intercultural dimensions of language learning regarding the dominant language- Greekemphasising thus both differentiation and unification:

The Gypsies don't know much Greek – let them... We should put the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots in a classroom. The teacher would teach them Greek and Turkish..." (School A)

Ethnicity, in accordance with other research results (Lee & Walsh, 2002) does not seem to play a significant role in relations and interactions as children from different groups interact, and this interaction should be used for educational profit. Diversity and racist attitudes could be found either between or within cultural groups:

I first went to another school, an English school -I didn't want to... The other children didn't want me I stayed for a year. Then, I came here; I made friends, Greek Cypriot friends... (School A)

Yes I have Russian friends, some Cypriots too. We (the Russians) usually go together to the Luna Park or window-shopping ...see cars... (School B) No, I don't have Gypsy friends, they are dirty... I just have one... no others... they don't do their homework, they don't have their books with them, they are dirty

Children's fluency in Greek did not seem to influence their peer relations, whereas it seemed to affect their attitudes against schooling. Above all, relations are those who work as a key factor in language learning:

I had a friend, Helen. We played together; I learned Greek. She has an exercise book and I write Turkish words for her... I did my homework. If I don't know this or that I ask her or I go to the teacher (School A)

Some friends speak Greek, I don't, I want to... Andreas, Elli George... they speak Greek... we play football... I learn (School B)
I want the school to speak Greek well write too I like to see my friends. I play with older children, I learn from them

Relationship with the community and the parents – External assistance

Home context and especially the children's attitude towards their parents' involvement in the school functioned as a platform for meaning and behaviours and participation in school life (Kiddle, 2000), either as attitudes towards education or as a vehicle for better life potentials.

I study at home ... My mum insists on that... She had a university degree... now she works elsewhere ...in a bakery. She wants me to study... (School B)

In all schools, examples of good practice in taking advantage of parents could be identified, while at the same time certain bureaucratic characteristics and the headteachers' reaction proved to be helpful or act as obstacles in promoting any initiative: in School D parents and pupils were encouraged to attend together language lessons in order to improve their Greek language skills and work together for the publication of a school journal for distribution to the community. However, financial problems at the Adult Education Centres and conflict between the hours of the afternoon classes with parents' working hours (e.g. shift hours) led to disappointment, despite good intentions:

...You see, you cannot have a language class and try to negotiate about photocopies every time or buy on your own expenses the books... or look for the key (to enter the classroom) etc... This is very disturbing... and disappointing (Trainer, School D)

On the other hand, activities initiated by School D which were free of financial and bureaucratic pressure and depended on the head and staff initiatives proved to be a success. Parents attending lessons and getting involved in activities organised by the school, involvement of parents in seminars organised by the school, involvement in the organisation of events and activities for the community, in the activities of the Parents Association of the school, translation of school announcements in English so that parents can be informed, informal meetings with bilingual parents, are all examples of these actions. Interviews with the participants showed that success in all efforts depended to a large extent on how the school staff dealt with bureaucratic characteristics. At the same time investigation of children's attitudes towards the "others" showed that the majority of children were interested in having classmates or friends from other countries (89% and 92%, respectively).

In School A, parent- school relationship was absent as different attitudes between parents teachers were identified while headteacher's policy was one of conflict rather than that of co-operation. However, suggestions for organising school activities in front of the parents as part of the intervention programme cooperation with other stakeholders (Municipality, Welfare Services, Church) proved to be a positive step and enabled parents understand the purpose of the school and to become prepared in accepting the policy of zones of educational priority the following year. At the same time, children felt free to express their attitudes that despite the discontinuity (geographical, cultural, lingual) they experienced, they tried to get rid of ethnocentric myths, so that they were not trapped in educational and social exclusion situations. This may explain why children in School A did not show interest in attending free mother-tongue language learning classes as part of the whole-day school activities and the lower percentages in forming attitudes about the other as classmates (61%) or friends from other countries (79%).

> I want to come to school but no certificate-my father didn't come. My mother wants to -she doesn't speak Greek (School A)

Yes I liked the "festival", my father came too, if he doesn't I'll shout at him! (School A)

In School B little steps were also made, however with no great success, as deputy-heads and heads realised that work with indigenous parents should be a priority and should be promoted at different levels and in cooperation with other bodies (e.g. municipality authorities).

Discussion

Notwithstanding the obstacles that appeared during the implementation of this educational intervention, a number of significant results have been observed. Respect of the cultural background of all pupils and use of the cultural diversity present in the schools as a source of enrichment of the curriculum and the activity repertoires of the schools, provision for support to pupils of different language background and their parents in improving their command of the Greek language, are examples of actions that were present in the participating schools. Interviews and attitude investigation showed that pupils of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds can interact and cooperate. In both the schools and the communities involved an increased degree of sensitivity as well as negative feelings towards heterogeneity and cultural diversity were identified and the headteachers played an important role in relating management of diversity and language issues to school and home context. It is worth mentioning that although the intervention project was completed, the schools continue to organize activities along the lines followed during the intervention while one of the schools was chosen to be included in the zone of educational priority.

Gathering children from different linguistic or/and cultural backgrounds may be the first step towards intercultural education but it does not seem to be enough. Young children, as well as their headteachers, teachers and parents are aware of diversity, differentiation and language needs and to help them move beyond, teachers should first be aware of both the children's views and the facilitating and restricting constraints under which children operate. Broadening their sense of belonging and solidarity with people from diverse cultural or/and linguistic backgrounds can start from initiatives of headteachers and teachers themselves that should be encouraged and promoted by the bureaucratic characteristics of the educational system. Interventions in school culture, collegiality, use of external support and participation in decision making can act as the basic measures. Experience from the intervention

programme showed that looking for interaction with parents and children, introducing games in the classroom, encouraging free expression of attitudes about History, Computers, Maths and school life of all participants, working through activities for teachers and parents and in explaining on how a stereotype is reproduced can be the first steps. Schools that handled and approached parents with respect generated a positive climate in the schools and led to changes in parents', teachers' and children' attitudes and behaviours.

The importance of the school leaders in all schools in the management of the participants and governmental provision and characteristics showed that the schools can be the where the encouragement development of learning can be implemented locally and thematically. Schools and local communities can become strong elements of the pedagogical action (Raschert, 1987) and parents can be given the chance to familiarise with the school environment and comprehend its function and practice. Efforts identified in the participating schools for the transformation of the school into a centre of social education for adults (e.g. cooperation with other organizations for the development of programs on road safety, health education, etc.) were feasible despite obstacles and failures that were noticed and can be the first step in implementing intercultural education that move from "episodic" to "socially active" action (Banks, 1997), in regarding culture as a dynamic aspect of life and in encouraging the local community to see the role of the school from a different point of view. For example, data revealed during the intervention related to children's reactions and references for particular school subjects could be used as a starting point for learning the Greek language (Zaga, 2006), especially in the case of the secondary schools. Parents can be a part of this process so that diverse learning and experiences can be helpful to teachers and pupils (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Coleman, 1988; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Diverse efforts identified in the schools that tried to make connections between all participants need to be further investigated, monitored and

manipulated so that educational goals for all pupils are indeed achieved.

Activities in school A and D showed that effectiveness against pupils' low performance and lack of interest (Bernstein, et al, 2000) could be promoted by familiarising the pupils with people from other cultural groups and by implementing activities in which the ideas of interculturalism and participation are present. The aim of the schools is not only the improvement of performance but mainly the ability to understand (Hargreaves & Fink, 2000; Lee Manning, 2000) and this can be covered, as it was identified in the participating schools, by cooperative work, project work daily life in multicultural society topics (Hochman, in Tambakis, 1997). Such interventions in the school curriculum and timetable encourage the basic of intercultural education for development of the environment, the respect for human beings, the comprehension of their needs and the evaluation of their cooperation and collaboration. Cooperation among colleagues inside and outside the schools promoted by the headteachers, particularly in one school, may have been risky as it opened the -so far- closed classroom to the public and to criticism, but it eliminated negative and prejudice and it created opportunities for cooperation (Reid & Young, 1992). In the same way the idea of presenting a portfolio with the pupils' work or school activities can be regarded as an isolated action, but it can initiate discussions and activities involving the school and the community (Lee, 1994). Teachers', pupils; and gradual parents' willingness to participate may have differentiated among schools, but steps taken forward proved that successful innovations can be encouraged by staff and heads' initiative in certain pedagogical methods, interactions and material. Greatest effectiveness is achieved when external factors influence directly the activities in the classroom (West, 2000). The schools' "relationship" with the Pedagogical Institute was a first step forward to set out work that is to be supported at all levels of social educational interaction by the structures of the educational system.

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